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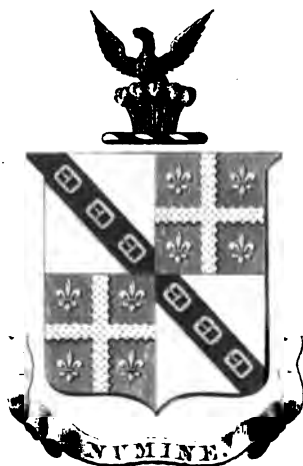


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FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.

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WITH A CONTINUATION DOWN TO THE YEAR 1779.

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WRITTEN UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE general utility and great importance of naval history to the inhabitants of Britain, is obvious from our being seated in an island; whence it is evident, that to navigation we owe our very being as a people. Next to this is the consideration, that we are a commercial nation, from whence we equally derive internal and external advantages, have enlarged our correspondence to the utmost limits of the globe, whither we have carried our own commodities and manufactures, and have brought from them whatever was esteemed either valuable or singular. The great figure we make in the world, and the wide extent of our power and influence, is due to our naval strength, to which we stand indebted for our flourishing plantations, the spreading the British fame, and, which is of far greater consequence, British freedom, through every quarter of the universe. These are the glorious trophies of maritime empire, and the fruits of that dominion over the sea, which was claimed by the earliest possessors of this island, and has been derived by an uninterrupted succession of NOBLE AT-CHIEVEMENTS on that element to our own times, in which the FLEET of BRITAIN may be truly said to have no rival.

The preserving a regular and well connected detail of that long series of events, by which that mighty empire has been gradually attained, was the original cause of detaching this from our general histories, in which, while it lay involved, there was, as indeed of necessity there must be, no little obscurity. In order to remove







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mouth, and his authority drew others to treat it with absolute contempt. But, since his time, through the indefatigable labours of many industrious men, other ancient authors have been published, which plainly shew, that much true history is to be met with, even in that book, though embarrassed with fiction. Besides, it is now out of dispute, that Geoffrey was no forger, or inventor of that history; but that he really translated it out of the British language, in which tongue it is still extant <sup>b</sup>.

From this history, which in many circumstances is supported by others of better authority, we have various passages in relation to the naval power of the Britons, before Cæsar's expedition. Now, that these are not altogether incredible, must appear from the reason of the thing, on one hand; and, on the other, from what may be cited from writers of unquestionable credit.

Two arguments result from our very situation; for, first, the people, whoever they were, Gauls or Trojans, who planted this country, must have come to it by sea, and consequently must have had some skill in maritime affairs, even prior to their settling here. Secondly, the surrounding seas, the convenient ports, and the prospect of the opposite shore, must, doubtless, have encouraged them, when settled here, to practise, and thereby extend that skill in navigation, which, as I have said, they could not but have possessed before they came hither. Hence I think it might have been rationally concluded, that our British ancestors had performed something worthy of notice at sea, before the Roman invasion, even though there had been no records to attest their actions.

Polybius <sup>c</sup> mentions this island and its commodities, Lucretius <sup>d</sup> also takes notice of it, and these were both writers elder than Cæsar. The author <sup>e</sup> of the book *De Mundo*, which goes commonly under the name of Aristotle, speaks of the British islands, and distinguishes between Albion and Hierna, that is, between England and Ireland. Athenæus <sup>f</sup> tells us, out of Mescchion, that the main-mast of King Hiero's great ship was found by a swine-herd in the mountains of Britain, and by Phi-

<sup>b</sup> Usserii Britan. Eccl. Primordia. See also Lewis's British history. <sup>c</sup> Hist. lib. xi. <sup>d</sup> De Nat. Rer. lib. iii. <sup>e</sup> Aristot. opera, tom. ii. p. 206. edit. Aurel. Allobrog. 1606, <sup>f</sup> Deipnosophist.

as Tauromenites conveyed into Sicily; and Solinus<sup>a</sup> speaks of an altar engraven with Greek characters, which Ulysses met with in Caledonia. It is not easy to conceive how so remote a country should be so well known in those times, if the Britons had not both power and commerce by sea. But, to put this matter out of dispute, the learned Mr. Selden<sup>b</sup> owns himself convinced even by Cæsar's writings, that the ancient Britons had a considerable sea force; which he conceives was either weakened, or totally destroyed in the defeat which Cæsar gave to the Veneti, to whose assistance it was sent.

Having thus shewn, that, for any thing the critics know to the contrary, the facts preserved by our British historians may be at least in some measure true, I shall proceed to mention those that are for my purpose, insisting on such arguments as offer themselves in support of these transactions; there being, as I conceive, as much honour to be acquired from the retrieving truth out of our fabulous stories, as in extracting it from Greek poets, or from oriental authors; which has, however, been the business of most of the greatest men famed for learning amongst us. This I say, not to lessen their reputation, or raise my own, but out of a design to vindicate that of my country; by shewing that the inhabitants of this island have always been, what I hope they always will be, lords of those seas which surround it.

The first naval expedition, celebrated by British writers,<sup>c</sup> that of the planting this island by Brito, or Brute<sup>d</sup>, of which there is a large, and, in many of its circumstances, no doubt, a fabulous account in Geoffrey of Monmouth<sup>e</sup>; but that the story had a ground of truth, may be easily proved. That this island was inhabited as early as this expedition is placed, appears from the trade of the Phenicians, and from its being so populous at the time of Cæsar's invasion. That the story of Brute was no invention of Geoffrey's, is clear, from our having the same account in Henry of Huntingdon<sup>f</sup>, who did not borrow from him; and in Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>g</sup>, who though he

<sup>a</sup> Polyhist. cap. 35.

<sup>b</sup> Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 2.

<sup>c</sup> A. A. C.

1195.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Brit. lib. i. Alured. Beverl. Annal lib. i. p. 10, 11, 12.

<sup>e</sup> Ric. Viti. Hist. Britan. lib. i.

<sup>f</sup> Proem. Hist. & in Epist. ad Guarin.

<sup>g</sup> Cambrie Descriptio, cap. 7. apud Camden. Angl. Norman, &c.

condemns the British history published by Geoffrey of Monmouth, yet in the same breath asserts the story of Beute; and, which is still more to the purpose, from the authority of Saxon writers, whose testimony, in this case, is of unquestionable credit. As to the objection, that foreign writers knew nothing of this, it may in some measure be removed, by observing, that, as they give very bad accounts of their own originals, we need not either wonder at, or regret, their giving none of ours. Besides this, Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>a</sup> takes notice, that part of the flying Trojans landed in Gaul, whence, our ancient history says, they came hither. If so, then they possessed this island in right of their naval power; which dominion, as it began in them, so it shall be our principal business to shew it has by their posterity been ever since maintained.

One of the most early exploits after this, was that of King Belinus<sup>o</sup>, who is said to have taken the king of Denmark prisoner, and to have obliged him to become tributary. Afterwards, passing with his brother Brennus into Gaul<sup>p</sup>, they, with the joint forces of that country and their own, invaded Italy, and sacked Rome; after which<sup>q</sup>, Belinus returned home, and reigned here with great glory. That this story is liable to some exceptions, must be owned; and indeed, what history of so great antiquity is not? but that it is not altogether improbable, appears from hence, that Pausanias<sup>r</sup>, a learned Greek author, speaking of the expedition of the Gauls under Brennus into Greece, says, that they called their order of drawing up squadrons of horse, three in front, *trimarchia*, which is pure British; for *tri*, in that language, signifies three, and *march* a horse. Gorguntius<sup>s</sup>, the son of Belinus, attacked the king of Denmark (which must have been by sea), slew him, and conquered his country<sup>t</sup>. These were the exploits of the inhabitants of the southern part of the isle. As for the Scots, they appear to have had a very considerable naval force, by which they held in subjection all the adjacent isles, long before the coming of Cæsar; and this corroborates the other facts strongly.

The commerce of the Britons could not but be very considerable, even in these early times; for, besides the trade they drove

<sup>a</sup> Hist. lib. xv.      <sup>o</sup> Gal. Mon. Hist. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2. Alured. Beverl. lib. i. p. 16. Vit. Hist. lib. iii.      <sup>p</sup> A. A. C. 388.      <sup>q</sup> A. A. C. 387.  
<sup>r</sup> Lib. x.      <sup>s</sup> Hist. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2.      <sup>t</sup> A. A. C. 375.

with the Carthaginians in the western part of the island<sup>a</sup>, they also trafficked with the northern nations, as appears by the flight of Brennus<sup>b</sup>, when he quarrelled with his brother, to a king of Norway; for it cannot be supposed he would retire to an absolute stranger, or, if he had, that he should so soon return with a potent fleet. Their intercourse with all the maritime provinces of Gaul is indisputable; nor is it a light argument of their perfect acquaintance with the arts and sciences then known, that the youth of those provinces were sent hither for instruction. But what is most to our purpose, and which clearly demonstrates that at this time they had the dominion of their own seas in the most absolute degree, is, what Cæsar himself says<sup>c</sup>, viz. That he could get no information concerning the country, or ports of Britain, because the inhabitants permitted none but merchants to visit their isle, and even restrained those from travelling up into the country. The imposing such rules, shews the power of which they were then possessed.

It is indeed objected, that Cæsar and other ancient authors<sup>d</sup> speak but in mean terms of the British vessels, telling us they were made of wicker covered with hides, which, therefore, were very unfit to have opposed the Roman fleet; and this they suppose to be the reason, that the Britons never assayed to grapple with the Romans at sea. There is, however, nothing solid in this; for one of the reasons why Cæsar inclined to attack Britain, was, because its inhabitants succoured the Gauls both by land and sea; the fleets, therefore, that they sent for this purpose, were certainly stout ships, and not the leathern boats which they used in fishing on their own coasts, and to the use of which the Romans afterwards confined them. The true cause why they did not oppose the Romans by sea, was the previous loss of the best part of their fleet, which they had sent to the assistance of the Veneti<sup>e</sup>. As for the Scots<sup>f</sup>, they were engaged in reducing the isles, which a little before had thrown off their yoke, as their own historian tells us: and, after all, Gildas<sup>g</sup> severely reflects upon this very circumstance of their not drawing together a fleet;

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, Geog. lib. i.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 2.

<sup>c</sup> De Belle

Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 28.

<sup>d</sup> De Bello Civil. lib. i. cap. 54.

<sup>e</sup> Solum Poly-

hist. cap. 35. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv.

<sup>f</sup> Selden. Mare Clausum, lib. ii.

cap. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Johan. de Fordun. Scotichron. lib. ii. cap. 24.

<sup>h</sup> Epist

de Excidio Britan.

which

which would have been absolutely absurd, if he had known the Britons at that time had no ships of war<sup>c</sup>. To sum up all, Cæsar's own relation<sup>c</sup> is sufficient to shew, that there is nothing pressing on this objection, but that the Britons made such a defence as their circumstances would allow, and the nature of his attempt required.

This expedition of Cæsar may seem to fall without the limits of this work, since they contended with him not at sea, but on shore. It was, however, a naval expedition on his side, and undertaken chiefly for the sake of securing the dominion of the sea to the Romans: wherefore I conceive, it will not be thought an unjustifiable digression in me to mention some remarkable circumstances. Cæsar's first expedition<sup>d</sup> from Gaul was with a fleet of eighty ships, and a few galleys, on board of which he embarked two legions<sup>e</sup>. He attempted to land on the opposite coast of Kent, where he found a British army ready to receive him, who behaved so exceedingly well, that even these Roman veterans were astonished, and, contrary to their usual custom, betrayed a dislike to fighting: whence we may justly infer, that this was not the first time the Britons ever had to do with invaders. The emperor Julian<sup>f</sup>, a writer of distinguished parts, introduces Julius as leaping from his ship to encourage his frightened soldiers; but Cæsar himself tells us, that it was the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, who, by this desperate action, encouraged the army to gain the shore, from which, with much difficulty, they drove the British inhabitants<sup>g</sup>. After this, Cæsar encamped on Barham Downs, where he waited a supply; in which, meeting with some disappointment, the Britons again gave him battle, and, as he owns, were repulsed with difficulty enough; inso-much, that, when he had repaired his fleet, he judged it the wisest thing he could do to return to Gaul; and this accordingly he did, and took the farther precaution of embarking his forces at midnight<sup>h</sup>. Happy had it been for the Britons, if, after so glorious a contest for the preservation of their freedom, they had concerted proper measures for giving him as good a reception, in case of his making a second attempt; but they were deficient

<sup>c</sup> De Bello Gallico, lib. v. cap. 2.

<sup>d</sup> A. A. C. 72.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Brit.

lib. iv. cap. 1. Vit. Hist. lib. iv. Cæs. de Bello Gallico, lib. v.

<sup>f</sup> Cæs. ib.

<sup>g</sup> Cæs. de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 25. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 3.

<sup>h</sup> De

Bello Gallico, lib. v. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 5.

in discretion, though not in valour, and quarrelling amongst themselves, Mandubratius, a traitor to his country, fled to Gaul, in order to invite him again<sup>1</sup>.

Cæsar was at that time returned to Rome; but his lieutenants in Gaul were providing a navy according to his directions, which consisted of no less than eight hundred sail, on board of which, when he came back, Cæsar embarked a numerous army for Britain. He landed as before in Kent<sup>2</sup>, without meeting any resistance, the Britons being astonished at the sight of ten times the force with which they had before contested. The Romans marched as far as the river Stoure, where, in a short space, the British monarch Caswallan engaged them with a formidable army. In this battle, the Romans forced their enemies to retreat; but in the evening, the Britons boldly attacked the Roman camp, and, when they found themselves unable to keep it, charged quite through the forces appointed to defend it, and recovered their fastnesses. Cæsar marching forwards toward the Thames, Caswallan caused the ford where he was to pass to be stuck full of sharp stakes, remaining with his army on the opposite shore, in order to have taken advantage of that confusion this contrivance must have occasioned; but the design was betrayed, and Cæsar passed somewhat higher. The place, however, retains the name of Coway Stakes, near Oatlands, and is another proof that the Britons knew how to exert their force by land and by water. After this, Caswallan managed the war without fighting set battles, till Cæsar stormed his capital, which is supposed to have been Verulam, near St. Albans, and that some of the British princes submitted to Cæsar, when he also thought proper to make terms<sup>3</sup>; which Cæsar readily granted him, that he might be rid of this business with honour, which, if we believe his own commentaries, he effected; but we know Asinius Pollio<sup>4</sup> said, those memoirs were written with little accuracy, and small regard to truth; and Suetonius, as to this particular action, tells us, that he was fairly beaten by the Britons<sup>5</sup>; which may derive some credit to what our own histories say of this matter.

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Gallico, lib. v. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> A. A. C. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 8, 11. Vit. Hist. lib. iv. Cæf. de Bello Gallic. lib. v.

<sup>4</sup> Apud Sueton. in vit. Jul. Cæf. cap. 56.

<sup>5</sup> In vit. Jul. Cæf. cap. 25. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. xi. Hor. Epod. vii.

## NAVAL HISTORY

On his return to Rome, Cæsar consecrated to Venus a military ornament, embroidered with British pearl<sup>o</sup>, a circumstance slight in appearance, but of consequence to my purpose, since by this consecration it is intimated, that Cæsar arrogated to himself the dominion of the sea; whence *vincula dare oceanis*, to give laws to the ocean, and *Britannos subjugare*, to subdue the Britons, became convertible terms with subsequent authors, who all endeavour to place Cæsar's British expedition in this; as in far the most glorious light<sup>p</sup>.

Augustus, when he had settled the empire, thought of paying this island a visit<sup>q</sup>, but arriving in Gaul, he heard there of the revolt of the Pannonians, which obliged him to change his design<sup>r</sup>. Seven years after, however, he resumed it, and came again into Gaul, where ambassadors from Britain met him; and, on their promising to pay tribute to him, he desisted a second time<sup>s</sup>. Finding, next year, that they did not keep their words, he prepared a third time for the invasion of Britain; but the inhabitants prevented him, by sending ambassadors, who offered in the capitol, sacrificed to the Roman gods, swore obedience in the temple of Mars, promised to pay tribute duly, and, which is more to our purpose, undertook to yield certain duties for the goods by them exported: which is a plain indication, that the Romans chiefly sought an acknowledgment of naval dominion, or superiority at sea<sup>t</sup>. During the reign of Tiberius, the Britons kept fair with the Romans, by their prudence in this particular; for when some of the soldiers of Germanicus had been wrecked on their coast, they not only received them kindly, but sent them back to him safely. Thus these wise emperors maintained the reputation of the Roman power, without running any further hazards against a people martial in their dispositions, unenervated by luxury, tenacious of liberty, and yet useful as allies<sup>u</sup>.

The felicity of this country was then, as indeed it generally is, owing to the wisdom, courage, and public spirit of its prince. The name of this excellent monarch was Cunobeline, who reigned many years, and with great reputation; but in the lat-

<sup>o</sup> Solin. Polyhist. cap. 54. tom. iv. <sup>q</sup> A. A. C. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Selden. Marc Clausum, p. 1288. int. oper. <sup>r</sup> Hor. Carm. lib. 1. od. 35. <sup>s</sup> A. D. 8.

<sup>t</sup> Langhorn's introduction to the history of England, p. 83. <sup>u</sup> Hor. lib. iii. od. 5.

<sup>v</sup> Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

ter part of his life, there fell out a misfortune in his family, which proved fatal to his subjects. One of his sons, whom the Latin writers call Adminius, behaved so ill, that his father was obliged to banish him; and he, like an abandoned traitor, repaired to Caligula, who had succeeded Tiberius in the empire, and excited him to invade his country in his worthless quarrel \*. Nothing could be more welcome to that vain, and yet pusillanimous prince, than this application: he, therefore, made such preparations, as if he really intended to subdue the whole island †. But weighing very maturely the danger of such an enterprize, resolved to content himself with an imaginary conquest. He sent the letters of Adminius to the Roman senate, as testimonies of the submission of the Britons; he built a mighty watch-tower upon the coast fronting Norfolk, as a monument of his pretended subjugation of the Britons, which, in after times, served for a kind of Pharos, and was called in the language of the natives *Brittenhuis*, i. e. *Domus Britannica*, the British house; and, to complete all, he drew down his army to the sea-shore, and having disposed them in battalia, he then commanded them to fill their helmets with cockle and other shells, calling them the spoils of the ocean, due to the capitol, and to the palace ‡; which act of his, though it sufficiently spoke his vanity, yet it farther demonstrates, that the dominion of Britain and the empire of the ocean were held to be the same thing: and the greater Caligula's folly was, in thus arrogating to himself a victory he had never acquired, the more glorious we must imagine that conquest would have been, the very notion of which made him so vain. Cunobeline did not long outlive this emperor; yet he was so happy as to die before the Romans set foot as enemies again in Britain.

He was succeeded by his son, whom the British writers style Gwyder †, a brave and generous prince, of whom the Latin historians say nothing; because the Romans reaped no great honour by their wars against him. He, in the very beginning of his reign, refused to pay them tribute, on account that some fugitives, who fled to the Romans, had not been delivered up; which shews that the Britons were incapable of tamely bearing

\* Vit. Hist. lib. iv. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 2.      † A. D. 41.      ‡ Vit. Hist. lib. iv.      Sueton. in Calig. cap. 44.      Oros. lib. vii. cap. 5.      \* Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 12.

injuries, even from the lords of the world. Among these fugitives was one Bericus, a man of parts, but a traitor; he encouraged the Emperor Claudius to think of invading and subduing Britain <sup>a</sup>. Accordingly he sent over his lieutenants, who began and prosecuted the war with success, and afterwards crossing the sea himself, subdued a great part of South Britain <sup>b</sup>, through the valour of his legions, and the intestine divisions of the Britons, who, had they been united, would undoubtedly have compelled him to quit the island <sup>c</sup>. For this conquest the emperor triumphed, and his lieutenant A. Plautius was allowed an ovation. On account of this victory he was complimented, by the poets of his time, as the conqueror of the ocean, and the sovereign of the sea. Suetonius <sup>d</sup> tells us, that among the spoils of his enemies, he placed a naval crown by the civic, in testimony of his having vanquished the ocean; and Seneca the tragedian celebrates this victory in the following lines <sup>e</sup>; which at once express how high an idea was then entertained of so extraordinary a discovery, and how much glory was supposed to arise from this maritime victory.

*En, qui Britannis primus imposuit jugum,  
Ignota tantis classibus texit freta.*

By him first vanquish'd, were the Britons shown,  
And Roman navies sail'd thro' seas unknown.

Yet we must not suppose, notwithstanding these pompous marks of conquest, that the Britons were absolutely subdued; the contrary of this appears plainly from the British histories; and not obscurely even from the Roman writers. Arviragus, who is supposed to have been the youngest son of Cunobeline, inherited the virtues, as well as the dominions of his father, and after long harassing the Romans as an enemy, consented at last, upon honourable terms, to become their friend. That this martial monarch had rendered himself exceedingly formidable to Rome, might, if all other proofs of it were lost, be deduced from the following passage in Juvenal, where, bitterly inveigh-

<sup>a</sup> Matt. Westm. ad A. D. 44.  
<sup>b</sup> In Claud. cap. 17.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 45.

<sup>d</sup> In vit. Claud. cap. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Dio. Hist. lib. lx. Sueton.  
<sup>f</sup> In Octavia.

ing against the gluttony of Domitian, he introduces one predicting, from the taking of an overgrown turbot<sup>f</sup>;

*Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno*

*Excidit Arviragus.—*

Some king you'll take, or from the British throne  
Shall proud Arviragus come tumbling down.

The irony of this passage could not have been sharp or cutting, if this British king had not been a very potent prince, and one whose reputation was at once thoroughly established, and universally known.

Thus are we imperceptibly fallen as low as the reign of Domitian; yet some passages there are remarkable enough to oblige us to return to the mention of those reigns, which intervene between his and that of Claudius. The glorious enterprize of Boadicea, who, in the time of Nero, attempted and almost atchieved the driving the Romans entirely out of Britain, having no relation to maritime affairs, falls not within my province. Under the reign of Vespasian, who had himself commanded with great reputation in this island<sup>g</sup>, Julius Agricola was sent to preside here<sup>h</sup>. He was a wise governor, as well as an excellent officer, signalized himself in the beginning of his administration, by the reduction of Mona, or Anglesey<sup>i</sup>, with the assistance, however, of British troops, who passed the narrow arm of the sea, which divides that island from Britain, on horseback, and thereby surprized the inhabitants, so that they were vanquished, as much at least by fear as by force. Under the reign of Titus, Agricola projected a noble scheme; that of fixing and securing the bounds of the Roman empire in Britain, so as to defend its subjects from the inroad of the barbarous nations inhabiting the northern part of the island<sup>k</sup>. I speak this in conformity to the language of the authors from whose relations I write, and not with any intention of blemishing the reputation of those gallant people, who so worthily defended their liberty against the Romans. In the prosecution of this design, Agricola advanced farther north than any of his prede-

<sup>f</sup> Sat. iv. Hist. Britan. lib. iv. cap. 14. Vit. Hist. lib. iv. See also Lewis's British history, and Cooper's chronicle, fol. 96. <sup>g</sup> Tacit. in Agric. <sup>h</sup> A. C.

72. <sup>i</sup> Idem, ibid. Vit. Hist. lib. iv.

<sup>k</sup> Tacit. in Agric.

cessors had hitherto done<sup>1</sup>; and observing that two estuaries, or intruding arms of the sea, almost cut in sunder one part of the island from the other, he resolved to fortify this isthmus, and thereby shut out the Scots and Picts, which he accordingly performed<sup>2</sup>. In Latin authors these arms of the sea are called *Gleta* and *Bodotria*, which most of our writers render the friths of Dunbritton and Edinburgh; but they are with greater propriety styled the friths of Clyde and of Forth.

Having thus secured the Roman province from all danger, he began to make the necessary dispositions for invading Ireland, as well as for examining and subduing the remaining part of Britain. With this view he fitted out a considerable fleet, and ordered it to sail northwards, looking into all the creeks and bays, in order to gain an exact knowledge of the coast, while himself and the army marched forward by land: this exceedingly alarmed the northern nations, who, as the Roman writers observe, gave all for lost, now the secrets of their sea were discovered. The Caledonians defended themselves with great obstinacy against Agricola, but with indifferent success; and, in the mean time, were terribly harassed by the fleet, which put now into one port, then into another, and at length surrounded the island, and, if we may believe the Roman authors<sup>3</sup>, subdued the Orchades, or islands of Orkney<sup>4</sup>. However, it is certain, that after having completed their design, this navy returned to the Portus Trutulensis, or, as it ought rather to be read, Rutupensis, which is conceived to be Richborough near Sandwich. This expedition gained great honour to Julius Agricola, and was looked upon, in those days, as a most heroic act; the boundaries of Britain being esteemed, by the Romans, the very utmost limits of the world, as appears plainly from the accounts we have in Tacitus: and if any doubts remain as to his impartiality, since Agricola was his near relation, we may put the fact out of dispute, by citing what Juvenal says on the same topic<sup>5</sup>.

——— *Arma quidem ultra*  
*Littora Juverna promovimus, et modo captas*  
*Orcadæ, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.*

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 85.  
<sup>2</sup> See, ii.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> A. D. 71.

We fame beyond Juverna<sup>a</sup> have purfu'd,  
 And ev'n the diftant Orkneys have fubdu'd;  
 Our forces now remotest Britons fright,  
 In northern climes content with little night.

History informs us, that this expedition of Agricola was in the fummer, which accounts for the laft line, fince in that feafon the Romans certainly found the days very long in the northern part of the ifle; whence they concluded that the inhabitants were content with a flender proportion of reft: which feems to be the true meaning of their being fatisfied with a fhort night. The tyrant Domitian taking umbrage at the great exploits of this excellent perfon, recalled him to Rome, and there removed him by poifon<sup>c</sup>.

Under the reigns of the fucceeding emperors, Nerva and Trajan, there happened little of confequence in this ifland; but the emperor Adrian, who fucceeded Trajan, underftanding that the northern nations made frequent incurfions into the Roman province, came over hither; and, after gaining frequent advantages over them, he refolved to take the fame method which Agricola had formerly done of bounding the frontier province by a wall, or military entrenchment; which he accordingly caft up, and, as the manner of thofe times was, ftrongly fortified<sup>d</sup>. This wall is faid to have extended about eighty Italian miles, from Eden in Cumberland to Tyne in Northumberland; though others fay, it was from Gabrosentum, now Gateshead, or Gatehead, in the bifhopric of Durham to Carliffe, thereby abandoning a tract of country, feventy miles long and one hundred and forty broad, to the Scots and Picts; yet on his return to Rome, he caufed a new coin to be ftruck, whereon he is ftyled the Reftorer of Britain<sup>e</sup>. In the reign of Antonius Pius, one Lollius Urbicus acted as his lieutenant in Britain, who was very fuccefsful in his wars againft the northern nations<sup>f</sup>, and who, having driven them beyond the friths of Clyde and Forth, re-edified Agricola's wall, and reftored the Roman province to its full extent<sup>g</sup>. About this time Sejus Saturninus was archigubernus of the Roman fleet here<sup>h</sup>; but whether we are to un-

<sup>a</sup> Ireland. <sup>b</sup> Tacit. in vit. Agric. <sup>c</sup> A. D. 113. <sup>d</sup> Dio hift. lib. lxxix. Spartian in vit. Adrian cap. 22. Bed. lib. i. cap. 5. <sup>e</sup> Jul. Capitolin. in vit. Anton.  
<sup>f</sup> A. D. 141. <sup>g</sup> Pandect. lib. xvi. tit. ad. fenatusconsult. Trebellian.

derstand thereby, that he was admiral, or arch-pilot; is doubtful. In succeeding times, the Scots and Picts recovered the country they had lost, and gained so many advantages over the Romans, that the Emperor Severus came hither in person, and with infinite difficulty, repulsed these invaders<sup>a</sup>, losing no less than fifty thousand men in the war; and at last was content to re-edify Adrian's wall, which he fortified with strong towers or bulwarks, assuming thereupon the surname of Britannicus Maximus<sup>b</sup>. He died at York, and, his body being burnt at Ackham, there is still to be seen a great mount of earth raised upon that occasion, and called by the inhabitants Sever's hill<sup>b</sup>.

In the succeeding distractions of the Roman empire, Britain, like the rest of its provinces, fell into the hands of various masters, styled, by their adherents, emperors, and by the rest of the world, tyrants. Amongst these, there is one who deserves to be remembered in this history; since, how bad soever his title might be, he made a good prince to the Britons, and, which is still more to our purpose, carried the maritime power of this country so high, as not only to vindicate his own independency, but also to strike a terror into the whole Roman empire: it is true, many historians treat him as an usurper, a thing that appears to be a little hard; since those they style emperors had no other title than what they derived from fighting on land, which seems to afford him some colour of right, in virtue of his power by sea. But, be that as it will, his history is sufficient to shew, that the Britons in the Roman provinces were, at this time, remarkable for their skill in naval affairs, and were able to equip such fleets as made them terrible to their neighbours.

Dioclesian and Maximian having shared the empire between them, the latter, who possessed the western parts, finding the coasts much harassed by pirates of several nations, but chiefly Saxons and Franks, made choice of one Caius Carausius<sup>c</sup>, a man of known valour, to command the Roman fleet for scouring the seas. Most writers say, that this man was a Menapian by birth, and of very mean descent<sup>d</sup>: certain Scottish authors

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 210.

<sup>b</sup> Herod. lib. iii. Spartian. in Severo. Dio. histor. lib.

lxxvi.

<sup>c</sup> Vit. hist. lib. v. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 16. Eutrop. lib. viii. Bed. lib. v. cap. 5. Langhorn's introduction to the History of England, p. 123.

<sup>d</sup> A. D. 288.

<sup>e</sup> Nennius apud Camden. in Rem. Britan. Aurel. Victor. cap. 39.

claim

claim him for their countryman<sup>c</sup>, and with great appearance of truth. This charge he executed with equal courage and conduct; but, as the Roman historians alledge, not so honourably as he ought; yet, if we consider his future actions, and that these writers were the creatures of those emperors against whom he fought, we may safely doubt, whether the character they give Carausius ought to prejudice him in our opinions. They tell us, that, instead of chastising the pirates as his duty directed, he too frequently admitted them to composition, and, finding this policy discovered, he had recourse to another, neglecting to take them, till they had enriched themselves by a multitude of prizes, and then seizing them with their ill-got wealth, applied it to his own use. Maximian, informed of these practises, conceived a suspicion of his intending to set up for himself; which scheme, if this officer really had in his head, he furthered by endeavouring to prevent it. The method he took, was, by commissioning a person to assassinate Carausius; which failing, this cunning commander improved to his advantage; for, crossing with a strong squadron of ships over into Britain, he there persuaded a great part of the Roman army, and the Britons in general, to embrace his party, and so assuming the purple robe, he declared himself emperor, and maintained that dignity against all the power with which his rivals could oppose him. Besides this island, he held the port of Gesoriacum, now Bulloigne in France, and the adjacent coast, whence he so harassed Gaul, Italy, and Spain, by his fleets, that, however averse Maximian might be to such a partner, he was at length compelled to purchase peace, by owning this man for emperor in Britain; and there are still extant some of his coins, having on one side his head, with this inscription, IMP. CARAUSIUS, P. F. AUG. On the reverse, the portraiture of two emperors joining hands, alluding to this agreement with Maximian. This coin is of silver, and found no where but in Britain<sup>f</sup>.

However he acquired the empire, it is on all hands agreed, that he held it very worthily; for he governed the Britons with great justice and equity, maintained the dominion of the sea against all competitors with much resolution; and, when the nor-

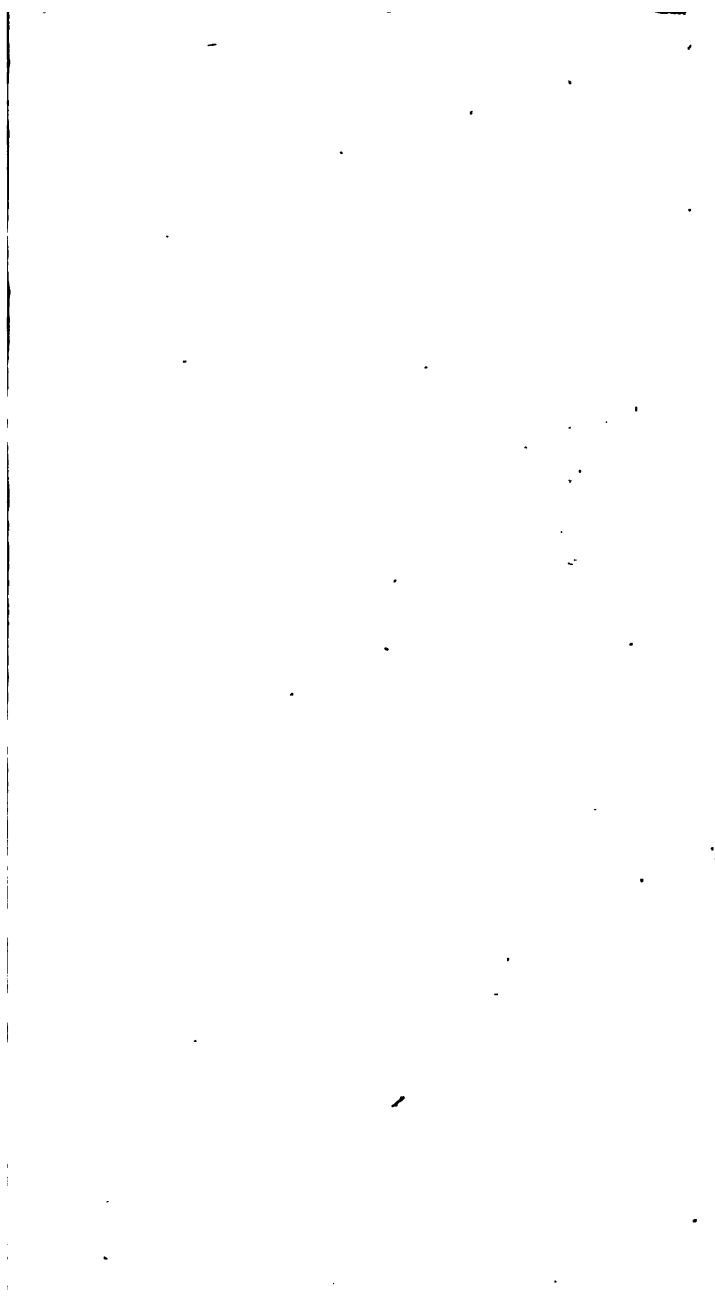
<sup>c</sup> Fordun. Scotichronicon. lib. ii. cap. 38. See Dr. Stukeley's medallic history of Carausius.

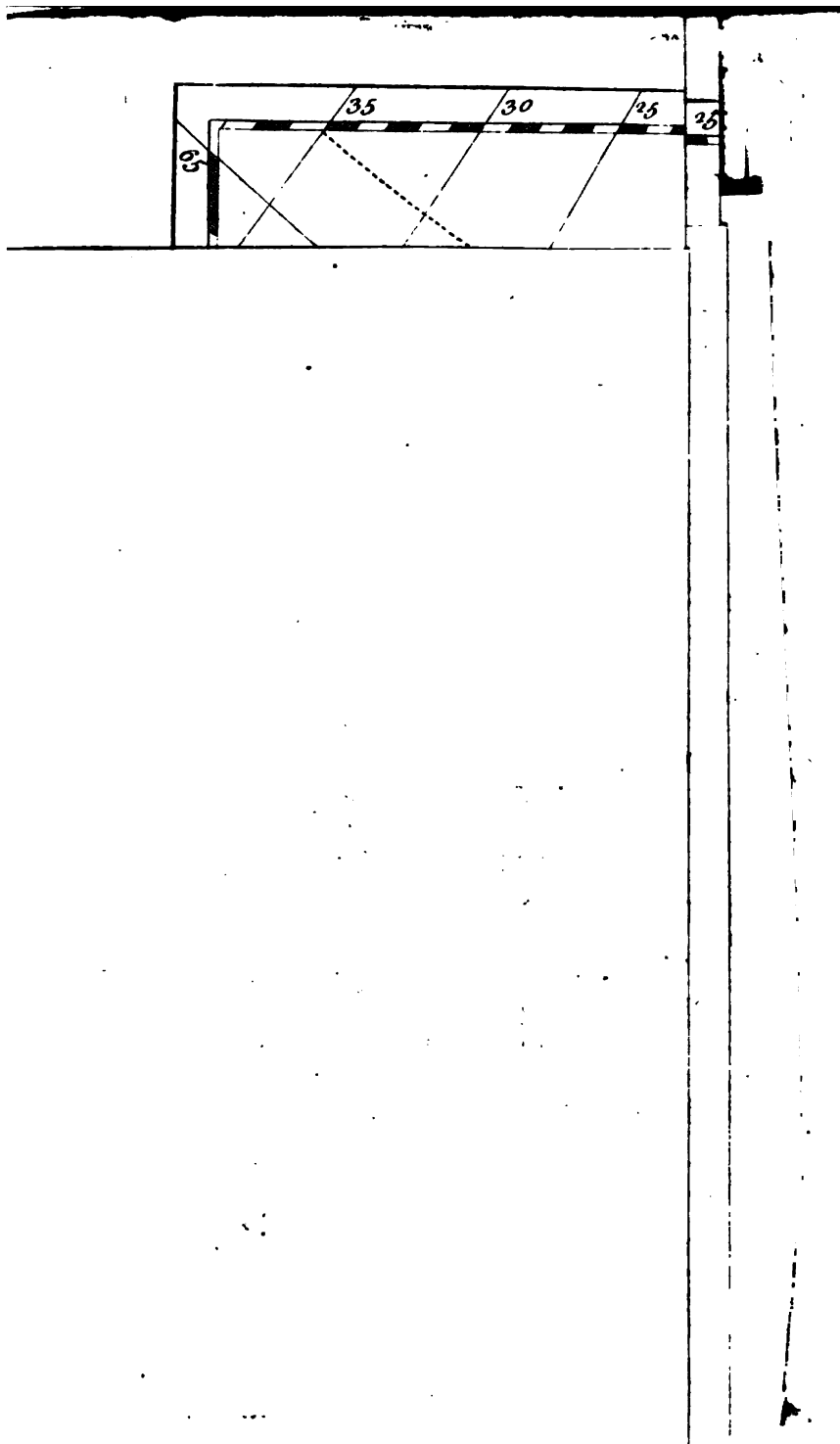
<sup>f</sup> Eutrop. lib. ix. Bed. hist. lib. i. cap. 6. Aurel. Victor. in Cæsarib. Speed's chronicle, p. 254.

thern nations, that is to say, the Scots and Picts, began to vex his subjects with incursions, he made war upon them, and, having beat them in many engagements, he recovered all that the Romans had ever held in Britain, and, as some say, erected, as a mark of his conquest, that celebrated monument of antiquity, called Arthur's Oven; though others affirm this to be a temple of the god Terminus, and erected by another hand. When he had thus signalized his courage and conduct at their expence, he made peace with these nations, wisely foreseeing that he should, some time or other, stand in need of their assistance against the Roman emperors, who he knew waited only for a favourable opportunity of disclosing their hatred against him<sup>a</sup>. He took care likewise by all means possible to increase his fleet; and, which shews him to be a very politic prince, he negociated a treaty with the Franks, and other nations, who were seated on the Thracian Bosphorus, and who were become famous for their power at sea; whereby it was stipulated, that they should send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, which, passing through the streights of Gibraltar, should join his navy in the British seas, and act in conjunction against the Romans. This, certainly, is a transaction worthy of being recorded in our naval history, unless we have so far lost the spirit of our ancestors, as to be proud rather of being slaves to Rome, than of contesting the sovereignty of the sea with that haughty people.

The Romans, justly alarmed at so formidable a confederacy, which in an instant deprived them of any safe passage by sea, began to provide for putting a speedy end to this war. In order to this, Constantius and Maximian both applied themselves to raising forces by sea and land. The former undertook to march with an army into the territory possessed by the enemy in Gaul; while the latter, from the naval magazines on the Rhine, fitted out a fleet of a thousand sail. While this was doing, Constantius besieged Carausius in Bulloigne, who, having the sea open, defended himself without much trouble, and thereby convinced his enemies, that, while he held this advantage, their siege would be so little purpose; but Constantius having found a way to block up the port by a work of a new contrivance, Carausius

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Brit. lib. v. cap. 3. Vit. hist. lib. v. Fordun. Scotchchronicon, lib. ii. cap. 17, 38, 39. Bed. lib. i, cap. 6.





had no means of safety left but breaking through the Roman camp, with a few gallant followers. This he performed in a dark night; and, embarking in a small ship, crossed over to Britain, where he had a strong fleet and a powerful army. He quickly repented of this wrong step, when he was informed, that the very night after his departure, the sea had carried away all the works of the Romans, and left the port open. The next thing Constantius did, was to draw together all the ships that could be had from every part of his dominions; and having stationed strong squadrons on the coast of Britain, Spain, and Gaul, to prevent Carausius from joining his confederates, he sailed in person with the rest of his fleet through the streights of Gibraltar, to meet the Franks, whom he defeated so absolutely, and pursued his victory so closely, that there was not a man of them left<sup>a</sup>. In the interim Carausius employed his time in preparing the best he could for the defence of Britain; but one Allectus, a considerable officer in his service, and whom he had always treated as an intimate friend, supposing that his death would put him in possession of all his power, treacherously murdered him, when he had reigned seven years, and then assumed the purple<sup>b</sup>.

This Allectus was far from having either the capacity or the fortune of his predecessor, though all our historians agree, that he kept his dominions and his forces. He was for some time superior in power at sea; but he employed that superiority rather as a pirate than as a prince, sending out his squadrons to spoil the adjacent coasts of Gaul, and to interrupt the trade of all the Roman provinces. Constantius saw this with impatience, but, at the same time, took all the necessary precautions for putting an end to it. At length he found himself strong enough to fight Allectus by sea, and, with this view, sailed from the coast of Gaul towards that of Britain. Allectus, with a navy no way inferior to his, lay then at the Isle of Wight, whence, on the first intelligence of the departure of the Roman fleet, he stood to sea, in order to intercept it; but it so happened, that Constantius, by means of a fog, passed him, and landed safely in Britain; which he had no sooner done, than, from a foresight that

<sup>a</sup> Eutrop. lib. ix. Bed. lib. i. cap. 6. Orof. lib. vii. cap. 25. Paul. Diac. lib. x. cap. 41. Aurel. Vict. cap. 39. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. xi. c. p. 40.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 294.

the British fleet would infallibly beat him in a fair sea-fight, he caused his ships to be set on fire that his soldiers might have no hopes of escaping but by beating their enemies. Allectus quickly returned to Britain, and put himself at the head of a small body of troops; but perceiving that the hearts of the people were entirely alienated from him, and that he was thereby become inferior on land to those over whom he had a superiority at sea, he grew in a manner distracted; and, engaging rashly with Asclepiodotus, who commanded a party of Roman troops, his forces were routed, and himself having thrown away his purple robe, after a desperate defence, was slain<sup>k</sup>. He held the empire, or rather bore the title of emperor, about three years; and there is yet extant a gold coin of his with this inscription, IMP. C. ALLECTUS, P. P. AVG. On the reverse, SALVS AVG<sup>l</sup>. He seems to have lost himself by his rashness; for he certainly fought before the main body of the troops came up. These consisted of foreigners of all nations, drawn to his service from the hopes of pay, and who, as soon as they knew of his misfortune, resolved to satisfy their expectations by plundering those they came to preserve. With this view they possessed themselves of London; but, as they entered the city, a new mischance befel them. Part of the Roman army, severed from the grand fleet at sea by the mist before-mentioned, landed at the mouth of the Thames, and entered the city immediately after them. Upon this an engagement ensued, wherein the foreigners were defeated, and cut to pieces; their commander, whose name was Galus, endeavouring to save himself by flight, was pushed into, and drowned in a little brook, called from thence, in the British tongue, Nant-Gall, and by the Saxons, Walbrook<sup>m</sup>.

In succeeding times, when the government of the Roman empire came to be better settled, proper officers were appointed for maintaining both civil and military government in Britain; but, above all, due care was taken of naval affairs, and garrisons were placed in various parts, and particularly at those which follow, viz. Othona, which Camden took to be Hastings in Sussex; Dubris, which certainly was Dover; Lem-

<sup>k</sup> A. D. 296. <sup>l</sup> Aurel. Victor, in Cæsarib. Eutrop. ubi. supra. Fumen. Paneg. Constant. Cæsar. Speed's chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's history of Britain, p. 120. <sup>m</sup> Hist. Britan. lib. v. cap. iv. Vir. Hist. lib. v. Camden. Descript. Britan. in Trinobant. Speed's Chronicle, p. 255. Lewis's History of Britain, p. 120.

manis, which was either Hythe in Kent, or some place near it, perhaps Lime-hill; Branodunum, Branchester, in Norfolk, not far from the wathes; Gariannonum, Yarmouth; Regulbium, Reculver in Kent; Rittupis or Rittupe, Richborough near Sandwich; Anderia, Newenden in Kent; and the port of the Adurni, now Alkrington or Ederington, near Shoreham in Sussex<sup>o</sup>.

Constantine the Great, as he was born in this island, so he was extremely careful of its concerns<sup>o</sup>. On his death, and the division of the empire among his sons, it fell to the share of Constantine the eldest. After his murder, his younger brothers, Constantius and Constans, were both here, and Gratianus was by them made general of Britain<sup>p</sup>. The emperor Julian sent over Lupicinus to repress the Scots, in which he was very successful<sup>q</sup>. Under the emperors Valentinianus and Valens, Theodosius performed great things in this island, and, having recovered the country between the two walls, he erected it into a province by itself, and called it Valentia<sup>r</sup>. After this, Maximus was general of the Roman forces in this island, who, having vanquished the Scots and Picts, was declared emperor by his army<sup>s</sup>. He, carrying on great wars on the continent, transported thither the flower of the British youth, which was one principal cause of the misfortune that befel his country; for after a reign of six years, he was vanquished, and put to death in Italy; and so Britain returned to the obedience of the Roman emperors<sup>t</sup>. The emperor Theodosius sent over Chrysanthus, who governed here very worthily all the time of his reign<sup>u</sup>. In the nonage of the emperor Honorius, new disturbances were created by the Scots and Picts, which induced Stilico, who was the emperor's guardian, to send Victorinus to command here, who having expelled the invaders, re-fortified the wall, and placed a legion in garrison to defend it; the same worthy person took care also to restore the maritime force of the island, whereby he secured it from the insults of those piratical nations, who now began to infest the sea. Claudian, in his panegyric on Stilico, attributes all this to him, because done by his order, and by an

<sup>o</sup> Selden. Mare Clausum. lib. ii. cap. 6, 7.

<sup>o</sup> Zosim. Europ. vit. hist. lib.

vi. <sup>p</sup> Pauli Diaconi hist. lib. xi. cap. 18. Victor in Valentin. Ammian. Marcellini hist. lib. xiv.

<sup>q</sup> Bed. lib. i. cap. 1. Ammian. Marcellini, lib. 22.

<sup>r</sup> Idem, lib. xxvii. Claudian de bello Getico, & in laud. Theodosii <sup>s</sup> A. D. 381.

<sup>t</sup> Zosim. hist. lib. iv. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. ii. cap. 42.

<sup>u</sup> Pomponius Latrus in Theodosio.

officer acting under his authority: for thus he introduces the  
 isle of Britain speaking to his patron <sup>7</sup>.

*Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,  
 Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iernon  
 Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetis.  
 Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem  
 Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, ne littore toto  
 Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis <sup>7</sup>.*

Me too, by neighbours when almost devour'd,  
 Thou, Stilico, sustain'd—tho' Ireland pour'd  
 Her Scots abroad, and cover'd all the sea  
 With hostile fleets.—But now, restor'd by thee,  
 Those Scots, tho' join'd with Picts, I fear no more,  
 Nor dread each changing wind should bring the Saxons o'er.

But when Alarick the Goth made his first irruption into Italy, Victorinus with his legion was recalled out of Britain<sup>a</sup>; and the affairs of the empire falling continually from bad to worse, the Roman forces he left behind thought themselves at liberty to elect, in conjunction with the Britons, a prince of their own, or as the phrase was in those times, an emperor. Accordingly they chose and murdered two in less than six months<sup>b</sup>; then they set up one Constantine merely for his name's sake<sup>c</sup>, who in a short time aspired to greater things than the bare dominion of Britain. On this account, he, like his predecessor Maximus, assembled the utmost force of the island, and passed therewith over into Gaul, where by the help of these forces and his fleet, he performed many great things, till the Emperor Honorius made war against, and subdued him<sup>d</sup>. The Britons, in the mean time, were brought to the last extremity by the Scots and Picts; insomuch that the remainder of the Romans, giving the country for lost, at least for the present, buried their treasures, and transported themselves to other parts<sup>d</sup>. However, even after this, on their humble application to Honorius, Ætius, general of the forces in Gaul, had orders to send over a legion; which he

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 396.      <sup>7</sup> Paneg. secund. de laud. Stilic.      <sup>z</sup> Camden Roman. Bri. an. Gulielm. Malmesbur. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 1.      <sup>a</sup> Zof. hist. lib. iv. Bed. lib. i. cap. 9.      <sup>b</sup> A. D. 407.      <sup>c</sup> Beda. lib. i. cap. 1. 708.      lib. xi. cap. 13. Gros. lib. vii. cap. 42.      <sup>d</sup> Chron. Saxon. ad ann. 418.

did,

did, and repeated the same favour some years afterwards<sup>e</sup>. This last legion was commanded by one Gallio, who, having repaired, or rather rebuilt the wall originally raised by Severus, and fortified the coast against the sudden invasions of the pirates who then infested the British seas, plainly told the people, that the affairs of the empire would not permit them to pass over any more, but that for the future they must think of defending themselves as well as they could: and after many exhortations to behave with constancy and courage in the cause of their country, he embarked all the Roman troops<sup>f</sup>, and left the Britons to their fortunes<sup>g</sup>.

Thus, about four hundred and eighty years, according to the computation of the learned Selden, or four hundred and seventy, as the Saxon chronicle informs us, after the first invasion of this island by Julius Cæsar, the Romans quitted it, and all the rights they could pretend to<sup>h</sup>. For, this being a voluntary abdication, nothing can be plainer, than that they left the Britons as free as they found them. And as it is evident, that this nation exercised the dominion over the circumambient seas before the coming of the Romans, who likewise contended, that the possession of this island gave them a title to the like sovereignty, nothing can be more apparent than that it now reverted to the Britons. I say, nothing can be more evident, if we admit that the Romans acquired any right by conquest; which may seem doubtful, since they never subdued the whole island; and if so, the British title to this dominion remained unimpeached. We are next to inquire, what the effects were of this desertion of the isle by the Romans, and in what situation the naval affairs of the Britons remained, when they were thus left to themselves. A difficult task indeed, considering the dubious authority of the authors whom we are to use; but a task necessary to be performed; since, as the dominion of the sea must have rested some where, we shall do our best to shew it rested with them.

The Scots and Picts no sooner understood that the Britons were abandoned by the Romans, than they began to form designs not only of pillaging, as they were wont to do, the sou-

<sup>e</sup> Pauli Diaconi hist. miscel. lib. xiv.

<sup>f</sup> A. D. 430.

<sup>g</sup> Bed. lib. i.

cap. 12. Gildas de excid. Britan. Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. iii. cap. 12. Zosim. hist. lib. v. Chron. Saxon. 2d ann. 435.

<sup>h</sup> Marc Claufum, lib. ii. cap. 9.

thern part of the island, but for making an absolute conquest thereof, or at least of a good part of it, which accordingly they attempted with a numerous army, and with a great fleet. The first thing they did, was to demolish the wall, that it might be no obstacle to future incursions<sup>1</sup>; then, landing their forces behind the Britons, they so astonished them with numbers, that they relinquished all thoughts of defence. These inroads having destroyed the chief cities, and interrupted agriculture, a famine ensued, which, however grievous to the Britons in one respect, was yet of service to them in another; for it destroyed multitudes of their enemies, compelled the rest to retreat, and so gave them time to recollect themselves<sup>2</sup>. The issue of their deliberations was the sending over the bishop of London into Armorica, or Brittany, in France, to demand assistance of their brethren settled there; and the reason assigned for this, in the British history, is very just and reasonable; for the bishop was charged to represent the chief cause of their weakness, to be the planting of that country, by the emperor Maximus, and the leaving there the greatest part of the British navy. This representation had a proper effect upon the king of Brittany; who, though he could not himself pass over to the assistance of his countrymen, yet he sent over his brother Constantine, with a squadron of stout ships, and two thousand men. This Constantine was crowned their king by the Britons, and by them surnamed the Deliverer, because he fought valiantly and successfully against their enemies, and ruled worthily for ten years<sup>3</sup>.

I know very well, that many of our best writers reject this Constantine, and would persuade us, that there never was any such prince; but that the whole is a fiction of the author of the British history. This notion, however, is so thoroughly refuted by a very learned writer, who long studied, and perfectly understood the British records, that I cannot conceive any impartial critic will censure my following his opinion, when they have carefully perused, and duly weighed his reasons<sup>4</sup>: but what chiefly prevailed upon me to follow the British history in

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 433.      <sup>2</sup> Hist. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 3.    Vit. hist. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. lib. 1. Johan. de Fordun. Scotchron. lib. lii. cap. 11.    <sup>3</sup> Hist. Brit. lib. vi. cap. 4, 5.    Vit. hist. lib. vii. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 138.

<sup>4</sup> See Lewis's ancient hist. of Great Britain p. 157.

this point, is, the authority of the Saxon annals, published by the late learned bishop of London. For these annals place the retreat of the Romans in 435, and the coming of the Saxons in 443, which is the very year after this King Constantine died; and though these annals do not mention him, yet, as they tell us nothing of what passed in that interval, I can see no cause why we should not rather follow the account given us by the British authors of things which happened in this space of time, than leave such a chasm in our history, merely because other authors, who, none of them, profess to write of the succession of the British kings, say nothing of this prince. Especially, since the Scots historians own him, and there are other convincing proofs, from British records, of his having really reigned here; though perhaps there may be some error as to the length of his reign.

At the time of his decease he left three sons, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, surnamed Pendragon. Constans, the eldest, was a very weak man, and by his father destined to be a monk; the other two were children. Vortigern, a British nobleman of great power, took Constans out of his monastery, and, to serve his own purposes, made him king. He governed for a time in his name; and, when he thought himself strong enough to rule without him, he caused him to be put to death, and then seized the kingdom: the children of Constantine flying to Brittany<sup>a</sup>. This Vortigern it was, who, as the Saxon authors tell us, invited their countrymen over into Britain. He was, as all writers agree, a very bad prince, who, by his tyrannical government, encouraged the Scots and Picts again to invade the southern parts of the island, and so alienated the minds of his subjects from him, that he durst not rely on their assistance, even for the defence of their country: this is so rational an account of his strong inclination to foreigners, for which he is unanimously upbraided by all our authentic historians, that I cannot doubt its being truth<sup>o</sup>. The first Saxons who arrived, were Horsa and Hengist, two brothers, with their followers; by whose assistance Vortigern repulsed the Scots and Picts, and settled himself effectually in the kingdom. To fix

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 439.      <sup>o</sup> Hist. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 9. Vit. hist. lib. 7. Bed. hist. eccl. lib. i. Gildas de Excidio Britan. O. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. i.

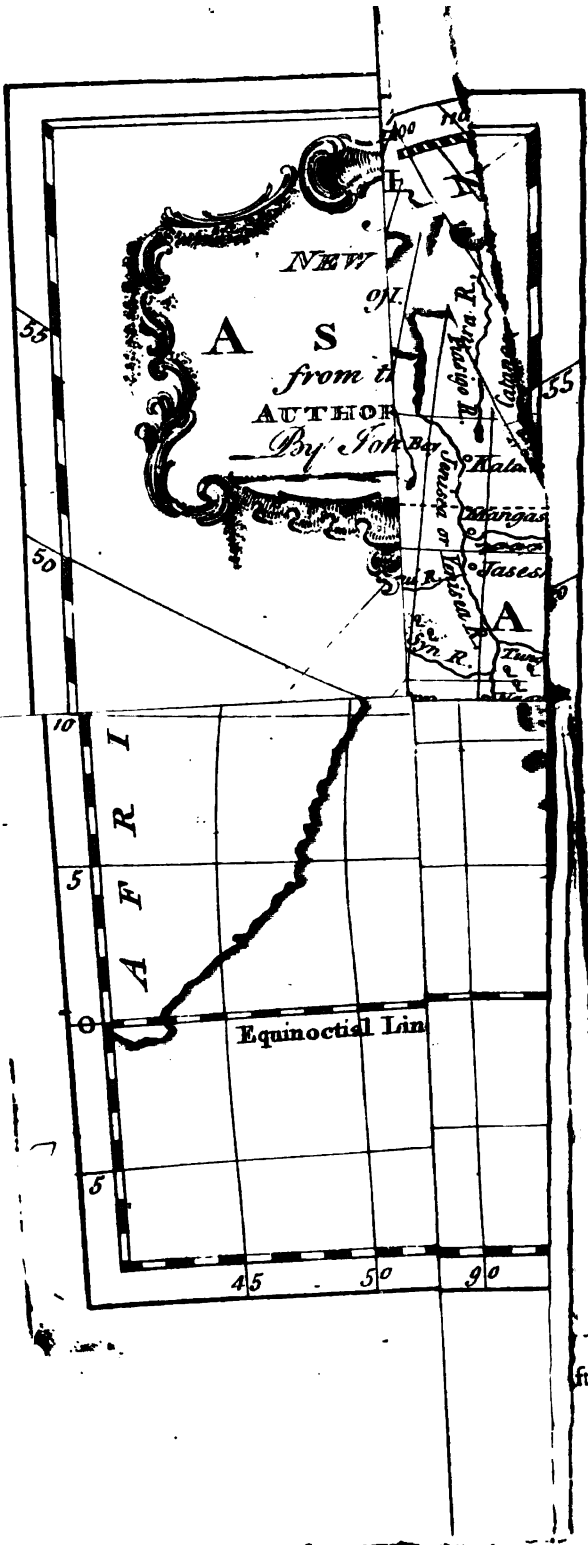
them,

them, without whose assistance his security could not continue here, he gave them lands in Kent, where they landed; as also in the north, after they had beaten his enemies. These Saxons came over in three ships; but, having thriven so well here, Hengist, who was a wise man, prevailed upon the king, first to give him leave to build a castle, and then to bring over a fresh supply of his countrymen, which he accordingly did, in a squadron of eighteen ships. With them came over Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, a very beautiful and artful woman, whom Vortigern married, quitting, for her sake, his former queen, by whom he had three sons; and, inviting over, by her suggestions, a vast number of Saxons, he thereby so irritated the Britons, that they resolved to depose him; which accordingly they did, and set up his son <sup>p</sup>.

The name of this young prince was Vortimer, a brave and worthy man <sup>q</sup>. He immediately raised an army, and, as fast as he could, equipped a fleet, while his degenerate father meanly sided with strangers against his subjects. The British writers say, that Vortimer defeated the Saxons in four battles; the first on the river Derwent; the second at Aylesford, in Kent, where Horsa was slain; the third was on the sea-shore, on the loss of which they fled to the isle of Thanet, where they thought they should have been safe; but Vortimer having now revived the spirits of his subjects, and withal got together a considerable fleet, the Saxons found themselves obliged to try their fortune in a naval engagement, in which they were beaten for the fourth time, and obliged to fly home, leaving their wives and children, behind them in the isle of Thanet, nor had they ever returned if Vortimer had lived; but he was shortly after poisoned, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law <sup>r</sup>. It is true, the Saxon chronicle takes no notice of any of these battles, except that of Aylesford; wherein they say they were victorious, but acknowledge that Horsa was there killed; which concession, with the circumstance of the Saxons never owning they were beat at all, seems to support the credit of the British history.

<sup>p</sup> Chronicon. Saxon. ad. ann. Dom. 449. Wiltchin. de rebus Saxon. lib. i. Hist. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 10, 11, 12. <sup>q</sup> A. D. 463. <sup>r</sup> Hist. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 13, 14. Vit. hist. lib. vii.

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fric

After the death of Vortimer, the Britons unaccountably invited Vortigern again to the throne. He, persisting in his old sentiments, recalled Hengist, who soon brought over such crowds of Saxons, that when the king would have restrained him, it was not in his power; inasmuch, that after some fruitless struggles, he at length fled into Wales, and left the best part of the island to their mercy: and thus, as their own writers agree, not more by their own valour, than by the weakness of an uxorious king, the Saxons first seated themselves in Britain.

In this period of time, Aurelius Ambrosius, the second son of Constantine was become a man; and being invited by the Britons to prosecute his claim to the crown, he got together a good fleet, and embarking thereon ten thousand men, landed at Totness<sup>b</sup>. The first thing he did was to pursue Vortigern, whom he defeated and destroyed; and then turned his arms against the Saxons, whom he defeated also in several battles: and in one of them slew the famous Hengist, either in fight, or, as the British history reports, after he had made him prisoner<sup>c</sup>. It is true, there is no notice taken of this in the Saxon annals; but then they say nothing of what happened in that year; but tell us in the next, that Esca succeeded Hengist, which is a circumstance very favourable to the account which we have given; since, as we before observed, there is no instance of their commemorating any defeat, though in setting down their victories they are very exact. Upon this victory, Aurelius made a peace with the Saxons, and was, not long after, at their instigation poisoned. It is very remarkable, that Paulus Diaconus<sup>d</sup> mentions this British king, and tells us, that by his valour he supported his sinking country.

Uther, surnamed Pendragon, that is, dragon's head, from his bearing the head of a dragon in his ensigns<sup>e</sup>, succeeded his brother, and carried on the war against the Saxons successfully sometimes, and at others was much distressed by them, so that he was constrained to treat them as the French afterwards did the Normans; that is, to yield them provinces, and content himself with homage, instead of absolute sovereignty;

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 481.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Britan. lib. viii. cap. 5, 6, 7. Vit. hist. lib. vii.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Miscel. lib. xvi.

<sup>d</sup> A. D. 502.

and therefore, under his reign, we find several Saxon principalities established in this island. It likewise appears from the Saxon annals, that several battles were fought against the Britons in his reign, though he is never mentioned; because, in those annals, they speak of no British princes, except such as were by them either beaten or killed. In his reign also the kingdom was invaded from Ireland; but by the courage of this prince the enemy was repulsed, and the public tranquillity restored; to preserve which, he equipt a very considerable fleet, and this, together with his dominions, he left to his son the famous Arthur \*.

This prince, whose glory, like that of many other martial monarchs, turns more to his prejudice than advantage, by giving an air of fable to his history, and bringing his real deeds in question, through the extravagant pains bestowed by those who recorded them; this worthy prince, I say, achieved great things, and intended greater †. Our learned antiquary Leland long ago vindicated the reputation of his victories against the cavils of the critics; who, because they do not find things exactly written in barbarous times, when indeed it is well they were written at all, will have them to be absolute fables; as if the memory of facts could not outlive their circumstances, the contrary of which every day demonstrates to be a truth. My design will not permit me to say more upon this subject; nor indeed had I said so much, if Arthur had not been one of the most eminent of our naval heroes. For he, as the British history informs us, which Mr. Selden did not disdain to transcribe, annexed to his kingdom of Britain the six insular provinces, viz. Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orcades or Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark ‡, which throwing off the yoke under the reign of his successor, were once more recovered by King Malgo, though held by the Britons after that but for a little time.

Thus we have brought down the naval history of this ancient nation to the time of its declension, and their being compelled by the Saxons to retire into Wales, and the counties adjacent thereto, where, according to their own historians, the Britons

\* Hist. Britan. lib. viii. cap. 24. Vit. Hist. lib. vii.

† A. D. 537.

‡ Hist. Britan. lib. ix. cap. 30. Vit. hist. lib. viii.

for several ages preserved some maritime strength. If any one should esteem this so much time thrown away, and should surmise that it had been better we had begun our history lower, that we might have written with more certainty; the answer is ready, and I hope satisfactory. Many of our wisest antiquaries are of opinion, that we derive our excellent constitution from the Britons, their laws being translated by the command of the Saxon princes, and incorporated with their own. If then their constitution might be the model of ours, why not their naval dominion the source of ours? We are the descendents of the Saxons; but then they were the successors of the Britons, and did not think it beneath them to claim under them in this respect. Thus the glorious King Edward I. in a letter he wrote to the Pope, in asserting his sovereignty over Scotland, derives it from the conquest of Arthur; so that, it seems, his acts were matter of record and history then, though in the eyes of some they pass for fables now. On the whole, therefore, if it be right to trace a title as high as possible, that is, as high as vouchers can be found to support it; we are well justified as to the pains we have taken; and as to the certainty of later records, as we state them in their proper periods, we lose nothing by shewing whence they are derived.

It may not be amiss to observe, that we follow some very great authorities, in paying this respect to the British history. Camden himself, though he suspects it in the gross, yet supports many historical passages in his great work of the description of Britain from Nennius, and other British writers. The Scottish historian Buchanan, though he treats the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth with great contempt, yet acknowledging the history of Arthur, gives more light into some parts of it than any other author. The profound Selden, who studied our antiquities with equal application and judgment, proceeds likewise in this tract. To conclude, the immortal Shakespear, whose works proclaim him as true a patriot as he was a poet, shewed a strong inclination to preserve the memory of our British worthies, by dedicating to their honour several of his plays, such as, the tragedy of King Lear, Cymbeline, Locrine, &c. and the sublime Milton had thoughts of doing the same; though he seems to have altered his mind when he wrote his history.

If so little certainty occur in what the world has generally

esteemed matters of moment, we may very well suppose, that there is less still to be gleaned from ancient writers, within this period, in reference to commerce; yet something there is, for what was there, save the thirst of gain, that could establish a regular intercourse between countries so distant as Phœnicia and the British isles: yet such a correspondence there was, nor are we left quite in the dark as to the motives upon which it was founded. The Phœnicians, in those early days the greatest traders in the world, visited these islands for the sake of their tin, which was excellent in its kind, and of which they had great plenty, and for this reason they bestowed upon them the name of Cassiterides<sup>a</sup>, the reader will permit me to give him two instances with respect to the commercial spirit of those ages, which are equally instructive and entertaining.

It was in Spain, in which the Phœnicians had potent colonies and fruitful territories, that they fixed the staple of their trade with those islands before-mentioned, and so jealous it seems, they were of having their route to the British Indies discovered, that a ship laden with tin being chased by a Roman vessel of greater force, the captain and owner, wilfully run her on shore, that he might have a chance for drawing his eager enemy into the same misfortune, or at least, be secure of preventing his rich cargo from falling into his hands, and thereby tempt the Romans to think of opening a passage to those islands themselves. This conduct of his was not only approved, but applauded by his countrymen, who made him ample satisfaction for his cargo. We are indebted for this intelligence to Strabo<sup>b</sup>, one of the most learned and authentic writers of antiquity. The other passage is to be met with in Solinus<sup>c</sup>, who assures us, that

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, Geogr. lib. iii. p. 147. These islands are styled Cassiterides from the Greek word *κασσίτερος* which signifies tin; just as from the Latin word *stannum* we have formed stanneries to signify tin works. In the like manner among the Indian nation called the Drangi, there was a city named Cassiteron from its being a great mart for tin. Stephanus, *de urbibus*, also mentions in the Indian sea an island called Cassitera for the same reason.

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. lib. iii. p. 175. Where we have express mention, that the Romans were exceedingly solicitous to intercept some of these tin ships.

<sup>c</sup> De Britannis, cap. xxv. He says, they have no markets there, and will not deal with strangers otherwise than by barter. But Strabo, in the place before cited, mentions them as a sober and civilized people, who wore commonly black garments, and particularly an inner or under robe reaching down to their ankles, girt under their breasts with a girdle, and walking commonly with slaves in their hands.

the inhabitants of the Cassiterides would not part with their valuable commodities for money; but insisted upon having goods for goods; now this could not arise from a spirit of barbarity, for the use of money was known to the Britons, though the metal they made use of for that purpose was either copper or iron, but flowed from a spirit of traffic, and there is nothing absurd in supposing that they either re-exported these foreign commodities, or manufactured some of them, and then sold them to other nations<sup>d</sup>; there being no greater skill required for that, than for extracting and refining metals.

The goods and commodities of Britain in these early days were corn, cattle, hides, hounds, pearls, lead, tin, silver, and gold. The two first metals were of their own growth; but for the two last, I presume they had them from other nations in exchange. In process of time, when, by their intercourse with the Romans, they were grown more polite, the Britons no doubt extended their trade; and though we have no authorities to enable us to give a distinct account of this matter; yet there is a passage in Tacitus, which proves it in the general very strongly; for he assures us, that the people of Cornwall, by their constant intercourse with traders, became more courteous and civil than the rest of their countrymen<sup>e</sup>. And the same observation occurs in another ancient writer<sup>f</sup>; so that notwithstanding the obscurity in which this subject is involved, we have the clearest certainty, that our ancestors, even in the most remote ages, knew the value of their native commodities, and, in consequence of that knowledge, procured for their own use those of other nations; and therefore these facts, drawn from Greek and Latin writers, whose authorities alone will pass for evidence with the critics, ought at least to have so much weight as to render what is said to the same purpose in the British history of our intercourse with the northern nations, not either so incredible, or ridiculous, as some would represent it.

There can be no doubt made, that when the Romans had fully subdued all the southern part of this isle, and had introdu-

<sup>d</sup> I might have cited Strabo also in support of what is here advanced. He informs us, that notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the Phœnicians, this navigation could not be long concealed from the Romans. Publius Crassus was the first of their captains who visited these isles, who found the inhabitants very much addicted to peace and commerce by sea.

<sup>e</sup> Tacit. in Vit. Agric.

<sup>f</sup> Diodor. Sicul.

eed their customs and manners among the natives, they must have made a great change in the face of affairs, by bringing in a more elegant and sumptuous way of living, which consequently was favourable to trade; and we have just reasons to believe, caused abundance of good towns to be erected in places held convenient in that respect<sup>s</sup>. It is the conjecture of a most learned and judicious prelate, that London, called by the Romans *Augusta*, owed its rise to this<sup>b</sup>; but for my part, I rather believe, that it was a fortress and port too in the time of the Britons, and that it was afterwards altered, re-built, and re-peopled by the Romans. We may form some judgment as to the size of towns in those days, by what several historians relate of the mischief done here, and at Verulam, by the Britons, when they endeavoured to throw off the Roman yoke under Queen Boadicea. They then destroyed both Verulam and London, and in these two places they cut off, as one historian says, seventy thousand<sup>1</sup>, or, as another affirms, eighty thousand citizens<sup>t</sup>. Now, at that time, it is agreed, that London was not so considerable a place as Verulam, and besides the Roman general had withdrawn out of London all who were willing to quit the place; so that, as Tacitus expressly tells us, there were none left behind, except such as, through age and infirmities, were unable to leave it, or such as were so taken with the delights of it, that even the approaching danger could not induce them to leave it<sup>1</sup>. If therefore, under these circumstances, such numbers were killed in two places only, we must conclude from thence, that the country, under the obedience of the Romans, was very populous. Yet in succeeding times, when they were blessed with a long and general peace, the Roman dominion much farther extended, and beyond all comparison better settled, the southern parts of Britain must have attained to a far more flourishing condition.

<sup>s</sup> See what our learned Camden says upon this subject, in his admirable Britannia, speaking of the Romans in Britain.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Stillingfleet, in his discourse concerning the antiquity of London, in the second volume of his Ecclesiastical Cases.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus in Vit. Agric. See also our excellent countryman Mr. Bolton, in his most judicious and elegant work, entitled Nero Caesar.

<sup>t</sup> Dio. in Xl. phillin. p. 168. See also Eutrop. Epitom. hist. Rom. lib. vii.

<sup>1</sup> It is observed by Tacitus, that it was the great opulence of these places which exposed them to the fury of the Britons.

We have very large, and very accurate accounts of the several colonies planted, the many fortresses raised, and the disposition of the great roads, which, with infinite diligence, and no less skill, the Romans caused to be raised through all parts of England. We have very learned and very curious dissertations upon their inscriptions, coins, and other antiquities, which have escaped the sharp teeth of time, and have been preserved to our day; all which plainly shew, that they were a very ingenious and polite, as well as a great, a wise, and a brave people<sup>a</sup>.

But still there seems to be wanting a political view of the Roman government in Britain, and of its effects, towards which, as occasion offered, we have given some hints in this chapter; but the thing most evidently deserves to be considered much more at large; and if it was attempted by any learned and able person, it would without question afford both entertainment and instruction.

This would be now a much easier task than in former times, when so little was known of those matters, that must be previously understood, before any certain and distinct notions can be formed about it; but when these matters are tolerably well settled, and when there is no longer any difficulty of obtaining a tolerable view of the state of Britain, while it remained a Roman province, it would be much more useful to endeavour at collecting a rational view of their government, civil and military, the number of the inhabitants of their several towns distinguished into proper classes, the strength of their forces maintained here at different times, the several improvements that were made while they were in possession of the island; for that they did make improvements, their historians affirm, and the monuments still remaining prove; all which would contribute to give the generality of readers better ideas of the Roman power and wisdom, than they are like to attain from the perusing dry discourses, about the difference of letters upon inscriptions, or the use of this or that instrument in sacrifices<sup>a</sup>. That during the flourishing state of the Roman empire, their provinces here had a full share of this prosperity, and that the Britons, who

<sup>a</sup> See the many discourses of our famous antiquaries, Camden, Selden, Burton, &c. but more especially Horsey's *Britannia Romana*.

<sup>a</sup> I do not pretend to condemn these inquiries, but only intimate my wish they were applied to some more material points.

lived in subjection, copied their manners, till they were corrupted by their luxury ; which, with the share they had frequently taken in the civil wars of the empire, rendered them an easy prey to barbarous invaders, is commonly known, and well enough understood ; but as to the particulars before-mentioned, which would enable us to make a comparison between the condition of the people in this island, then, and in succeeding times, we know very little, and our want of knowledge in this respect, has been the source of a great variety of errors, that one would wish to see confuted and exposed, as they deserve\*.

\* What gives me concern is, to see our writers so enthusiastically fond of Roman power, and so unreasonably severe upon the ancient Britons:

LIVES

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L I V E S  
O F T H E  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. II.

The Naval History of the Saxons, from their first settling themselves in this island, to their being subdued by the Danes.

Containing the space of about 500 years.

**W**E have very copious accounts of the ancient Saxons, before they transported themselves out of Germany, as well in other authors as their own<sup>a</sup>. They defended themselves against the Romans with equal firmness and success, manifesting the love of liberty, not only by a generous contempt of death in the field, but also by studiously avoiding luxury in times of peace; for which they are deservedly famous<sup>b</sup>. On the declension of the Roman empire, they became noted for their piracies at sea; insomuch, that the emperors were forced to create a new officer here in Britain, called the Count of the Saxon coast, purely to repel their invasions<sup>c</sup>. In succeeding

<sup>a</sup> Witichindus de rebus Saxon. Tacit. de morib. German. Sidon. Apollinar. Ammian. Marcellin. hist. lib. xxviii. Bed. hist. eccles. lib. i. cap. 15. <sup>b</sup> Tacit. ubi supra. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xiv. cap. 3. <sup>c</sup> Notit. dignitat. occid. cap. 72. Imp. Scaliger ad Anson. lib. ii. cap. 6. & Guliel. Camden. in Britan. p. 96.

times, they infested the coasts of France as well as Britain, and began to threaten greater exploits than they had hitherto undertaken<sup>d</sup>. We must, however, observe, that they were styled pirates only by their enemies, who felt the effects of their arms; for, as to themselves, they looked on this course of life as a noble and necessary employment, for reasons which will presently appear.

The Saxon writers say, that they were invited into Britain by King Vortigern, in order to assist him against the Scots and Picts; but as we before observed, the British historians differ from them in this particular, and assert, Hengist and Horsa landing with their forces in Kent, King Vortigern, who was then at Canterbury, sent for them, and received them into his service, without any previous invitation. This account is very natural, and the circumstances attending it highly deserve the reader's notice. As soon as they were brought before him, says my author<sup>e</sup>, he cast his eyes upon the two brothers, who excelled all the rest both in nobility and gracefulness of person; and having taken a view of the whole company, asked them of what country they were, and what was the occasion of their coming into his kingdom? To whom Hengist (whose years and wisdom intitled him to a preedence), in the name of the rest, made the following answer: Most noble king; Saxony, which is one of the countries of Germany, was the place of our birth, and the occasion of our coming, was to offer our service to you, or some other prince. For we were driven out of our native country, for no other reason, but that the established usage of the kingdom required it. It is the custom of that place, that when it comes to be overstocked with people, our princes from the provinces meet together, and command all the youth of the kingdom to assemble before them; then, casting lots, they make choice of the strongest, and ablest of them, to go into foreign climates, to procure them a subsistence, and free their native country from a superfluous multitude of people. Our region, therefore, of late being actually overstocked, our princes met; and, after lots cast, made choice of the youth

<sup>d</sup> Ethelwerd. lib. i. Henric. Huntingd. lib. ii. Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Epist. ad. Numanium. <sup>e</sup> Hist. Britan. lib. vi. cap. 10. Vir. hist. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 443.

which

which you see in your presence, and have obliged us to obey the custom that had been established of old. And us two brothers, Hengist and Horfa, they made generals over them, out of respect to our ancestors who enjoyed the same honour. In obedience, therefore, to laws so long held sacred, we put out to sea, and, under the happy guidance of (Woden) Mercury, have arrived in your kingdom.

The Saxon annals acknowledge, that Hengist and Horfa came with no more than three ships; but that the fertility of the British soil, and the vices of the inhabitants induced them to think of sending for more of their countrymen, in hopes of seating themselves here<sup>f</sup>. Another of their historians gives still a fairer and fuller account of this matter. The Saxons, says he, made for some time a civil return to the Britons for their friendship; but by degrees, perceiving the country to be of a large extent, the soil fruitful, and the inhabitants little inclined to feats of arms; considering further, that themselves and many of their brethren were destitute of settled habitations, they began to find fault with their pay, to murmur at the quantity of provisions that were furnished them; and, daily increasing their numbers, they at last, on these frivolous pretences, made peace with the Scots and Picts, and, in conjunction with them, turned their arms upon the unhappy Britons<sup>g</sup>. In order to have a just notion of this matter, the reader must be informed, that two Saxon chiefs, Ocha and Ebissa, with forty stout ships, had wasted the Orkneys, and afterwards seated themselves and their followers in the western isles and coasts of Scotland, which, on the invitation of Hengist, they quitted, to share in his rising fortunes<sup>h</sup>. Though most of our writers call these invaders by the common name of Saxons; yet, in truth, there were three German nations, whence issued those swarms of foreigners, who now took possession of this island, *viz.* the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The Saxons erected here three principalities, *viz.* the east, south, and west Saxons. The Angles were, for some time, distinguished into East-Angles, Mid-Angles, Mercians, and Northumbrians. As for the Jutes, they settled in Kent, and in the Isle of Wight; and, in this last-mentioned place,

<sup>f</sup> Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 449.  
<sup>asp. a.</sup> Vit. hist. lib. vii.

<sup>g</sup> Writichindus de rebus Saxon. lib. ix.

<sup>h</sup> Nennius hist. Britan.

their posterity remained so long unmixed, that, several ages after, the west Saxons called the inhabitants of that island Jutes<sup>1</sup>.

For some considerable space from their first settlement, they encouraged fresh supplies, and sometimes whole colonies to come over; but, after they had secured their possessions, and fixed their respective principalities, they turned their views entirely to the care of things at home, and very imprudently concluded, that keeping up great armies would secure them from foreign invasion. It was near three hundred years before they became absolute lords of that part of the island, which they called England<sup>2</sup>; and in this space, one Saxon prince or other entertaining all new comers in his service, with a view of defending his own dominions, or encroaching on those of his neighbours, there were few rovers on the coast. But in process of time, the Saxons changed their policy, and, by studying to keep the island to themselves, created a greater mischief than that which they endeavoured to avoid; for, while they received and employed foreigners in their wars, their intestine divisions did not depopulate their kingdoms, one evil balancing the other. Yet, now, the consequence of this management, and their altering their conduct, brought upon them a greater mischief; for it drew over such shoals of strangers in hopes of employment and settlement, that the Saxons, in their own defence, were obliged to fortify their coast. Though they had the example of the Britons before them, they suffered themselves to be distressed for want of a naval strength; not having learned, as yet, that unerring maxim in policy, That power is best preserved by the use of those means by which it was obtained.

In one thing, they either followed the old British model, or brought the like custom with them from Germany, *viz.* allowing a pre-eminence to one of their princes, who, while the rest governed only within their respective dominions, had the superiority over the whole; and thence, by way of distinction, was

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon. Saxon. p. 12, 13. Gul. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. i. esp. 1. Henric. Huntingdon. hist. lib. ii. Vit. hist. lib. viii. <sup>2</sup> Chronicon. Saxon. ad Ann. Dom. 743.

styled King of the Englishmen<sup>1</sup>. This office, in some sort, resembled that of a dictator, and, like it, was sometimes useful, sometimes detrimental, and at last fatal to the people. Offa, the eleventh king of the Mercians, having attained this dignity, began to shew a disposition of ruling absolutely over his neighbours; for which he was better qualified than any of his predecessors, having parts, as well as power, superior to most of his contemporaries<sup>2</sup>. His ambition, however, united the British princes in Wales, and the Saxon kings in England, in an alliance against him; but he baffled their united force, as much by his wisdom as by the strength and success of his arms. To secure himself against the incursions of the Britons, he threw up a strong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee, and, running along the mountains, ended at the fall of the Wye, near Bristol. This stupendous work the Britons called, in their own language, *Clawdd Offa*, and the remains of it are still known by the name of *Offa's ditch*<sup>3</sup>; and having thus secured himself on this side, he turned his forces against his Saxon neighbours. They, in their distress, applied themselves to Charles the Great, king of France, for protection; who wrote letters in a high style to Offa, exhorting, or rather commanding him to desist from his enterprizes. But these, instead of producing the desired effect, engaged that magnanimous prince to turn his thoughts on the proper means of securing his dominions from foreign attempts, which he soon saw could no other way be done, than by keeping up a naval force. He therefore applied himself to the raising a considerable fleet; which rendered him so formidable, that Charles, who was already very powerful, and who became afterwards emperor, and in a manner lord of the continent, was glad to embrace his friendship; and accordingly an alliance was negotiated between them by Alcuinus, or Albinus, a person distinguished for his great learning, and other accomplishments, of which we have still remaining many authentic testimonies<sup>4</sup>. This step procured Offa both peace and reputation during the remainder of his

<sup>1</sup> See Speed's Chronicle, in his account of the Saxon government.   <sup>2</sup> A. D. 755.

<sup>3</sup> Gulielm. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. ii. Ethelwerd. Chronic. lib. ii. cap. 19. Roger Hovend. p. 409.

<sup>4</sup> Gulielm. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 3. Alcuin. oper. in epist. p. 1669.

life; so that, in spite of the efforts of his enemies, he died quietly, after a glorious reign of thirty-nine years<sup>2</sup>, leaving to his successors this useful lesson, That he who will be secure on land, must be supreme at sea<sup>3</sup>.

It must be observed, that it was under the reign of this prince that the Danes first set foot in England; and, if they had always met with such a reception as they then did, they had very probably abandoned all hopes of fixing here; for they were immediately forced to put to sea, and some of them were slain<sup>4</sup>. A little after his death, they began to infest the coast of Northumberland, where they did incredible mischief; spreading themselves over the country like locusts; and when they had eaten up all they could meet with, where they first landed; hoisted sail for some new place. It happened unfortunately, that the remains of the Britons had still so inveterate a hatred against the Saxons, that, instead of joining with them to repress these new invaders, which was certainly their interest, they, on the contrary, assisted them against their old oppressors. Eggbryht, king of the West-Saxons, having raised himself to the sovereignty of England, equipped a fleet, and defeated a Danish squadron of thirty-five ships, at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, with prodigious slaughter; yet this did not hinder them two years after, from landing with a vast force in Wales, where they were joined by their confederates the Britons. King Eggbryht opposed them, both with a fleet and army; and though he was not able to do much by sea, yet, coming to a general engagement on shore, he broke entirely the enemy, compelling the Britons to fly to the mountains, and the Danes to their ships<sup>5</sup>. This kind of war was long continued, and exceedingly weakened the Saxons. Their authentic chronicle informs us, that King Ethelstan, in the life-time of his father, commanded the British fleet, and, off Sandwich, defeated the Danes in a bloody battle, taking nine of their ships, and obliging the rest to leave the coast; yet, soon after, they returned with three hundred and fifty sail; and landing, took Canterbury, and other places; and afterwards London<sup>6</sup>. From this

<sup>2</sup> P. A. D. 795.

<sup>3</sup> Chronicle. Saxon. p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. ad Ann.

Dom. 787.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. ad Ann. Dom. 833, 835.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ad Ann. Dom.

851.

time forward, the Saxons in a manner abandoned all thoughts of naval affairs, and fought only how to fortify their cities, and defend themselves as well as they could against their barbarous enemies, after they were landed. This was a fatal mistake; for, by thus permitting the enemy to land without interruption, small bodies of Danes, whom they might easily have cut off, had they attacked them separately, united themselves into irresistible armies; and, being by degrees accustomed to conquest, and driving the inhabitants from the coasts, they at last thought of settling, and being themselves equally proud and lazy, made a kind of slaves of the country people, obliging them to plow, sow, and reap for them as their masters.

Such was the situation of things, during the reigns of Ethelwolf, Ethelbert, and Ethelred; so that when Alfred, or Elfred, came to the throne<sup>a</sup>, he had, properly speaking, a kingdom without subjects. The country was destroyed; all the cities and great towns demolished, and the people worn out by continual fatigue, having been sometimes compelled to fight nine or ten battles in a year. In short, their wealth, their strength, their spirits were exhausted; and, instead of attempting to defend themselves as they were wont, they began every where to submit to the Danes, and to embrace rather a settled slavery, than a precarious freedom, in a country now become a desert, and where it was a difficult matter to find subsistence, even when for a small time released from the fear of enemies. The king, though in this low condition, did not despair of the public safety; but with equal vigour and prudence applied himself at once to the management of the war, and to the conduct of public affairs; so that, in a short time, encouraged by his example, the Saxons began to resume their spirits, and in many battles defeated the Danes, compelling them, as often as it was in their power, to quit the country; and, when they found this impracticable, permitting them to live amongst them upon reasonable conditions, and in a regular way<sup>w</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 871.

<sup>w</sup> Asser. Meneven. in vit. Alfred. Mag. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 4. Henric. Huntingdon. Hist. lib. v. p. 349. Roger Hoved. p. 416. Ethelwerd's Chronicle. lib. iv. cap. 3. Chronicle. Saxon. p. 82.

There were two maxims which the king steadily pursued, and thereby extricated himself from his troubles. The first was, fighting the enemy, if possible, at sea; of which we have frequent instances in the Saxon chronicle, and almost always with advantage; by the steady pursuit of which method he had constantly a fleet, and considerable numbers of experienced sailors. But, as it was impossible to guard all the coasts of his dominions; and, as the enemies squadrons were frequently superior to his own, he was sometimes obliged to fight on shore; and, in this case, he likewise used all imaginable expedition, that the enemy might not have time, either to gain intelligence, or to get refreshment. His other maxim was, to have always in his court the ablest men, not only in the sciences, but also in the arts; and to converse with them frequently and familiarly. By this means he came to the knowledge of many things, by a comparison of informations, of which even those from whom he learned them were ignorant; and by his superior judgment, so adapted the intelligence he received, as to render his small force successful, both at sea and land, against his numerous enemies.

In maritime affairs he was particularly skilful; and, as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, one cannot but be amazed at the sagacity he discovered in providing a kind of ships of a new construction, devised by himself; which gave him infinite advantages over people continually practised in naval armaments, and whose experience, therefore, ought to have rendered them his superiors in navigation. He considered with himself, that as the fleets of these invaders were frequently built in a hurry, hastily drawn together, meanly provided, in respect to victuals and rigging, and crowded with men, a few ships of a larger size, built in a new manner, of well seasoned materials, thoroughly supplied with ammunition and provision, and manned by expert seamen, must at first sight surprise; and, in the course of an engagement, destroy numbers without any great hazard to themselves. In pursuance of this project, he caused a certain number of ships to be built, capable of holding, each, sixty rowers, and as in that, double in all other respects to the largest ships then in use. These he sent to sea, with an express prohibition, not either to receive or give quarter;

ter; but to put to death all who fell into their power<sup>x</sup>. Instructions perfectly suited to the design on which these ships were fitted out, and to the circumstances the king's affairs then were in. In saying this, we only copy ancient authors, who are loud in the praises of Alfred, and take abundance of pains to possess their readers with high ideas of his wisdom, courage, and other virtues. But it will perhaps be more satisfactory, the nature of this work especially considered, to examine this matter a little more closely, and thereby convince such as will pay a proper attention, that things were really as these writers have stated them, and that there was something truly useful, and at the same time very extraordinary, in his invention; which, as we have shewn, was intirely due to his sagacity and penetration.

The learned Sir John Spelman, who wrote an accurate life of this famous prince, seems to be in much uncertainty on this subject: he is not able to determine, whether they were ships or gallies; nor can he well reconcile the height of the vessels to the number of rowers; but after having intimated many doubts, and cleared none of them, he leaves the reader in that perplexity into which he brought him<sup>y</sup>. In the first place, then, it appears from good authority that they were gallies; which takes away all difficulty about the rowers, since in the Mediterranean these sort of vessels are common, because they are convenient; for the same reason which inclined King Alfred to make use of them, the facility of running with them close under shore, or up into creeks. That they might be longer, higher, and yet swifter, than the vessels in common use, in a duplicate proportion, which is the true sense of what ancient writers say of them, may be easily conceived; and thence their great utility arose. We have seen that, in point of numbers, the king had no hope of equalling his enemies; by this contrivance he removed that difficulty which seemed otherwise insuperable: for, with a squadron of these ships, he was not afraid of attacking twice or thrice the same number of the enemy, because the force of his ships rendered these on board

<sup>x</sup> Chronic. Saxon. p. 98. Henric. Huntingd. histor. lib. v. Gul. Malmesb. de gestis regum Anglorum, lib. ii. cap. 4. Rog. Hoveden, p. 420.

<sup>y</sup> Life of King Alfred the Great, p. 150, 151.

them able to deal with as many as they could grapple with; and, in case of the enemy's having either the weather-gage or some other accidental advantage, their swiftness enabled them to bear away; as, on the other hand, the ports were all their own. As to their instructions, we cannot call them cruel, because, whatever their enemies might think of themselves, they were certainly esteemed by the Saxons, and with good reason, enemies to mankind; incapable, as experience had convinced them, of keeping faith, and therefore altogether unworthy of mercy. On the other hand, this severity was necessary for two reasons: first, in respect to self-defence. These ships, though large in comparison of other vessels, were, however, not large enough to contain prisoners with any safety; for we cannot apprehend that they carried, exclusive of rowers, above a hundred and twenty men, if so many. Secondly, it was prudent for example sake, in order to strike a terror into these rovers, that they might be thereby hindered from infesting this island, and inclined rather to prosecute their designs on some other coast. Add to all this another circumstance, preserved to us in the Saxon chronicle, and Alfred's wisdom will from thence most incontestibly appear. These galleys were built after quite another model than Frisian or Danish ships<sup>a</sup>: so that they were wholly strange to the enemy, who for a long time knew not how to board them, though their courage might be great, and themselves, for the age in which they lived, able seamen.

But it is now time to descend to facts, of which some are very well worth the reader's notice<sup>a</sup>. The same year that a few of these ships were first built<sup>b</sup>, six pirates of an unusual bigness infested the Isle of Wight and the coasts of Devonshire. The king immediately ordered nine of his new vessels in quest of them, with instructions to get, if possible, between them and the shore. Three of the pirates, as soon as they perceived them, ran a-ground, but the other three stood out to sea, and boldly engaged the king's ships. Of these, two were taken, and all the men killed: the third indeed escaped, but with five men only. They then attacked the ships which ran a-ground, and

<sup>a</sup> Chronic. Saxon. A. D. 897.      <sup>a</sup> Henric. Huntingd. hist. int. script. post Bedam. p. 350, 351. Rog. Hoveden. p. 420, 421. Chron. Saxon. p. 98. Chron. Joan. Brompton, lat. x. histor. ad A. D. 897.      <sup>b</sup> A. D. 897.

killed a great number of men. At length the tide took them off, but in so battered and leaky a condition, that it was with much difficulty they reached the coast of the south Saxons, where, again running on shore two of their vessels, the men *endeavoured* to escape, but were taken, and carried to Winchester, and there, by order of the king, were hanged. The third vessel, though the men in her were grievously wounded, escaped; and, in this single year, not less than twenty ships, with all the men on board them, were destroyed on the south coast only; which sufficiently demonstrates, what mighty advantages were derived from this happy invention of the king. If the reader should inquire how this superiority at sea was lost, we must observe, that it was very late in the king's life before his experience furnished him with light sufficient for this noble design, which very probably his successors wanted skill to prosecute, though, as will be hereafter seen, they were moved by his example to make great efforts for preserving their territories on shore, by maintaining the sovereignty of the sea.

Though this care of his own fleet was very commendable, yet the concern he shewed for the improvement of navigation, the extending the commerce of his subjects, and the discovering and describing far-distant countries, deserves still higher commendation, because the first might be, in some measure, ascribed to necessity, and ended only in the good of his own kingdom; whereas the latter was incontestibly the fruit of an heroic genius, and might have been of use to all the nations of Europe. It was in order to farther these views, that he kept constantly in his court, at a very great expence, the most eminent men, for worth and knowledge, of all nations, such as Gauls, Franks, Germans, Frisians, Armoric Britons, besides the inhabitants of every corner of the British isles; of whom he inquired, and from whom he learned whatever was known in those days, which the sequel will prove, was more than any of the moderns imagine. Two instances have been transmitted, with authentic circumstances, from his time to ours. The first, his sending certain persons to discover the utmost extent of the Arctic regions, and the possibility of a passage on that side to the north-east. The other, his correspondence with the Indies. Facts so extraordinary in themselves, of such high im-

portance in respect to the subject of which this work treats, and hitherto left in such obscurity by those who ought to have given us a better account of them, that I presume my dwelling upon them will be considered rather as a just tribute to Alfred's glorious memory, and to the honour of this nation, than as a tedious or unnecessary digression.

Sir John Spelman, who, as I before observed, considering the time in which he wrote, hath left us an excellent history of this monarch, tells us<sup>c</sup>, that he had been informed, there was in the Cotton library a memorial of a voyage of one Othter a Dane, performed, by this king's procurement, for the discovery of a north-east passage. This paper, he says, he could never see; but he judged, and I think with reason, that it contained nothing more than the relation of that voyage, printed in the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, which are in every body's hands; and, if there had been no better account of the matter, even that would have deserved much attention. There is, however, a much more perfect copy of this relation inserted in the Saxon version of Orosius, made by King Alfred himself<sup>d</sup>, whereby it appears, that Othter, for so he is called in this authentic manuscript, was a native of Halgoland, which lies in 66° of north latitude; a man of great substance, of more than ordinary skill in navigation, and perfectly acquainted with the commerce of the north. He surveyed the coasts of Norway and Lapland by the direction of King Alfred, and presented him not only with a clear description of those countries and their inhabitants, but also brought him some of the horse-whale's teeth, which were then esteemed more valuable than ivory, and gave him a good account of the whale-fishing. This probably encouraged the king to send Wulfstan, an Englishman, to view these northern countries, of which he also gave him a relation. Both these narratives are written with such accuracy in point of geography, so much plainness and probability in respect to facts, and are intermixed with such just and prudent observations, that

<sup>c</sup> *Life of King Alfred the Great*, p. 151.

<sup>d</sup> There is a fair copy of this among Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian library. The narrative here mentioned, together with a Latin translation of the Saxon original, is inserted in the appendix to the Latin version of Sir John Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, published by Walker, whence these facts are taken.

whoever

whoever shall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, wrote many hundred years afterwards of the same countries<sup>c</sup>, will stand amazed, and readily confess, that the age of Alfred was an age of good sense, and far superior in knowledge to those which succeeded it, there being nothing of fable or improbability in what Ohther or Wulfstan deliver, but all exactly conformable to what the discoveries of the last and present age have taught us. Hence I must beg leave to infer, that what we read of fleets sent so far north by the Britons, is far from being so incredible as some critics would make us believe; for we can hardly imagine, that Alfred should ever think of such an expedition, without some previous informations; and that he might have these from the Britons will appear very probable, if we consider what is related in their histories, and that Asfer of St. David's, a learned Briton, was one of this king's most intimate friends, and wrote the memoirs of his reign<sup>f</sup>, addressed to himself, which are yet extant.

As to the Indian voyage, it was occasioned chiefly by the king's charity, who, hearing of the distress of the Christians of St. Thomas, resolved to send them relief. The person he made choice of was one Suithelm, called in Latin *Sigelmus*, a priest, who honestly executed his commission, and was so fortunate as to return back, bringing with him an immense treasure of India goods, and amongst them precious stones, perfumes, and other curiosities, of which the king made presents to foreign princes: as the reward of so acceptable a service, Sigelmus was made bishop of Sherburn; and William of Malmesbury, in his pontifical history, gives us a distinct account of this voyage, and tells us, it not only struck with wonder such as lived in the time when it was performed, but was considered with admiration even in the age in which he lived, adding, that Sigelmus had left to his church several of these Indian curiosities, as unquestionable evidences of so extraordinary a thing<sup>g</sup>. It is true that Asfer of St. David's, whom we before mentioned, says nothing

<sup>c</sup> The title of this book is, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, &c. It was printed originally at Rome in 1555 in folio, and there is an English translation in 1658. <sup>f</sup> The last edition of this venerable work was printed at Oxford, A. D. 1722, 8vo. <sup>g</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gestis pontific. Anglorum, lib. ii. p. 247, 248.

of this Indian voyage, though he is very particular in whatever relates to the power, splendour, or reputation of that monarch. But it would be a rash and unjust conclusion to argue from his silence, that no such voyage was performed. Aſſer, as appears from a paſſage in his memoirs, wrote them in the year 893, at which time Sigelmus was not returned. But it is very remarkable, that under the year 887, which was that wherein Sigelmus ſet out, Aſſer celebrates the king's extenſive correſpondence, and the great court that was paid him by princes and other perſons of eminence, in all parts of the world, and he particularly mentions letters from Abel patriarch of Jeruſalem, which he ſaw and read<sup>b</sup>; and theſe very probably were the very letters which occaſioned the king's ſending Sigelmus. Add to this, that Aſſer died ſoon after the return of this great traveller, who ſucceeded him in the biſhopric of Sherburn<sup>c</sup>; ſo that the whole of this narration is perfectly clear, and well connected. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that theſe Chriſtians of St. Thomas inhabit the peninſula of India, and that the commodities, which Sigelmus is ſaid to have brought back, are preciſely thoſe of their country. Sir John Spelman obſerves farther upon this ſubject, that the value and uſe of theſe curioſities being little known here, the king ſought out for artiſts of all ſorts, particularly goldſmiths and jewellers, for the working of them: and ſuch were the defects of thoſe times, and ſo excellent was the faculty of the king in every thing he turned his hand unto, as that even in thoſe works alſo, the artiſcers themſelves, and their arts, received improvement from his invention and direction, while they followed his genius, and manufactured that he deſigned for them<sup>d</sup>. And, as if there was ſomething peculiar in the fortune of this prince, we have ſtill remaining a proof of what is here advanced; I mean a jewel richly wrought, dug up in the iſland of Athelney, which was the king's retreat, when he fled from the Danes in the beginning of his reign, and where he afterwards founded a monaſtery. This curious relic is yet preſerved in the Aſhmolean collection of curioſities, and, beſides its excellent workmanſhip, hath a Saxon inſcription to this purpoſe, ÆLFREDUS ME

<sup>b</sup> Annal. rer. geſtar. Ælfrédi Magni, p. 58. Chron. Joan. Brompton, ad A. D. 887.

<sup>c</sup> Gul. Malmesbur. ubi ſupra.

<sup>d</sup> Spelman's life of Ælfréd, p. 204.

*JUSSIT FABRICARI, i. e.* Alfred directed this to be made<sup>1</sup>. Having thus, to the utmost of my ability, cleared and justified these naval expeditions performed near a thousand years ago, I return now to the thread of my history, and to an account of what the Saxons achieved at sea, after this wise monarch had shewn them the use and importance of a naval force.

Edward<sup>a</sup> succeeded his father Alfred, and proved a great prince; however, his government was disturbed both by intestine divisions, his cousin Ethelwald pretending to the kingdom, and by foreign invasions of the Danes, who, at the request of this Ethelwald, came, in the fourth year of the king's reign, in vast numbers into England. King Edward, finding it impossible to hinder their landing, drew together an army as soon as he could, and followed them into Kent, where he engaged them, and in a bloody battle killed Eric the Danish king, and Ethelwald who had stirred up this war. But, finding that he was still incommoded with new swarms of these northern rovers, he had recourse to his fleet; and, having drawn together a hundred ships upon the coast of Kent, he successfully engaged the enemy, and forced the greatest part of their fleet on shore; and then, landing himself, attacked their forces in a bloody battle, wherein, though he lost abundance of men, yet he entirely defeated his enemies, killing most of their chief commanders upon the spot. By degrees he raised his reputation so high, not only by his military exploits, but by his gentle government, and wise provision for his subjects safety, that all the petty princes throughout Britain congratulated him of their own accord on his success, willingly owned him for their lord, and humbly desired his protection. The very Danes, who were settled in the island, took the same method of securing themselves against his arms: but within a very short space from this extraordinary mark of good fortune, he died, and, in no long time after, his younger brother, who had succeeded him<sup>a</sup>.

Ethelstan<sup>o</sup> succeeded his brother, and gave early proofs of his being the worthy grandson of the great Alfred. He discovered, from his first ascending the throne, a great dislike to that policy, which his predecessors had used, of suffering the Danes and other

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Elfredi Magni*, p. 170, 171.

<sup>a</sup> *A. D.* 901.

<sup>a</sup> *Chron. Saxon.* p. 99.

<sup>o</sup> *A. D.* 925.

strangers,

strangers, who by force had seated themselves in the island, to become legal possessors in consideration of some small acknowledgment, and a feigned subjection, which was sure to last no longer than they had a fair opportunity of revolting. This was certainly a right maxim; and one may safely affirm this monarch was the greatest politician, and at least as great a captain as any of the Saxon kings. He wisely judged, that there was no executing his scheme without a considerable force, and therefore he kept his army and his fleet in constant readiness<sup>p</sup>. At the beginning of his reign he made, or rather renewed, the alliance subsisting between his brethren and Constantine, then king of Scots, conceiving that, as their interests were the same, this would bind him to a due performance of the treaty; in which, however, he was mistaken; for Constantine suddenly broke it, either out of caprice, or from an apprehension of Ethelstan's power. Immediately upon this the Saxon invaded Scotland with a royal army, and wasted its coasts with a mighty fleet; which brought Constantine to a submission much against his will, as he discovered some years after. As soon as Ethelstan was retired, the Scot began to intrigue with the Britons on one side, and with Anlaff, whom most of our historians style king of Ireland, but who in reality was a Danish prince, settled there by conquest, on the other. In consequence of these negotiations, the Britons marched northwards with a great army, where they were joined by the whole force of the Scots; Anlaff coming at the same time to their assistance with a more numerous fleet than had been seen in those seas. Ethelstan, instead of being dejected at the sight of so many and so powerful enemies, resolved to decide the quarrel by attacking them both by sea and land at the same time, which he accordingly performed with equal valour and success. In this battle there fell five kings, and seven Danish chiefs<sup>q</sup>. It was the bloodiest engagement that, till then, had ever happened in this island; and in the Saxon chronicle there is a most elegant account of it. By this grand defeat King Ethelstan effectually carried his point, and rendered himself the most absolute monarch that had ever reigned in Britain<sup>r</sup>. The use he made of his vic-

<sup>p</sup> Chron. Sax. p. 3. Gul. Malmesbur. de gestis reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 6. Hen. Huntingd. lib. v. p. 351. Roger Hoveden. p. 422.

<sup>q</sup> A. D. 938.

<sup>r</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 112, 113, 114.

tory, was effectually to secure his dominions, by taking from the petty princes such places as he judged to be dangerous in their hands; and, in all probability, he would thoroughly have established the Saxon power, if he had long survived; but he died about a year after, having swayed the sceptre, some say fourteen, others sixteen years.

Edmund<sup>b</sup>, his brother, succeeded him in the throne, and found himself under a necessity of contesting the possession of it with his old enemy Anlaf and his associates, whom he defeated, and with whom he afterwards made peace; but, finding that there was no dependence upon the faith either of the Danish or British princes seated in the north, he seized on the kingdom of Northumberland, and added it to his own dominions, giving Cumberland to the king of Scots as his feudatory. He had no great occasion for naval armaments, the fame of his brother's power preserving him from foreign invasions; so that, after a short reign, he left his crown to his brother Edred<sup>c</sup>. This prince had scarce assumed the regal dignity, before he was assailed by his old enemies the Scots and Danes, against whom he had not so great success as his brethren; not through any fault of his, but rather by the treasonable practices of some of his powerful subjects. His nephew Edwy stepped after him into the throne; and, disobliging the monks, they have transmitted to posterity an account of nothing but his vices<sup>d</sup>. It should seem, however, that, during the reign of all these kings, the naval power of the Saxons was continually increasing, of which we shall see immediate proof; and to this we may ascribe their not being plagued with any of those invasions from the north, which had so much disturbed their predecessors.

Edgar<sup>e</sup>, very justly styled the Great, succeeded his brother Edwy; and, from his first ascending the throne, demonstrated himself worthy of being the heir of Alfred and Ethelstan. He thoroughly understood, and successfully pursued their maxims; for he applied himself, from the beginning of his reign, to the raising a mighty maritime force, and to the keeping in due subjection all the petty princes. In one thing only he was blameable; that he gave too much into foreign customs, and indul-

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 941.

<sup>c</sup> Speed's chronicle, p. 359.

<sup>d</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 7.

<sup>e</sup> A. D. 959.

ged the Danes in living promiscuously with his own people, which gave them an opportunity of knowing thoroughly the state of all parts of the nation, of which they made a very bad use in succeeding times. In all probability, he was led into this error by his love to peace, which indeed he enjoyed, much more than any of his ancestors had done. But he enjoyed it, as a king of this island ought to enjoy it; not in a lazy fruition of pleasure, unworthy a prince; but by assiduously applying himself to affairs of state, and by an activity of which few other kings are capable, even in times of the greatest danger. But it is necessary to enter into particulars, since we are now come to the reign of that king who most clearly vindicated his right to the dominion of the sea, and who valued himself on his having justly acquired the truly glorious title of Protector of Commerce.

As to his fleet, all writers agree, that it was far superior to any of his predecessors, as well as much more powerful than those of all the other European princes put together; but they are by no means of the same mind, as to the number of ships of which it was composed. Some fix it at three thousand six hundred<sup>x</sup>; others at four thousand<sup>y</sup>; and there wants not authority to carry it so high as four thousand eight hundred<sup>z</sup>. However, the first seems to be the most probable number; and therefore to it we shall keep: These ships he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred sail, and them he constantly stationed; one on the east, another on the west, and the third on the north coast of the kingdom: neither was he satisfied with barely making such a provision; he would likewise see that it answered the ends for which he intended it. In order to this, every year, after Easter, he went on board the fleet stationed on the eastern coast; and, sailing west, he scoured all the channels, looked into every creek and bay, from the Thames mouth to the Land's end in Cornwall: then, quitting these ships, he went on board the western fleet, with which, steering his course to the northward, he did the like, not only on the English and Scots coast, but also on those of Ireland and the Hebrides,

<sup>x</sup> Roger Hoveden, p. 416. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 975.  
Joan. Brompton.

<sup>z</sup> Matthæus Florileg.

<sup>y</sup> Chron.

which

which lie between them and Britain : then, meeting the northern fleet, he sailed in it to the Thames mouth <sup>a</sup>. Thus surrounding the island every summer, he rendered any invasion impracticable, kept his sailors in continual exercise, and effectually asserted his sovereignty over the sea. As a further proof of this, he once held his court at Chester ; where, when all his feudatory princes had assembled, in order to do him homage, he caused them to enter a barge ; and, sitting four on one side, and four on the other, they rowed, while he steered the helm ; passing thus in triumph, on the river Dee, from his palace to the monastery of St. John, where he landed, and received their oaths to be his faithful vassals, and to defend his rights by land and by sea : and then, having made a speech to them, he returned to his barge, and passed in the same manner back to his palace. The names of these princes were, Kenneth king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Maccusius king of Man, and of the isles, and five petty kings of the Britons. When the ceremony was over, the king was pleased to say, that his successors might justly glory in the title of kings of the English ; since, by this solemn act, he had set their prerogative above all dispute <sup>b</sup>. John Fox blamed this speech as an instance of the king's pride and vanity <sup>c</sup>, which was owing to a narrowness of mind ; for surely the king intended no more than to secure his just rights, as his speech declared, and thereby to distinguish between a wise act of policy, and a more pompous parade.

In the winter, he travelled by land through all parts of his dominions, to see that justice was duly administered, to prevent his nobles from becoming oppressors, and to protect the meanest people from suffering wrong. These were the arts by which he secured tranquillity to himself ; while he kept foreigners in awe, and his subjects in quiet. By being always ready for war, he avoided it ; so that, in his whole reign, there happened but one disturbance, and that through the intemperate fury of the

<sup>a</sup> Hen. Huntingdon. hist. lib. v. Rog. Hoveden. Annal. p. 426, 427. Alured. Beverlac. Annal. lib. viii.

<sup>b</sup> Gul. Malmesb. hist. lib. ii. cap. 8. p. 50. Florent. Wigorn. ad. Ann. Dom. 347. Henric. Hunting. Hist. lib. v. Roger Hoved. Annal. p. 426. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii.

<sup>c</sup> In his acts and monuments.

Britons, who, while he was in the north, committed great disorders in the west. On his return, he entered their country with a great army; and, that they might feel the effects of plundering, suffered his soldiers to take whatever they could find; but when he saw the people reduced to extreme misery, he rewarded his army out of his own coffers, and obliged them to restore the spoils; by which he left those, whom he found rebels, the most affectionate of all his subjects<sup>d</sup>. Well, therefore, might our ancient historians boast as they did of this prince; and say, that he was comparable to any of the heroes of antiquity. In truth, he far surpassed them; for whereas many of them became famous by acts of rapine and robbery, he established his reputation on a nobler foundation; that of reigning sixteen years without a thief found in his dominions on land, or a pirate heard of at sea<sup>e</sup>. One thing more I must mention, as being much to my purpose, though slighted by many of our modern writers. It is the preamble of a decree of his, made in the fourteenth year of his reign; wherein his style runs thus: "*Ego Edgarus, totius Albionis Basileus necnon maritimarum seu insularum regum circumhabitantium, &c.*" That is, I Edgar, monarch of all Albion, and sovereign over all the princes of the adjacent isles, &c. Which plainly asserts his naval dominion<sup>f</sup>. As he lived, so he died, in peace and full of glory<sup>g</sup>. Happy had it been for his successors, if, with his dominions, they had inherited any portion of his spirit. But, alas! governed by women, and ridden by priests, they quickly broke to pieces that mighty power which he bequeathed them.

His son Edward, a child, succeeded him; but, by that time he had reigned three years, he was, by the contrivance of his mother-in-law, basely murdered, to make way for her son Ethelred, who mounted the throne after his decease, but who was entirely governed by this dowager-queen, his mother<sup>h</sup>. In six years after the death of Edgar, the strength of the nation was so far sunk, that a Danish squadron, consisting of no more

<sup>d</sup> Ranulph. Higden. in Polychron. lib. vi.

<sup>e</sup> Roger Hoved. p. 426.

Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 947. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii.

<sup>f</sup> Guicel.

Malmesb. de gest. reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 8.

<sup>g</sup> A. D. 975.

<sup>h</sup> A. D.

978.

than

than seven ships, infested the coast, and plundered Southampton<sup>1</sup>; and, in a few years after, they ravaged and burned all the coast; insomuch that, in 991, the king, by the advice of Siricus, archbishop of Canterbury, made a treaty with the Danes, and endeavoured to bribe them by a subsidy of ten thousand pounds, to forbear plundering; which gave the first rise to that infamous tribute called danegeld<sup>2</sup>. This produced an effect which might have been easily foreseen, though quite contrary to what was intended; for the Danes committed greater rapines than ever; supposing, that the worse they treated the king's subjects, the larger sums they should extort, for a promise to be gone. Thus the king was compelled to take that method, at last, to which he should have had recourse at first, viz. raising an army, and fitting out a fleet. And now, when he had done this, his general betrayed him; whereby the Danes for that time escaped, though a little after they returned, and were defeated<sup>3</sup>. These, however, were but slight mischiefs to those which followed; for, when it is once known that a kingdom is weakly governed, new enemies daily rise. In A. D. 993, came Unlaff, a famous pirate, with a fleet of ninety-three ships, to Stanes; and, having wasted the country on both sides the Thames, they went down the river again, and committed new outrages on the coast of Kent. The king sent an army to oppose them, which they beat, and killed the general who commanded it: afterwards they landed in the mouth of the Humber, and committed fresh devastations. The next year Anlaff, duke of Norway, coming before London, with a fleet of ninety-four sail, endeavoured to burn it; but the citizens defended themselves so well, that at length he was forced to desist: then marching into Kent and Hampshire, he compelled the country people to furnish horses for his army; which put it in their power to commit such horrid devastations, that the king being unable to protect his subjects, had recourse to a composition; and, having sent commissioners to treat with Anlaff, it was agreed to give him sixteen thousand pounds, on condition that he should never again set foot in England; and, which was

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Saxon. ad A. D. 987.  
 reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Alured. Beverl. lib. viii.  
 A. D. 992.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 991. Gul. Malmesb. de gest.  
 Chron. Saxon.

rare amongst men of his profession, he religiously kept his word. In A. D. 997, a great fleet of strangers entered the mouth of the Severn, spoiled all the adjacent countries with fire and sword, and afterwards destroyed Cornwall and Devonshire; and, having collected an immense booty, carried it off to their ships. The next year they committed the like outrages in Dorsetshire, where an army sent to oppose them did but little. In A. D. 999, they came into the Thames, and marched through Kent, the king met them at Canterbury with his forces, so that a battle ensued; wherein, through some ill management, the king was defeated with great loss. This loss seems to have roused the nobility: for, immediately thereupon, it was determined, in a great council, to raise a numerous army, and to fit out a strong fleet; which was accordingly done: but the old management continuing, these mighty preparations, says my author, ended in nothing more than exhausting the purses, and breaking the spirits of the people; whereby their enemies were encouraged to trample on them more and more. The next year the fleet was hindered from acting all the summer, by contrary winds, to the great loss and dissatisfaction of the people. In A. D. 1001, new disorders of the same kind happened; and, one of the king's admirals deserting with a great part of the fleet, he was constrained again to think of treating, which accordingly he did, and purchased peace for twenty-four thousand pounds: and yet, the very next year, he found himself so straitened, that he had no other way of setting his people at liberty, than by a general massacre of the Danes, throughout England. This, however, proved but a temporary as well as barbarous expedient; for, in a few years, they were in as bad a condition as ever; insomuch, that through the fury of the Danes, and the treachery of his nobility, the king was able to do nothing but oppress his subjects, by raising vast sums, to be given to their enemies: for, in A. D. 1007, the Danes had thirty thousand pounds at once<sup>m</sup>.

These oppressions convinced all the honest and loyal part of

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 127—136. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglor. lib. ii. c. 10. Hen. Huntingd. Hist. lib. 5. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. viii. p. 114.

the nation, of the necessity of arming themselves, and of exerting their utmost force to rid them of these barbarous guests. In order thereto, a new and general tax was laid, for raising and supporting a fleet and army. According to this scheme, every three hundred and ten hides of land were to find a stout ship, and every eight hides a coat of mail and helmet; by which a great force indeed was raised; and yet, through treachery, great as it was, had little effect<sup>a</sup>. It is plain, that this tax, or subsidy was imposed with judgment, and by common consent: it grew, therefore, thenceforward, an annual charge upon the people; and is that tax we so often meet with in ancient writers, under the name of danegeld; and from which Edward the Confessor is said to have freed his subjects. The reader must distinguish this subsidy, raised upon the English nation, from the money occasionally paid to the Danes; though they both go under the same denomination. The first was raised at such times, and in such proportions as necessity required; and was properly enough called danegeld; as it was given to pacify those invaders. The second was a regular, settled imposition, not much unlike our land-tax; and was properly called, in the Saxon tongue, heregyld, *i. e.* soldier's money; and received the name of danegeld, because it was originally given to raise a force to withstand the Danes. It amounted to a vast sum in those days; since the Saxon chronicle informs us, that by it, when first imposed, there was a prodigious fleet set on foot, such a one as till then had not been seen. Now, if we take this in a very limited sense, and allow it to signify not a greater fleet than Edgar's, but superior to any of his stationary squadrons; even this would be a very great thing<sup>o</sup>. The consequence of clearing this point will appear in the succeeding part of the work: in the mean time let it be observed, that the nation submitted to this grievous tax, in order to maintain a naval force sufficient to have preserved the dominion of the sea; which questionless might have been effected, had the money they gave been faithfully applied. But such were the delays, such the disorder in all their military preparations, that the people were fleeced, the service neglected, and the unfortunate

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068.

<sup>o</sup> Selden. Mare Clausum, lib. ii. c. 17.

King Ethelred, who, for any thing that appears in history, was a very brave, well-meaning prince, acquired the surname, or rather was stigmatized with the opprobrious nickname of *The Unready*. This is a disagreeable subject, which nothing but the love of truth, and the desire of preventing such mischiefs, by fairly exposing their causes, could have prevailed on me to have dwelt on so long. It was my duty, as an historian; and, though a little unwillingly, I have honestly performed it.

It would, however, be to no purpose to swell this work with a long detail of the misfortunes which befel this prince, and his son, the valiant Edmund, who for his many hardy acts in the service of his country was surnamed *Ironsides*; since these are fully related in all our histories: and, indeed, there is great reason to suspect, that the stories we meet with therein, are rather amplified than abridged. Two things, nevertheless, deserve the reader's notice in this great revolution. The first, that after the spirits of the people had been once sunk, by raising on them a great sum of money to purchase peace, they never afterwards could be revived; but things daily declined, and the chief persons in the realm sought to secure an interest in the conqueror, by betraying those whom they ought to have defended; so that the reduction of England was not so much owing to the number and force of the enemy, though these were very great, as to the treachery of the few, the dejection of the many, and the disputes of both among themselves; their naval force, even when they were lowest, being more than sufficient to have defended their coasts, had it been properly conducted. But being sometimes betrayed by their admirals, at others distressed for want of provisions, every little accident discouraged them, and any considerable loss disheartened them quite. The conquest of such men could not be hard. The second observation I have to make is this; that no sooner Swain, king of Denmark, found himself superior at sea, that he set up a title to the kingdom; which sufficiently shews, than this island is never longer safe, than while it is the first maritime power: whence the importance of our navy is made too manifest to be denied, and by which we may be convinced, that as our freedom flows only from our constitution, so both must be defended by our fleets.

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L I V E S  
 OF THE  
 A D M I R A L S:  
 INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
 N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A' P. III.

The Naval History of the Danes, from the peaceable settlement of Canutus on the throne, to the restoration of the Saxon line; and from thence to the death of King Harold.

Containing the space of about 48 years.

**T**HE writers of our ancient history, being many of them monks, did not well distinguish between foreign nations, but called all the invaders of this kingdom, from whatever quarter they came, Danes; because the first who troubled the Saxons, in this way, were of that nation. In like manner foreigners called them Normans; which seems to be a contraction of northern men. Their practice of scouring the northern seas, and plundering wherever they came, made them infamous in the eyes of others, though it passed among themselves for an honourable way of making war. The northern nations were always extremely populous; and, when they found themselves crowded, their custom was to equip a squadron of ships, on board of which went some of their chiefs, followed by a

body of such men as were willing to run their fortunes. At this time they were pagans ; and it must be owned the structure of their religion was very favourable to these sort of enterprises, representing them rather as effects of heroism, than as acts of robbery. In process of time, as they grew more civilized, they began to change their notions, and effected settlements wherever they found themselves strong enough to make them. It is not our business to enter deeply into their history, since it is evident enough, that they attained their dominion here by their power at sea, which is the only thing that brings them under our notice. But, if it were, there has been lately published at Copenhagen, a very curious history of the acts of the Danes in foreign countries, particularly in England, Scotland, and Ireland, all of which they long harassed, made settlements in all, and were expelled from them all through their making an ill use of their power <sup>a</sup>.

When Swain, king of Denmark, invaded this country about the year 1013, it was in revenge of the death of his countrymen ; and there were, at that time, so many great men here of Danish extraction, and the rest were so much disaffected to their natural prince, that the foreign invader soon found encouragement to set up a title by election, as is, though somewhat obscurely, intimated by some of our historians, but plainly and fully asserted by the Danish writers. Indeed, the defection at that time was so general, that Edmund abandoned his kingdom, and retired into Normandy ; and, if Swain had lived, it is doubtful whether he might not have kept the possession. But, he dying in the beginning of the next year, the Danes in England declared for Canutus his son, and the Saxons recalled King Edmund <sup>b</sup>. However, after the death of the last-mentioned prince, Canutus had a strong party who adhered to him, especially among the clergy ; so that, at length, King Edmund Ironside, by the persuasion of one Eadric, who had betrayed his father during his whole reign, entered into a treaty with Canutus,

<sup>a</sup> The title of this curious book runs thus : *Gesta & Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam : præcipue in Orient. Italia, Hispania, Gallia, Anglia, Scotia, Hibernia, Belgio, Germania, & Sclavonia. Maximam partem ipsis scriptorum, non exoticorum minus, quam domesticorum, verbis adumbrata.* Hafniz, 1741, 8vo.  
<sup>b</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 144, 145.

whereby

whereby it was agreed, that they should reign jointly; after which King Edmund did not live long, and so the whole fell to Canutus by survivorship. Some of our authors indeed write, that Edmund was murdered by the contrivance of Eadric; but for this there seems to be no solid foundation. The Saxon annals say plainly, that he died on the feast of St. Andrew, in the year 1016, and that he was buried with his grandfather King Edgar at Glastonbury<sup>c</sup>.

Canutus<sup>d</sup> ascended the throne by the general consent of the nation, and, in the second year of his reign, raised an extraordinary subsidy, or danegeld, in order to pay off his fleet. This amounted to 72,000 pounds for the rest of the kingdom, and 11,000 pounds for the city of London; after which he sent back his fleet and forces to Denmark, except forty ships which he kept to guard the coast. He was a very wise and brave prince, and, from the time he assumed the crown, did all that was in his power to conciliate the affection of his new subjects; which he so happily effected, that they served him faithfully in his wars for the recovery of some part of his foreign dominions, which were lost during his stay here. Thus, in 1027, he sailed with a fleet of fifty ships, with English forces on board, into Norway, out of which having driven Olaf, who had set himself up for king, the next year he returned into England. Two years after, he invaded the Scots both by land and sea, and obliged that king to submit to his terms<sup>e</sup>; and, throughout his whole reign, this prince carried his prerogative in naval affairs as high as, or rather higher than, any of his predecessors, as the learned Mr. Selden justly observes, and very fully proves, from records and history<sup>f</sup>. Indeed it was very easy for him to do so, being king of Denmark and Norway, as well as England.

He intended to have made his son Hardiknute, whom he had by Emma, the widow of his predecessor Ethelred, the heir of his kingdoms; but he being in Denmark at the time of his decease, his eldest son Harold<sup>g</sup>, surnamed, from his swiftness, Harefoot, found means to raise a party amongst the nobility, and

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. A. D. 1016.      <sup>d</sup> A. D. 1017.      <sup>e</sup> Pontan. hist. Dan. lib. v. Guliel. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglor. lib. ii. cap. 11. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. Ran. Higden. in Polychron. Chron. Saxon. p. 150—154.      <sup>f</sup> Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. 12.      <sup>g</sup> A. D. 1036.

possessed himself of the kingdom. Some writers tell us, that his brother Hardiknute prepared a great fleet with an intent to have invaded his dominions; but, as to this, the Saxon chronicle is silent; nor is there any thing memorable recorded in his reign. It is said, that he raised the danegeld or subsidy for the maintenance of sixteen ships, which was, it seems, the stated tax in the latter part of his father's reign; and, from what follows, it will appear, that this was a very reasonable imposition: but then it must be considered, that, in the days of King Canutus, his English subjects had nothing to fear; and from this circumstance it is probable, that the case was the same under Harold<sup>b</sup>. He died, after a reign of little more than four years, and was succeeded by his brother Hardiknute<sup>c</sup>, who coming with a large fleet to take possession of the kingdom, he that very year raised the danegeld to sixty-two ships. The following year he levied 21,099 pounds, and fixed the subsidy for the future at thirty-two ships. His uncle Swain being in danger of losing the kingdom of Norway, he sent a fleet from England to his assistance, which did not, however, answer the end he proposed; and, a little after, he died suddenly at a wedding, and with him ended the dominion of the Danes in England, in less than twenty-eight years after the coming of Canutus to the crown<sup>d</sup>.

Edward the Confessor, the son of King Ethelbert and Queen Emma, succeeded his half-brother Hardiknute<sup>e</sup>, and proved a very great prince in the opinion of the monks, and a very weak one in the sentiments of better judges. In the beginning of his reign he kept up a fleet of thirty-five sail; but afterwards falling out with the Earl Godwin and his sons, their quarrels threw the whole kingdom into distraction; insomuch that, in the year 1046, a pyratrical Squadron, consisting of no more than twenty-five ships, commanded by Lothen and Yrling, came to Sandwich, where they landed the forces on board them, who immediately spoiled all the adjacent country, and carried off the prey they took to their ships. Afterwards they retired to the island of Thanet, intending from thence to have plundered the coast at their leisure; but, by this time the militia rose, and not only prevented them from landing, but straitened them so much

<sup>b</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 154, 155.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 1039.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 155, 156.

<sup>e</sup> A. D. 1041.

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where they were, that with great difficulty they escaped. Then, falling on the coasts of Suffolk and Norfolk, they committed the same outrages there, and at last sailed away to Flanders with the wealth they had got, without meeting with any interruption from the king's ships. The next year the king was himself at sea with a fleet, and was able to do little, Earl Godwin and his sons having almost all the power, while the king had an empty title, with which he was little contented. Swain, Earl Godwin's eldest son, falling out with his family, as well as the king, committed great outrages on all the coast. His father, too, being disobliged, had recourse to a naval armament, to oppose which, the king fitted out a fleet of fifty sail; but whether it was through the intrigues of the earl, or the weak management of the king, so it happened, that, after all these preparations, a treaty ensued, in consequence of which, the earl once more entered the king's favour, and (with his sons) was declared the king's best subject: such was the doctrine of those times! After the death of this great nobleman, his sons, Harold and Tostigo, succeeded him in his dignities, and used them rather for their own convenience, than with any respect to the royal authority. It must, however, be owned, that they reduced the Britons, who had taken up arms under their king Griffith, who was killed in the action: yet Tostigo made so bad a governor in Northumberland, where the king had placed him, that the people expelled him; nor could he be restored, though his brother Harold was sent with an army for that purpose; which so disgusted him, that he sailed with a squadron of ships into Flanders, where, like his eldest brother Swain, he turned pirate, and began to think of pillaging by sea that country, the inhabitants of which would not suffer him to plunder them on land. In the midst of these confusions King Edward died<sup>a</sup>, as weakly and irresolutely as he lived, without securing the succession to Edgar Atheling, his intended heir, and who had indeed a better title than himself; which threw the nation into great confusion, and gave Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, an opportunity of seizing the crown, to which he had little or no title<sup>b</sup>; an act equally fatal to himself and to the

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 1066.

<sup>b</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 13. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vi. p. 369. Roger. Hoveden. annal. p. 439. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. Chron. Saxon. p. 154—170.

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people, since it occasioned the Norman invasion, and the absolute exclusion of the Saxon line, the monarchs of which had deserved so well of their country by making good laws, encouraging arts, and defending both by their arms. But, before we proceed to this revolution, it will be necessary to say somewhat of the character of Harold, as well as of his administration; for though he was a very ambitious, and consequently a very bad man, yet he wanted not some qualities that were truly great, and worthy of a prince.

The principal persons about King Edward at his death were such as had been of Earl Godwin's faction, and therefore countenanced a report, spread by Harold, that the king had appointed him his successor, which we find in the Saxon chronicle<sup>o</sup>; and yet, in that very book, there are many things which are inconsistent with this relation, such as the owning that the king sent for his cousin Edward, the father of Edgar Atheling<sup>p</sup>, and that, after the death of Harold, Edgar should have been king<sup>q</sup>, though his right was no way helped by that circumstance, but stood just as it did before at the time of King Edward's death. Such as say that Harold took the crown, as being more fit to wear it than an unexperienced boy, like Edgar, seem to speak the truth<sup>r</sup>. Harold had all the qualities necessary to have rendered him popular in an elective kingdom. He was of a great family, equally allied to the Saxons and Danes, very brave in his person, and well versed in the art of war, but, above all, jealous of the honour of the nation, and very desirous of maintaining his independency on land and sea<sup>s</sup>. He had, however, many difficulties to struggle with. A great part of the nation were dissatisfied with his title, and paid him an unwilling obedience. William, duke of Normandy, laid claim to his crown, and began to raise an army to support that claim: add to this, that his brother Tostigo, who had quarrelled with the late king and his own father, appeared on the coasts of Yorkshire and Northumberland with a fleet of fifty sail. Earl Edwin encountered him on his landing, defeated his army, and afterwards de-

<sup>o</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 172.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 169.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 173.

<sup>r</sup> Rog.

Hoved. hist. lib. vi. p. 367. Ingulph. hist. apud. script. post. Bedam, p. 900.

<sup>s</sup> Roger. Hoved. annal. prior. p. 447. Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. ult. Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. viii. p. 122.

stroyed a great part of his fleet; so that, with no more than twelve ships, he escaped to Scotland<sup>†</sup>.

On the first news of his brother's invasion, Harold prepared to march northwards, in order to prevent, if possible, the fatal consequences of this man's malice, whom he knew to have both courage and ability, considerable interest at home, and potent allies abroad; nor did he desist from his design on the news of the check he had received by his late defeat, knowing that his restless temper would not suffer him to be long before he endeavoured to revenge this affront. Indeed, he found an opportunity sooner than he could have expected; for he was scarce arrived in Scotland, before he heard of a new pretender to his brother's crown. This was Harold Harfager, that is, Fair-haired, king of Norway, who set up a title by descent, and, to support it, put to sea with a fleet of three hundred sail, and a numerous army on board. With him Tostigo joined, and, both sailing up the Humber, landed their forces, and began to direct their march towards York. The two great earls, Edward and Morcar, instantly assembled all the forces they could raise, in order to oppose them. A battle quickly ensued, in which those lords were totally routed, and, in consequence thereof, the king of Norway possessed himself of York. King Harold, no way discouraged at this ill news, ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and in the mean time marched in person against the enemy, who lay in an entrenched camp, which they conceived to be impregnable. But the king, opening the passage at Stanford-bridge, ever since styled Battle-bridge, attacked them with such vigour, that, after a long and bloody dispute, he forced their entrenchments, killed Harold Harfager and Tostigo upon the spot; and his admirals at sea having like success in beating the Norwegian fleet, Olaf, the son of Harold Harfager, was glad to capitulate, and consent to embark the scattered remains of his army on board twenty vessels, and to give up all the vast spoil they had taken, with the rest of his father's navy, to the conqueror, which agreement or capitulation was presently put in execution<sup>‡</sup>.

This was one of the greatest victories that we find recorded

<sup>†</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Roger. Hoved. p. 447. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vi.  
<sup>‡</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmib. de. gest. reg. Ang. lib. ii. p. 94.  
 Roger. Hoveden. p. 448. Ingulph. hist. p. 900.

by our historians; for, in the beginning of this expedition, the king of Denmark had conquered the Orkneys: and indeed, considering the force with which he invaded it, there was no small probability of his reducing England. By this defeat the king entirely frustrated that design, and, besides ridding himself of so formidable an enemy, acquired a vast treasure, and greatly augmented his fleet: but, as success generally shews a man in the truest point of light, so the king, on this occasion, discovered some ill qualities which he had hitherto concealed; for, instead of dividing the rich booty he had taken, or so much as a part of it, amongst his army, he laid hands upon the whole; which greatly weakened their affection to him, and made his soldiers less willing to hazard their lives in the service of so hard a master. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy had been labouring, by a variety of methods, to draw together such an army, and such a fleet, as might enable him to prosecute the title he pretended to the English crown, which at last, by dint of mighty promises to foreigners as well as his own subjects, he accomplished. His forces, consisting of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britons, he embarked on board a prodigious number of ships, few of which were of any great force, though all fit enough for transports. September 28, 1066, he landed safely at Pevensey in Suffex, and no sooner saw his troops on shore, than he burnt his useless fleet, which he knew was no way able to engage that of the English; and having done this, and raised a strong fortification, he penetrated farther into the country<sup>w</sup>. Harold had the news of this expedition quickly transmitted to him in the north, whence he marched with great diligence with his forces, flushed indeed with their late victory, but by so rude a service much diminished in their numbers, their spirits also abated by discontent. The king, however, taking counsel from the present situation of his affairs, behaved towards them more graciously than he had lately done, and by sending for the nobility, and representing to them the danger to which themselves and their country, as well as himself and his title, were exposed, gained considerable recruits: so that, by the time he arrived at London, his army was again become very confi-

<sup>w</sup> Chroniques de Normandie. Ingulph. hist. Ord. Vital, &c.

derable;

derable; only his soldiers stood in need of refreshment. But Harold, fearing ill effects from delays, and rejecting the propositions made him by an ambassador, sent from Duke William to meet him at London, continued to move on towards Sussex, in order to determine the fate of the kingdom by a decisive battle, notwithstanding his brother Grithus used many prudent arguments to dissuade him, advising him to entrust the army to his care, and to remain at London, in order to take proper measures, in case things went not so well as they could wish.

On the thirteenth of October the king arrived near Hastings, where the enemy lay encamped; and, though some proposals of peace were again made him, he remained firm to his first opinion of trusting the entire decision to the sword. The next day, being Saturday, he disposed his forces in order of battle, giving the van to the Kentish troops, and reserving the Londoners for the centre, where he fought in person with his two brothers. The duke of Normandy, on his side, did all that could be expected from a great captain, and one inured to arms from his very youth. The contest was long and bloody, suitable to the value of the prize which was to be the reward of the victor: but the Normans, making use of long bows, as yet not well known to the English, had thereby a great advantage, which turned the fortune of the day, and gave them a victory every way complete. King Harold, drawing the choicest of his troops about his royal standard, fought it out bravely to the last, falling by a shot he received under the left eye, which pierced to his brain. With him fell his brothers Grithus and Leofrick, and of private men 67,974. We need not wonder that this engagement alone secured the kingdom to Duke William, especially if we reflect on the hard-fought battle in Yorkshire but a few months before; for two such actions might well exhaust the strength of a kingdom almost continually harassed, for some hundred years before by the Danes\*. Yet the Saxons, if they had been well united, might have had at least another struggle; but their intestine factions contributed as much to their ruin as the force of the invader: for one part of the nation adhering to Edgar Atheling, the

\* Chron. Saxon. p. 172. Gulielm. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. iii. Hen. Huntingdon. hist. lib. vi. Roger Hoveden. p. 448. Ingelph. hist. p. 900, 901.

undoubted heir of the crown, and another inclining to espouse the party of the great earls Edwin and Morker, this division disabled both. Thus ended that monarchy which, from the time of Hengist, had continued about six hundred years; and, as it began through personal valour, so the same spirit was preserved even in its termination; for, as a learned writer of those times informs us, the last king Harold was a man in gentleness of nature equalled by few, in martial virtue surpassed by none, having most of those great qualities that render princes glorious, and who, if the event had corresponded with probability, seemed born to repair the decayed state of his country<sup>1</sup>. He left behind him four sons. It is very remarkable, that three of these, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, had interest enough, after the death of their father, to carry off the greatest part of his fleet; which enabled them to make many attempts, as we shall hereafter see, against the power of the Normans: but, proving always unsuccessful, they at length retired to Denmark, where they were kindly received, and where, tormented by a quick sense of their misfortunes, they languished out the remainder of their lives. I should not have taken notice of this circumstance, but that it serves to explain the succeeding part of our history, and shews how the Norman power at sea came to be so low for a considerable space after the conquest, as well as why the northern princes were so ready to give assistance to such as undertook to disturb this new possessor of the English crown; in which scheme we shall find persons who had very different interests concurred, upon the old maxim in politics, that, in acting against a common enemy, the principles of particular parties may, and in prudence ought to be suspended<sup>2</sup>.

WE come now to take a view of the commerce of the Saxons, and to inquire into the use they made of the dominion of the sea, to which they set up so loud a pretence. It so happens, indeed, that we have in this respect but very indifferent materials as to direct facts: but whoever will consider what kind of men the writers of those times were, and how unlikely they were to understand traffic, he will not so readily misconstrue their

<sup>1</sup> Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1063.  
Malmesb. Huntingd. Hoveden, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 173. Gal.

silence, as some critical writers have done ; by which I mean, he will not conclude from thence, that the Saxons had little or no foreign trade, since, if they had ever so much, ecclesiastics were not like to be the best acquainted with it. However, it may be truly asserted, that the trade of the Saxons was very considerable before the Norman conquest, perhaps more considerable than for some time afterwards ; and that this is not either a bold assertion, or a groundless conjecture, we shall be able to make out by a variety of arguments, which, for the honour of our country, deserve to be duly examined.

In the first place, then, let us observe, that the correspondence between our princes and those of the continent, is one good argument in favour of the nation's commerce : for it cannot be believed, that the greatest princes of Europe would either enter into treaties with obscure and barbarous nations, bestow their daughters on the princes of such people, or receive from them their daughters to be partners in their beds and thrones. Yet we see, that Charles the Great of France entered into an alliance with King Offa, as he also did with the king of Scots ; and, as to marriages, Ethelwolf, the father of King Alfred, married the daughter of the Emperor Charles the Bald ; King Ethelred married Emma, daughter to the king of Normandy ; and as to the princesses of England, they were married all over Europe to the most illustrious sovereigns : nay, even in their distress, when the sons of Edmund Ironside fled abroad for protection, one married the emperor's daughter, the other the daughter of the king of Hungary. Now it is impossible for us to conceive, how the worth and quality of such persons should be known in these distant places, if there had not been an extensive commerce between the subjects of the English kings and those of these princes. Add to this, that Asserius Menevensis informs us, that King Alfred's court was constantly crowded with persons of distinction, and that he was extremely careful in procuring the best artists of all kinds from different parts. Again, the public and private buildings of the Saxons demonstrate, that they were neither a rude nor unsociable people, but rather the contrary, since they were exceedingly elegant for the time in which they were raised : and we know by experience, that this kind of taste is the pure effect of extensive commerce.

We may likewise observe, that the very claiming the sovereignty of the sea is a plain indication of our driving a great trade upon it; since those only desire this dignity who know the importance of it: and as our claims in this respect are elder, and more explicit than those of any other European nation; we must conclude, that the value of this right was earlier understood here than elsewhere. These are general reasons only; I will now offer some that are clearer and more particular.

We had greater opportunities of understanding naval affairs in this island, than perhaps any other nation ever had; for, before the Roman invasion, the Britons had some skill in navigation, and had fitted out considerable fleets: they afterwards improved in this, as in all other arts, by adding the Latin learning to their own; whence we find them, under Carausius, Maximus, and Constantine, able to bear up against all the maritime force of the Roman empire. The Saxons were not destitute of skill in naval affairs before their arrival here: for we read, that they distinguished time by the ebbing and flowing of tides<sup>a</sup>; a kind of knowledge which, notwithstanding all the boastings of the Greeks, Alexander's seamen had not acquired, even when he made his Indian expedition<sup>b</sup>; and in which it appears, that neither Cæsar, or any of his soldiers, were well versed at the time of his invading this island<sup>c</sup>. It was therefore highly natural, when these nations were in some measure mixed together, and by degrees also blended with the Danes; I say, it was highly natural for them to push their genius, for maritime affairs, as far as it would go. And this leads me to another argument, which is drawn from the vast number of ships that it is apparent we had, at all times, from the fleets fitted out by the Roman governors, and by the Saxon princes, especially Alfred, Edgar, and Ethelred; since navies cannot be built in a season or two; or, if they could, would prove of little use in a country destitute of seamen. Lastly, our coin is a proof of our commerce. There were under the Saxon kings variety of mints, no less than seven in London; and the laws relating to coinage are very numerous. Now, since silver was never a commodity of our own, it follows, that this coinage

<sup>a</sup> Sidon. Apollinar. lib. viii. Ol. Worm. in Fastis Danicis, lib. i. cap. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Arrian. Exped. Alex. Mag. lib. xi.

<sup>c</sup> De Bello Gallico, lib. v.

must have arisen from the profits, or, to use a modern phrase, from the balance of trade in our favour. I presume, I may add to this, a law made by King Edgar, for reducing all weights, measures, &c. to one standard. Now this was to remedy an inconvenience that must have crept in, by trading with different nations, and so introducing their measures; and the scope of the law on the other hand proves, that the legislature, in those days, had a just respect to commerce, and was inclined to do any thing which might facilitate it; all which, taken together, in my opinion, doth abundantly make good my assertion; and demonstrates, as far as the brevity of this design will permit, the commercial genius of our ancestors the Saxons, to whom we stand indebted for the chief prerogatives of our crown, I mean in comparison with the other powers of Europe; and that generous spirit of freedom, which is the soul of our excellent constitution, and which the princes of the Norman line endeavoured, but in vain, to extinguish.

It may not be amiss to remark, upon the publishing this work, I heard some persons of good sense, and great judgment, complain, that in some places I studied brevity too much; and that, particularly, they would be glad to see this point of the Saxon navigation and commerce better explained: not that they at all doubted the truth of what I advanced upon the credit of our most learned and best historians; but that, being pleased with the hints given them upon these subjects, that they were inclined to see them more largely handled. And for the sake of such persons, I shall take the liberty of adding some reflections, which, till I knew that it was acceptable to my readers, I judged it a kind of presumption in me to make.

The vessels built by King Alfred for resisting the Danes, and which were so serviceable in that respect appearing to be a very singular and material point; some have wished that I had more plainly described them, which I would most certainly have done, if it had been in my power. Those vessels were built, not only by the direction of the king, but in a new manner which was of his own invention: and the writers who have preserved an account of them, though they are certainly competent witnesses as to the fact, yet were they very far from being proper judges of the manner. They can tell us what  
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the King did, and what were the effects of his doings; but how, or upon what principles, he constructed those new-invented ships of his, was out of their way to inquire; and, consequently, what they could not be expected to declare. This being so, it would be a thing preposterous to pretend to lay it down as certain, that King Alfred's new ships were built in this manner, or in that: all that I intended to suggest, was, that the king built these ships longer than usual, and in such a proportion as made them at once stronger and swifter than any with which that age were acquainted.

The candid and ingenious reader will readily allow, that we had good reason to commend the superior skill of the king, who made that a science which to others was but a trade. There were, no doubt, in that age, abundance of shipwrights, who knew how to put vessels together, so as to make them sound and tight, and good sailors too, as things went in those times. Yet it does not appear, that the king asked their advice; but, on the contrary, he directed their labours, and commanded that ships should be built of a new and very different make from those that were then in use. He was well acquainted with the Danish ships; and saw, that though they were very convenient for transporting troops, yet that very circumstance might be turned to their disadvantage, by employing against them vessels of a different make, longer, higher, stronger, and of a very different proportion in respect to breadth; which is a plain proof, that he had made himself master of the principles of ship-building, and knew how to vary the form in constructing vessels, so as to fit them for different uses and services: which, if the ignorance of those times was half so gross as modern writers are willing to represent, was certainly a very great and wonderful discovery.

It is also highly probable, that though the king gave directions to his ship-builders, and perhaps a model of the form in which he would have his new vessels built; yet he did not acquaint them with the principles upon which he went, or explain to them the reasons why vessels, built in this new form, were swifter and stronger than those of the enemy; but kept that within his own breast, as a great secret of state. His naval architects might be, and in all probability were, men of as great  
skill,

skill, and extensive capacities as any of their times; but then their knowledge was of a very different nature from that of the king: they might be great artists in their way, but were still mechanics; and though they knew how to build what were esteemed the best ships in this part of the world, yet were they far enough from penetrating into the causes of things, or apprehending clearly the reasons upon which those rules were founded, by which they were guided in their profession, and which experience had gradually introduced.

We have the greater presumption that this was the true state of the case, from the other circumstance, that the king made great improvements in the art of building ships for traffic. Hence we plainly discern, that what he contrived was not the effects of experience, or application of what he had seen or heard others performed, to his own affairs, or a thing that flowed from a lucky thought which was found to answer upon trial; but arose entirely from his great sagacity, which enabled him to see the very bottom of his art, and put it in his power to assign the just proportions of vessels destined for any purposes whatever, as his shipwrights were capable of building and equipping vessels of any dimensions, provided they had the draught of such vessels given them, in case they were of a new invention. These trading vessels were, without doubt, of a form differing from those warlike galleys that were fitted out against the Danes; and, consequently, not near so costly: for broad, large, and capacious vessels, such as are fit for carrying almost all sorts of merchandize, especially bulky and coarse goods, are, in every respect, far less expensive than vessels built for strength and nimble sailing.

I shall be extremely well pleased if these additional thoughts upon so important a point of history, give the satisfaction desired, which I hope it will; more especially if it be considered, that I propose to treat these points as an historian, and am therefore concerned to state facts clearly, and from good authorities; not to write dissertations upon such subjects as may be fairly presumed to lie equally out of the reach of my own and the peruser's curiosity. Whatever Alfred's skill in naval architecture might be, there is very little room to doubt, that the practical part of it continued long after his decease, and proved

proved no inconsiderable cause of the maritime force of his successors. All this time, however, the Danes were exercising themselves in naval expeditions; and as their strength and courage increased, so, by the introduction of luxury, and its perpetual companion, civil dissensions, the power and public spirit of the Saxons declined.

It may, however, be remarked in their favour, exclusive of what has been said before upon that subject, that they certainly cultivated the arts of peace and commerce with equal industry and success. All that part of this island under their dominion, was thoroughly peopled, and full of great towns, adorned, according to the mode of those times, with fair churches and great monasteries, which were at once testimonies of the piety and wealth of that nation. Their ecclesiastics and nobility frequently travelled into foreign regions, and brought from thence rarities of all sorts, to enrich their own country, the flourishing condition of which was what principally allured the Danes, who had the same appetite for riches, though they took a different method of procuring them, and spoiled, by force of arms, such as were grown opulent through the long continuance of peace.

We must likewise observe, that the incorporations of cities and boroughs was the work of the Saxons, as manifestly appears from the very terms that are still in use, and which are not to be understood or explained, but from a competent knowledge of their language and history. This is, at once, a clear and most conspicuous testimony of the true spirit of that government, which, while in its vigour, provided for the safety and prosperity of the people, by securing the liberties and properties, and by encouraging the industry and integrity of all ranks and degrees of men; which was the true reason that the laws of Edward the Confessor, that is, the laws and constitutions of his predecessors, collected and restored by him, were so universally approved and contended for by the English nation, as their peculiar blessings and birth-rights after the conquest; as will be seen in the succeeding chapters.

But above all, traders, artificers, and manufacturers of every kind, were especially protected and encouraged under the Saxon government. They had their respective guilds, or societies

cieties for regulating and promoting their affairs; and it is very remarkable, that there was no less attention paid to the establishment and extension of these lesser fraternities, calculated to maintain order and justice amongst such as got their living by their labour, than of the larger corporations; which is a truth, that all who are acquainted with our records and ancient histories will readily admit: and therefore it would be very unnecessary for us to insist longer upon this topic, though it was very material to mention it.

The Danes, after the first fury of war was over, and when they came to be united to, and incorporated with the Saxons, began by degrees to embrace their notions, and visit foreign nations, as well in a commercial, as in a hostile manner; and though their historians are more inclined to preserve the memory of the latter than the former, yet there is nothing clearer than this matter of fact, by which the subjects of the Danish monarchs were enabled to pay those prodigious taxes that from time to time were levied upon them, and by which the treasury of Canutus the Great was so amply supplied, that, when he took a journey to Rome, he made a more magnificent appearance there than any Christian prince, who, in those superstitious times, had honoured that capital with his presence; and is recorded to have spent and given away such immense sums of money, as filled all Europe with amazement.

But though the Danes, settled in England, departed from the manners of their countrymen, yet those who remained at home retained, in a great measure, the martial spirit of their ancestors, and held in the highest contempt every kind of trade except that of war. We shall see, however, that notwithstanding they long kept up a claim to this country, they were never able to recover it; because, after a few disappointments, their naval power sunk, and they were no longer capable of equipping such fleets as were requisite for the undertaking such expeditions. I mention this circumstance here, that the reader may have an opportunity of observing how soon a naval force is worn out, when employed only to serve the purposes of ambition; and this, notwithstanding all the care and pains that can be taken to keep up the spirits of a nation, and support an exact

discipline: for Canutus the Great enacted and published a body of laws for that end, which they would certainly have answered, if the thing had been possible in nature. This observation will very much confirm what has been before advanced, in respect to the great fleets that, for the course of above a century, were maintained by the Saxons for the defence of their coasts. These were certainly supplied with seamen from the ships employed in commerce, the only effectual and lasting method of maintaining maritime power.

It will not appear any formidable objection to this, that the Danes settled in Normandy grew so strong, as not only to maintain their possession of that country, but to attempt and succeed in their scheme of invading this: for they had, in a great degree, altered their measures, and, by the conveniency of their ports, fallen into a considerable share of commerce, as appears both from their history and laws. It is true, the old martial spirit reigned amongst their nobility, who still disdained any other profession than that of arms; yet this did not hinder a great part of their people from addicting themselves to quite another course of life, by which they drew such wealth into that country as enabled their dukes to live in splendor and magnificence, and furnished them with the means of making such powerful armaments as could never have been set on foot but by princes, whose authority upon such occasions could extract out of their subjects coffers those treasures that by their industry they had obtained. The spoils derived from military excursions, and the riches accruing from predatory expeditions, are quickly wasted, and, from the instability of fortune, seldom admit of recruits; but in countries blessed with commerce, though the madness of princes may occasionally lavish away great sums; yet the returns of peace give their subjects an opportunity of recovering again, and repairing the breaches that have been made by such mistakes.

Hitherto I have treated things more largely than I propose to do in my accounts of the subsequent reigns, down to that of Henry VII. because this period hath been much neglected; and, from an unwillingness to search into the records of antiquity, we have been made to believe, that, before the Roman conquest,

conquest, the inhabitants of Britain were an inconsiderable people, which we have shewn to be very false. But, from the time of William, surnamed the Conqueror, our modern histories are more fruitful; and therefore we may be allowed a greater brevity there. However, we shall take notice of every thing that is material, or that may contribute to the reader's having a just notion of the state our naval affairs were in under the reign of our monarchs, respectively, as well as of the remarkable expeditions in their times.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. IV.

The Naval History of England, during the reigns of the princes of the Norman race, *viz.* William, styled the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry Beauclerk, and Stephen.

Containing the space of about 88 years.

**O**F all the foreign princes who, in a course of ages, have ascended the English throne, William, duke of Normandy, seemed to promise the best, in regard to the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the crown which he assumed. He was in the prime of his life, if we consider him as a prince, being about forty-three years of age when he came hither; had been a sovereign from his very childhood, and maintained his right in the duchy of Normandy against the king of France, and other troublesome neighbours, with such constancy and courage, as at length procured him success, and fixed him in the full enjoyment of the dominions left him by his father\*. He had many opportunities of being acquainted with the Eng-

\* Oder. Vital. Guel. Gemetic. Les Chroniques de Normandie.

8th, before his coming hither, by the near relation between King Edward the Confessor, and his father Duke Robert; and the long stay that king made in Normandy, whilst the power of the Danes subsisted in England. This occasioned a great intercourse between the English and Normans, during the reign of that king, who rendered himself suspected to the former, by his extraordinary kindness to the latter; which might possibly grow from a mixture of fear, as well as love, since he had no other support against the power of Earl Godwin. This it was that induced him to invite Duke William hither in his lifetime; and, accordingly, he made him a visit<sup>b</sup>: and this was, undoubtedly, the chief motive of his feeding him with hopes of being his heir. As to the title of King William, it is not requisite that we should enter into a minute discussion of it; and therefore it will be sufficient to observe, that he claimed three different ways. First, by donation from King Edward; secondly, by right of arms; whence, in succeeding times, he was surnamed The Conqueror; and thirdly, by election: to which some have added a fourth title, by grant from the Pope; though this was no more than an approbation of the first. However he came by the crown, he certainly condescended to have his right recognized by the people, and promised solemnly, at his coronation, to govern as his Saxon predecessors had done; though he afterwards did not act quite so conformably to his oath as his subjects expected. To say the truth, he was of a stern and arbitrary disposition, which did not very well agree with the temper of the nation; and from this discordancy, between the king's humour and his subjects sentiments, as to their own rights, sprung the many disorders which happened during his reign, and the miseries brought thereby upon the people; of which we have ample accounts in the histories of those times<sup>c</sup>.

He was too wise a king not to discern the importance of a naval power, and too high-spirited a prince to suffer any of the prerogatives claimed by his predecessors to be at all prejudiced by his conduct. But, in the beginning of his reign, he

<sup>b</sup> Chroniques de Normandie, fol. 54.

<sup>c</sup> Chronic. Saxon. Ingulph. Histor. Gelliel. Malmesb. Henric. Huntingd. Roger. Hoveden. Eadmer. Alured. Beverl. Simeon. Duncelm. Joan. Brompton.

found himself, as we have before observed, under great difficulties in this point. He, at his coming from Normandy, assembled all the shipping that could possibly be had, as appears by his delaying his expedition for some time for want of vessels; as also from the number employed, which was not less than nine hundred; and all these, as we have heard, he burned. The greatest part of the English navy was carried away by the sons of Harold, and other malecontents, so that he could hardly bring together even an inconsiderable fleet; and yet the king resolved to take some care of a matter of so great importance, before his return into Normandy. With this view he passed into Kent, where the natives having first procured a recognition of their rights, delivered up to him the castle and port of Dover, which was what he principally wanted. Here he placed a strong garrison; and, having by this time collected some ships, appointed a squadron for the guard of these coasts; and embarked a part of his army, with the chief persons in England, whom he carried with him as hostages for Normandy; intending to come back, as he did, with a greater force, to secure himself against any defection of his new subjects, as well as from foreign invasions, with both which he was threatened<sup>d</sup>.

In the third year of his reign<sup>e</sup>, that storm which he had foreseen, burst upon his dominions; and, under any other prince but himself, would in all probability have been fatal. Our modern historians, especially, relate this so lamely, that their readers can scarce form any just idea of the danger the nation was in; which is one reason for our giving a detail of it: and besides this, it is of so great consequence to the subject of which we are treating, and so fully proves the impossibility of keeping Britain without a superior force at sea, that it would be excusable in us either to omit or curtail it. Immediately after his return from Normandy, the king began to treat the English somewhat severely; whereupon many of the most considerable persons retired out of the kingdom; some one way, some another. The two great Earls, Edwin and Morker, with many others of the nobility, and not a few of the clergy, went into

<sup>d</sup> Chron. Saxon. ad. A. D. 1067. Gul. Malmesb. de gestis. reg. Anglor. lib. iii. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii. Ingulph. Hist. p. 900, 901. <sup>e</sup> A. D. 1069.

Scotland;

Scotland; where Edgar Etheling and his family took shelter, and from whence they very soon invaded the north part of England <sup>f</sup>. Other lords fled to Denmark to King Swain II. who had always kept up a claim to the English crown, and who, therefore, readily yielded credit to their assurances, that, if he would but send a force sufficient to give them encouragement, the English, especially in the northern parts, would throw off the Norman yoke, and declare for him. He, therefore, equipped a considerable fleet (some copies of the Saxon chronicles say 240, others make them 300 sail), and sent them under the command of his brother-in-law Osborn, his sons Harold and Canutus, and some of the English fugitives, well provided with all things necessary, and with a considerable body of forces on board: so that nothing less than subduing the whole kingdom was the intent of this expedition <sup>g</sup>.

Few undertakings of such consequence, and wherein so many persons of different interests were concerned, had, in the beginning, so good success as that of which we are speaking; for the Danish fleet, having favourable winds and fair weather, came safely into the mouth of the Humber, and there debarked their forces about the middle of August, A. D. 1069, as we are told by Matthew Paris <sup>h</sup>. They were immediately joined by Edgar Etheling, the earls Edward and Morker, the famous Earl Waltheof, and many other persons of distinction, with a great army, composed of English and Scots, and then moved directly towards York, which King William had caused to be strongly fortified. The governor, whose name was Mallet, resolved to make an obstinate defence. With this view he ordered part of the suburbs to be set on fire, that the Danes might not lodge in them on their approach; but, through some negligence, the fire caught the city, and burnt a great part of it before it could be extinguished, which gave the Danes an opportunity of gaining it almost without a stroke: after which they attacked the citadel, took it, and put three thousand Normans to the sword. On this success, as the Danish writers say, Earl Waltheof was left there with a strong garrison, and the main body marched directly to-

<sup>f</sup> Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1098.      <sup>g</sup> Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1068. Pontanus, Hist. Dan. A. D. 1068.      <sup>h</sup> Hist. Angl. vol. i. p. 6.

wards London<sup>1</sup>. The king, however, advanced to meet them with a considerable army, wasting and spoiling the northern countries, which he conceived well affected to the enemy, and, as some alledge, fought with, and gave a check to the invaders; but our gravest historians report the fact quite otherwise. They say, that, finding his troops much inferior to the enemy, he entered into a private treaty with Osborn the Danish general, and offered him an immense sum of money for himself, with free leave to plunder the northern coasts, if he would be content to retire with his forces in the spring; which he accordingly accepted: so the king spoiling one way to revenge the infidelity of his northern subjects, and the Danes plundering the other, they, in the beginning of the next year, returned to their fleet in the Humber, and embarking their forces, returned home<sup>2</sup>. But Swain, king of Denmark, being soon informed that his hopes were frustrated by the covetousness and treachery of his brother, rather than by the force of the Normans, he banished him, as he well deserved<sup>3</sup>. Thus ended an expedition which might have produced another revolution in our affairs, if the king's prudence had not been as great as his courage. The next year, the Saxon chronicles tell us, the Danes landed again in the isle of Ely, to which abundance of malecontents had resorted; but, being able to do little, Swain made a treaty with the king of England: but his fleet sailing homewards, laden with booty, a great part of it was forced into Ireland, and many of the ships, with all their treasure on board them, foundered at sea<sup>4</sup>. But as to this, the Danish writers are silent.

About the same time<sup>5</sup>, the sons of the late King Harold came out of Ireland with a fleet of sixty-five sail, and landed in Somersetshire, where they committed great depredations; till Ednoth, who had been an old servant of their father, marched against them, beat their forces, and obliged them to retire<sup>6</sup>. They made a second attempt, the year following<sup>7</sup>, with a fleet of sixty

<sup>1</sup> Pontan. rer. Danicar. hist. lib. v. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vii. p. 369. Simeon Dunelm. A. D. 1069. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1069. Roger. de Hoveden. p. 451, 452. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 174. Pontanus rerum Dan. hist.

<sup>3</sup> Adam. Bremenf. Pontan. lib. v.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> A. D. 1068.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Hoveden. p. 450.

<sup>7</sup> A. D. 1069.

fail, landed near Exeter, plundered and burnt the country; but Earl Brien, raising forces, and fighting them twice in one day, forced them again to fly, with the loss of seven hundred men, and some of the principal nobility of Ireland; which broke the spirits of that nation, as to discourage them from abetting the English fugitives any more<sup>a</sup>; so that the sons of Harold, Godwin, and Edmund, retired to Denmark, where they were kindly received, and spent the remainder of their days.

These accidents convinced the king of the necessity of having a fleet always ready, and therefore to this he turned his thoughts; and, having collected as many ships as he was able, he employed them to hinder succours from coming to the rebels in the isle of Ely, which gave him an opportunity of entering it by land, and reducing to his obedience, or destroying, all who had taken shelter there<sup>c</sup>. In the seventh year of his reign, he attacked Scotland by sea as well as land, in order to be revenged of King Malcolm, who had constantly assisted all the disturbers of his government, and quickly brought him to accept a peace on the terms he thought fit to prescribe<sup>d</sup>. In the tenth year<sup>e</sup> of his reign it appears, that affairs were in better order than they had ever been before: yet it was not long before a great conspiracy was formed in England; and the lords, concerned in it, invited the Welch to enter the kingdom on one side, while the Danes invaded it on the other. The king was at this time in Normandy; but, having early intelligence of what passed in his absence, he quickly returned into England, seized many of the conspirators, and disappointed them in their intended rising. The Danes, however, under the command of Canutus the son of king Swain, came with a fleet of two hundred sail, upon the coast, and even entered the mouth of the Thames; but not finding their confederates in the posture they expected, and perceiving that the king had now a navy as well as an army, they retired to Flanders without undertaking any thing<sup>f</sup>.

For nine years after, the king remained quiet with respect to the Danes, who were involved in so many troubles at home, that

<sup>a</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglor. lib. iii.    <sup>c</sup> A. D. 1072.    <sup>d</sup> Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1072.    Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. ix.    <sup>e</sup> A. D. 1075.

<sup>f</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vii. p. 369.

they had no leisure to vex their neighbours. This respite the king employed in securing his foreign dominions against the attempts of the king of France in taming the Welch, and new-modelling affairs in England, so as to suit them to his own interest and inclination, as also to the raising a better force than hitherto he had fitted out at sea, which in some measure he effected. In the twentieth year<sup>w</sup> of his reign, when he thought to have taken some rest from his labours, and was busied in settling his affairs in Normandy, he was alarmed with the prospect of new danger, by receiving intelligence, that the Danes were making prodigious preparations for the conquest of England. Our writers are far from giving a good account of this matter: for though they tell us in general, that mighty things were intended, and a vast fleet drawn together, yet they deliver no rational motives for this attempt. Nor are they less deficient in what they say of the issue of the design, viz. that the fleet was detained two years in the harbour by contrary winds; and at last the enterprize was abandoned, when they understood the mighty preparations made in England to receive them. But we meet with a much clearer and more probable story in the Danish authors.

They say, that King Canutus IV. as soon as he was thoroughly settled on his throne, began to form a design of asserting the title, which he believed his father Swain had left him, to the crown of England; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the persuasions of his brother-in-law Robert, earl of Flanders, who promised him his assistance, and by the incitements of the English refugees, who assured him, that their countrymen were quite tired out with the intolerable oppressions of the Normans, and would certainly join him, if he landed with a force sufficient to protect them. Before he absolutely determined to make this expedition, he asked the opinion of his brother Olaus, duke of Sleswick, who advised him to undertake it, as did also the states of the kingdom: upon which he drew together a prodigious fleet, little short of a thousand sail, and put on board them all sorts of ammunition and provision for the great body of troops he intended to embark therein. When all things

<sup>w</sup> A. D. 1085.

were ready, he waited some time for his brother Olaus, and at last growing impatient, he went to fetch him out of his duchy, where he found him plotting his ruin, instead of preparing for the voyage to England; upon which he seized, and sent him prisoner into Flanders. During the absence of King Canutus, the conspirators on board the fleet gave out, that the provisions were not wholesome; that several of the vessels were leaky; that the king's mind was changed; and that the best thing they could do was to go every man to his own home: so that, when Canutus returned, he found both his fleet and army dispersed\*: which is certainly a better account of the miscarriage of this undertaking, than the long continuance of cross winds, to which some (or the effects of magical enchantments, to which others) ascribe it.

Certain it is, that King William brought over from Normandy such an army as his subjects till then had never seen; for the maintenance of which he not only oppressed the nation for the present, but, laying hold of the general consternation the people were in, ordered the famous Doomsday-book to be made, wherein, taking an account of every foot of land in the kingdom, he learned, to the last shilling, how low they might be drained. I know some historians place this fact in another light; but I follow the Saxon chronicle, written in his own time, but with a truly English spirit; and therefore, in this respect, the best guide. To say the truth, this king knew how to make advantage of all things; but particularly of misfortunes; for, in all the rebellions and invasions which happened during his reign, he constantly spared his Normans, and subdued the English by the arms of the English. So, on the rumour of this invasion, he first took occasion to fill the country with his foreign soldiers, and then pillaged the people for their subsistence, and to fill his own coffers. When the danger was almost over, he sailed to the Isle of Wight, that it might appear he was not destitute of a naval force, in case his enemies resumed their projects; and passed

\* Pontan. rerum Danic. hist. lib. v. p. 197. Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Ang. lib. iii. 1 Chron. Saxon. p. 186. Ingulph. hist. Gul. Malmesb. Mat. Paris. An excellent account of Doomsday-book, the reason why it was made, and its contents, is to be found in Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 373. in Mr. Hearne's accurate edition.

from thence into Normandy<sup>a</sup>. The next year he engaged in a war with France, in which, though he was successful, yet it cost him his life; for, advancing too near the flames of a city which he caused to be burnt, he caught a fever thereby, of which he died, on the 9th day of September 1087, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and the sixty-fourth of his age. The Saxon chronicle tells us, that he was a diligent active prince, and extremely jealous of his sovereignty as king of England. Wales he subdued, and bridled with garrisons, awed Scotland, preserved Normandy, in its full extent, against all the attempts of the French, and, if he had lived two years longer, would have reduced Ireland without employing arms<sup>b</sup>. In a word, he was in England a great king, and to his Normans a good duke.

WILLIAM II. surnamed Rufus, *i. e.* the Red, from the colour of his hair, succeeded his father, though without so much as a plausible title, his brother Robert not only having the pretence of birth, but likewise a plea of merit much superior to his. William, however, thought he might well attain by fraud what his father had both taken and kept by force; and therefore, having the good-will of some of the clergy, he wisely determined to procure that of the nation by distributing among them his father's treasures. To this end he made haste to England, and going to Winchester, where his father's wealth lay, he scattered it abroad in such a manner, that the poorest of the people, in every parish in England, felt the effects of it: so that, on his coming to London at Christmas, he was received with all imaginable tokens of loyalty and affection<sup>c</sup>. He easily discerned, that his brother Duke Robert would not fail to give him disturbance, and that, whenever he inclined to do it, a party would not be wanting to assist him in England: he therefore, to secure himself, in the first place, caressed all the English nobility, and, contrary to his father's maxims, preferred them to the Normans, not out of any love, but because he saw the Normans better affected to his brother: yet, whatever the motive was, the thing itself was very beneficial to the people; for it once again put

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 1086.    <sup>b</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

<sup>c</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 191. Gr. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglor. lib. iv. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vii.

arms into their hands, and thereby gave them a power of obliging their princes to keep their promises longer than they intended. Another expedient of his was of no less advantage; he permitted the English to fit out ships of force to act against his enemies; and we shall quickly see what profit the king reaped from this indulgence<sup>c</sup>.

Robert, the eldest son of the conqueror, was in Germany when his father died; whence he quickly returned to take possession of the duchy of Normandy, in which he met with no opposition<sup>d</sup>. When he was settled there, he turned his thoughts upon England, where his uncle Odo, earl of Kent, had formed a strong party for the support of his title. They surprised and fortified several castles; and if Robert, who had a good army in Normandy, and ships enough to transport them, had been as diligent in his own affair as those who abetted his interest here, he had certainly carried his point, and transferred the crown to his own from his brother's head: but he contented himself with sending a few troops hither, which, however, landed without opposition, the king having no navy to oppose them. But the English observing that, after this, they began to pass the seas carelessly, attacked them as occasion offered, took their ships, and destroyed multitudes of men; so that, in a little time, Robert was glad to desist from his pretensions to the kingdom; and the king, in the fourth year of his reign, invaded Normandy both by sea and land: but, by the interposition of friends, their differences were composed, and for the present the brothers reconciled<sup>e</sup>.

The year following, the king resolving to be revenged on the Scots<sup>f</sup>, who had invaded his dominions while he was in Normandy, prepared to attack them with a considerable land force, and at the same time fitted out a great fleet. Duke Robert, who was then in England, was intrusted with the management of this expedition, which was far from answering the expectations raised thereby: for the fleet not being ready till towards Michaelmas, there happened such storms on the Scottish coast, that abundance of ships were lost, and many more disabled: the army, too, suffered exceedingly by the severity of the weather; and

<sup>c</sup> Roger. Hoveden. p. 461, 462. Johan. Brompt. Chron. int. x. script.

<sup>d</sup> A. D. 1088.

<sup>e</sup> A. D. 1092.

<sup>f</sup> A. D. 1091.

after all, Duke Robert was glad, by the interposition of Edgar Atheling, to make peace with Malcolm king of Scots; which the king ratified, without intending to keep it<sup>a</sup>. After this, there is little occurs in his reign as to naval expeditions, except frequent invasions of Normandy; which shews he was superior at sea, and that he might have made a great figure by his maritime power, if he had been so inclined. But he had other views, and was particularly disposed to bring the Welch under subjection; in order to which, he allowed the nobility on the borders to undertake expeditions at their own expence, and, in consequence of that, for their own advantage.

An accident happened in one of these expeditions<sup>b</sup>, which shews how much maritime affairs were then neglected, and how imprudent a thing it is to depend on armies without fleets. Hugh earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh earl of Chester, invaded the isle of Anglesey, and easily subdued the inhabitants, whom they plundered, and used very cruelly: but, in the midst of their success, one Magnus, a Norwegian pirate, came from the Orkneys, which were then subject to the Danes, with a small squadron of ships, and, landing in Anglesey unexpectedly, defeated these insolent invaders, killed the earl of Shrewsbury upon the spot, and carried off all the spoil that he and his associates had taken. Not long after this, King William being informed, that the city of Mans was besieged, he resolved to go to its relief: and though his nobility advised him to stay till a squadron, at least, could be drawn together, yet he absolutely refused to make any delay, but, going on board a small vessel, obliged the master to put to sea in foul weather, for this wise reason, that he never heard a king of England was drowned; and so, landing at Barfleur with the troops he had in Normandy, relieved the place. How much soever some commend this action, it was not certainly either prudent or honourable, as expressing rather an intemperate courage, than any sober resolution of maintaining his dignity, which would have been better provided for by keeping a navy in constant readiness<sup>c</sup>. This appears also to have been the king's own sentiments: for, on his return to England, the next year, his first care was, to put his marine in a better

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 197. Alured. Beverl. lib. xi.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 1099.

<sup>c</sup> Roger. Hoved. p. 465. Alured. Bev. annales, lib. ix.

condition;

condition; and, having formed some new projects, he drew together a very considerable fleet, at the same time that he raised a very great army: but before all things could be got ready, he was taken off by a sudden and violent death. For going to hunt in New-Forest, he was shot accidentally by an arrow's glancing against a tree; so that, after fetching one deep groan, he died on the spot. The current of our modern histories have fixed this fact on one Sir Walter Tyrrel; but several ancient writers, speaking of the king's death, do not mention this gentleman: and a contemporary author affirms, that he had often heard Sir Walter declare, that he was in another part of the forest at the time of the king's death, and that he knew not how it happened\*. Thus the rumours in one age become history in the next. This accident fell out on the second of August, in the year 1100, when the king had reigned almost thirteen, and lived somewhat more than forty-two years. He was certainly a prince of high spirit, and quick parts, but had little tenderness for his subjects; and though he made a better king than his father, to the English, yet it was merely because he had more need of them, as appeared by the difference of his conduct in time of distress; and, when the situation of his affairs was mended, through their assistance: for he grew then as careless in performing, as he had been lavish before in promising. So that his death was looked on as a deliverance, though he left the succession unsettled, and all things in confusion.

HENRY, the youngest son of the conqueror, from his being bred to learning, surnamed Beauclerk, stepped into the vacant throne, while his brother Robert was in the Holy Land†. He had a bad title, though varnished with many fair pretences: such as his being born after his father became king; drawing his first breath in England, and having ever shewn a great affection for his countrymen. Yet the favour of the clergy, and particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the chief cause of his peaceable accession; as his being very rich, and knowing well how to distribute his money, gained him, after his accession, many friends. In the very dawning of his reign, he dis-

\* A quodam ex suis sagitta occisus, says the Saxon Chron. p. 207. *Suger in vita Ludovici Crassi.*

† A. D. 1100.

covered an admirable talent for government, doing more good things than his brother had ever promised. He restored, in a great measure, the Saxon laws; preferred virtuous and able men; eased the people of their taxes, and provided for the security of the seas; promoting also, to the utmost of his power, the trade and navigation of his subjects. Still more to ingratiate himself with the commons, he espoused Matilda, the sister of Edgar, king of Scots, who was niece to Edgar Etheling, the true heir of the Saxon line: all this he did with great sincerity of heart, and not from those principles of Norman cunning, wherein consisted the seeming wisdom of his brother. He carried his affection for the English farther still, by doing them justice upon their oppressors; imprisoning the bishop of Chester in the Tower, who had been the principal adviser of William Rufus, in all his arbitrary exactions<sup>m</sup>. In consequence of all this, he either had, or ought to have had, the entire affection of his subjects. But his wisdom would not allow him to trust entirely to that; and therefore, as soon as he understood that his brother Robert was returned into Normandy, and received there in triumph, he provided for the security of his dominions by the most natural method, that of increasing his strength at sea, and giving directions to his officers who had the custody of the coasts, called, in the language of those times, butsecarles, to be vigilant in preventing all persons from coming out of Normandy into England<sup>n</sup>.

Time plainly discovered the wisdom of the king's precaution: for Duke Robert, who was returned with a great reputation, and who was a prince endowed with many amiable qualities, quickly renewed his pretensions to the English crown; preparing both a fleet and an army, in order to pass over into England with greater strength, and hopes of better success than he had formerly. All our historians, however, agree, that, if King Henry's commanders at sea had done their duty, he would never have set his feet on this island by force. But it so happened, that, either out of hopes of profit, or from the natural levity of their dispositions, several of them inclined to the duke; and,

<sup>m</sup> Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1100. Gul. Ma'mesb. de gest. reg. Ang. lib. v. Math. Paris, p. 55. Eadmer. histor. Novor. lib. iii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

<sup>n</sup> Roger Hevden, p. 468, 469. Florent. Wigorn. ad A. D. 1100.

As soon as they knew his fleet was at sea, went over, with their ships, into his service: by which means he landed safely at Portsmouth with a gallant army°. King Henry, however, had not been idle; but had a considerable force about him, when he received this news; upon which he marched directly to Hastings, where he was joined by many of the nobility; though some of these, too, afterwards, went over to his brother. When things were on the point of being determined by arms, and a second battle of Hastings seemed to be the only method of clearing the royal title, the archbishop of Canterbury, and some other great men, interposed, and brought about an accommodation; by which the kingdom was left to Henry, and a pension of three thousand merks was reserved to Robert P; who, after a stay of six months in his brother's court, returned into Normandy, very well satisfied: though he did not continue so long; perceiving plainly, when it was too late, that he who wanted resolution enough to contend for a kingdom, was not likely to preserve a dukedom in quiet: and this jealousy drew upon him, in process of time, the very thing that he feared, as our historians relate at large, and as I shall briefly shew, so far as it concerns the subject of which I am treating.

After various passages into Normandy, the king, at last, determined to make an absolute conquest of it; pretending, that he was ashamed to see his brother not able to live upon his revenues, though he had not been ashamed to take from him, as a gift, the pension of three thousand marks *per annum*, which he had forced him to accept in lieu of the crown. With this view he raised a great army, and a fleet proportionable, with which he crossed the sea; and, in a short space, conquered the greatest part of his brother's dominions. That stout prince, whose spirit was always superior to his power, resolved to hazard all bravely in the field, rather than remain safe in his person, but stripped of his dominions. Full of this generous resolution he gave his brother battle, wherein he shewed all the courage and conduct of an experienced commander; yet, in the end, was routed, taken prisoner, and thenceforward never en-

° A. D. 1101. P Chron. Saxon. p. 209. Mat. Paris, p. 98. Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. v. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix. 9 A. D. 1106.

joyed either land or liberty more<sup>r</sup>. The English writers are fond of remarking, that this conquest of Normandy happened that very day forty years, on which his father, by the battle of Hastings, obtained the crown of England: but, as to what they relate further, of Duke Robert's having his eyes put out, and dying of spite, because the king sent him a robe that was too little for himself<sup>s</sup>; they are facts, if not false, very doubtful at least, and therefore not hastily to be credited.

As Normandy could not have been conquered without a considerable fleet, so it would quickly have been lost again, if the king had not been superior to his neighbours at sea; for the king of France was very desirous of setting up William, the son of Duke Robert, and nephew to the king, in the room of his father. This obliged King Henry to make frequent voyages thither, and to be at great expence, as well in gratifying the French lords, as in maintaining an army and fleet for its defence; which did not, however, hinder him from chastising the Welch, when they took up arms against him, or from sending to the assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land, as great succours as any prince of his time<sup>t</sup>. Indeed, his remarkable felicity, in attaining almost every thing he undertook, put much in his power; and he had too elevated a soul not to use what he possessed.

He received, however, in the twenty-first year of his reign<sup>u</sup>, a very considerable check: for having settled every thing in Normandy to his good liking, where, for that purpose, he had resided for many years; he resolved to return to England, with all the royal family. His only son William, whom he had made duke of that country, and who was alike the delight of his father, and of the nation, ordered a new ship to be built, for the commodious carriage of himself, and many of his princely relations: these, accordingly, embarked on the 26th of November, the weather fine, and the wind fair. The prince, having made the hearts of the sailors merry, proposed to them a reward, in case they could outfail the vessel in which his father

<sup>r</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 213, 214. Mat. Paris, p. 62. Gul. Malmesb. &c.

<sup>s</sup> This is indeed affirmed by M. Paris, and some other writers of good authority; but the Saxon chronicle is silent; and Malmesbury commends King Henry's kindness to his brother.

<sup>t</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Anglor. lib. v. Hen. Huntingd. hist. lib. vii. Alured. Beverl. Annal. lib. ix.

<sup>u</sup> A. D. 1110.

was. In attempting this, they ventured too near the shore, and unfortunately, just as it fell dark, ran upon a shoal of rocks, then known by the name of Shatteras. The boat was presently put out, and the prince, with some few about him, got into it, and might have been yet safe, if, moved by the cries of his sister, the Countess of Perche, he had not returned, with an intent to take her in; which gave so many an opportunity of crowding into the boat, that it sunk, together with the ship; every soul going to the bottom except a butcher, who very strangely escaped, by clinging to the main-mast<sup>w</sup>. There perished, by this misfortune, about two hundred persons; which enables us to give some guess at the bulk and burden of ships in those days<sup>x</sup>.

Other circumstances in this king's reign, I find none of weight enough to deserve mentioning: I shall therefore content myself with observing, that, by several laws relating to trade, (particularly one, which gave every wreck to the owners, if a living thing was found on board), he manifested his intention to commerce, and his care of maritime affairs<sup>y</sup>. To this we may add, that the Danish prince of the Orkneys made him frequent presents, as testimonies of his veneration and respect; and though Morchad, king of Ireland, whom the writers of that country style Murchertus O'Brian, in the beginning of his reign, treated the English but indifferently; yet, on King Henry's threatening to prohibit all commerce with that island, he came to a just sense of his folly, and ever after behaved as became him towards the subjects of so great a prince<sup>z</sup>. It is in some measure wonderful, that, considering the many and great fatigues this prince underwent, he was not sooner worn out: but, as he was fortunate in all other things, so in this also he was happy, that he enjoyed a longer life and rule than his predecessors; dying on December 2, 1135; after having reigned thirty-five, and lived near sixty-eight years<sup>a</sup>. He was a monarch of great endowments, improved by an excellent education, who sincerely

<sup>w</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 212. Gul. Malmesb. Hen. Huntingd. Matth. Paris, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Alured. Beverl. annal. lib. ix. p. 148. Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, p. 438. contains a very particular and curious account.

<sup>y</sup> Selden. Jan. Ang. int. oper. tom. iv. p. 1009.

<sup>z</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. v.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Saxon, p. 237. Matth. Paris, Gul. Malmesb. &c.

loved the English, and had always a just regard to the honour of his crown.

STEPHEN, Earl of Blois, nephew, by the father's side, to the late king, and, by his mother, grandson to William the conqueror, by cajoling the English lords, promising wholly to remit danegeld, and to ease them in other particulars, attained the possession of the English crown, to the prejudice of Maud the empress; through the same arts, precisely, whereby her father had defrauded his brother Duke Robert. This king Stephen was a prince, who, abating his ambition, had few or no vices; brave in his person, a good officer; and who, in all probability, would have made an excellent king, if he had come to the throne with a better title, and thereby secured a more peaceable possession: but, being involved in wars and disputes, almost his whole reign, and having given up or relinquished that tax, by which he should have secured the sovereignty of the sea, which promise he exactly kept; we need not wonder, that we have less to say of him than of the other Norman princes<sup>b</sup>.

In the third year of his reign, he, with a great fleet, and a considerable army on board, invaded Normandy: and though Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, the husband of Maud the empress, did all in his power to defend it; yet he rejoined that dukedom to the English crown, intending to have bestowed it on his son Eustace. However, his affairs had not this prosperous current long; for, after many domestic troubles, his competitor Maud landed in England, and laid claim to the crown<sup>c</sup>. Though her retinue was very small, scarce one hundred and fifty in number, yet she quickly grew strong enough to give the king a great deal of trouble: nay, at length she became so powerful, that she took him prisoner, and sent him to be kept at Bristol; where, by her orders, he was put into irons; yet afterwards exchanged for her bastard brother, Robert Earl of Gloucester. This potent lord, crossing over into Normandy, recovered it for his sister and her son Henry; and then returning, is recorded to have invaded the northern parts of the kingdom, with a fleet of fifty-two sail; which shows how low the maritime strength of

<sup>b</sup> Chron. Saxon. p. 238. Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 74, 75. Gul. Malmesh. Hist. novel. lib. i.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 1140.

the nation was then fallen, and what mighty mischiefs follow from a contested succession, which, however it may end as to princes, is sure to be always fatal to their subjects<sup>d</sup>.

Indeed this reign of King Stephen, if our best histories, and the Saxon chronicle especially, be worthy of credit, was most unfortunate for the people; exposing them to such miseries and distresses as in times past they had never felt, and which would hardly meet with any belief now. Amongst all their grievances this was none of the least, that there was a total stagnation of trade, much counterfeit money, and no security for foreign merchants; remedies for all which, are expressly provided by the treaty of peace made with Henry Duke of Normandy, by King Stephen, in the eighteenth year of his reign, which was confirmed by the king's charter, whereof an authentic copy is preserved in Holingshed's chronicle, and no where else<sup>e</sup>. The king did not live long after this settlement of his affairs; otherwise he would, in all probability, have done his utmost to restore things to a better state; about which, when his mind was employed, he was carried off, by a complication of distempers, on October 25, 1154; when he had reigned near nineteen years. A great captain, says Matthew Paris; and most of our other historians agree as to his personal qualifications, a good king. Only that ancient and venerable book, the Saxon chronicle, which ends with his reign, sets down nothing but calamities and misfortunes which happened therein: and yet this prince had a reputation for piety, and was remarkably kind to the monks. I mention this particularly, to shew the impartiality of that authentic history, which well deserves to be translated from the tongue of our ancestors into modern English, and would afford such as prefer truth to fine language, much satisfaction.

ACCORDING to the method I have hitherto followed, I ought to speak now of such discoveries as were made within this space of time, or extraordinary acts performed by private persons: in respect to which, however, I shall not detain the reader long; because, in the first place, we have not much of this

<sup>d</sup> Gul. Neubrigen. lib. 1. cap. 11. Nic. Trivet. Annal. Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, p. 460.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. ii. p. 62. edit. 1587.

kind to note; and secondly, what there is, hath been already examined by Hakluyt and other collectors, and therefore may be presumed to be sufficiently known already. Such are the travels of Alured, bishop of Worcester, in the year 1058, to Jerusalem<sup>f</sup>; the journey of Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, to the same place in 1004<sup>g</sup>; both which are private transactions, and only prove that Englishmen were as forward as any, in those days, in undertaking such journeys as might contribute to the increase either of their knowledge or reputation. As to the expeditions of Edgar Atheling, they are somewhat of a different kind; and are, in some measure, of national importance. His high quality, as the true heir of the English crown, made all his actions very conspicuous, during the times in which he lived; and, as he often found it troublesome staying at home, under the eye of such as, to his prejudice, were vested with supreme power, and bore him no good-will; so he chose to signalize his courage abroad, in such adventures as fell in his way. Thus he commanded a body of Normans, which were sent into Apulia<sup>h</sup>; and returning out of Italy with honour, he then applied himself to Robert, duke of Normandy, who treated him with kindness and respect, and with whom he went to Jerusalem; where he likewise gained such great reputation, that, first the emperor of Constantinople, and then the emperor of Germany, would willingly have detained him in their courts: but he came back in 1102, and was, four years afterwards, taken prisoner with duke Robert, in Normandy<sup>i</sup>. One of our most famous historians, who was his contemporary, reproaches him severely for his not accepting the offers that were made him abroad, and for his fond attachment to his own country: but, if we consider that his sister was married to the king of Scots, and that her daughter by that king, was espoused to King Henry, in whose reign he returned; one cannot think that censure very reasonable, or that his wasting the last years of his life in so obscure a retirement, that we know not where

<sup>f</sup> Roger Hoveden, *In parte priore Annal.* p. 445. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 8.  
<sup>g</sup> Ingulph. *hisor. ap. script. post Bedam*, p. 903, 904. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 9.  
<sup>h</sup> Gul. Malmesb. *de gest. reg. Angl.* lib. iii.      <sup>i</sup> Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1106.

it was <sup>k</sup>, or when, or how he died, appears more dishonourable to his memory, than to the writers of that age, who were so devoted to power, that they could not so much as do justice to the character of a man obnoxious thereto. Athelard, a monk of Bath, is said by Bale to have travelled through Egypt and Arabia, in search of knowledge; and that, on his return home, which was towards the latter end of the reign of Henry I. he published many learned works<sup>l</sup>. Leland, a more accurate writer, tells us he was a great traveller; but without any mention either of Egypt or Arabia; though he informs us, that he translated Euclid's Elements out of Arabic into Latin; and that himself had seen another learned work, translated by the same monk, from an Arabic treatise, intitled, Erith Elcharmi: which deserves to be remarked, because very probably these books were then first brought to the knowledge of learned men here; and therefore this man might be said to travel for public advantage<sup>m</sup>. William of Tyre<sup>n</sup>, and Robert Ketensis, are both mentioned in Hakluyt, from Bale, for learned men and travellers, as they were<sup>o</sup>. The former flourished under King Henry, the latter under King Stephen; but, as to any thing farther capable of recommending their fame to posterity, I find not:

It appears from the renewed charters of the cinque ports, that, as they were first incorporated by Edward the Confessor; so, during the reigns of the several princes mentioned in this chapter, they were particularly serviceable upon all occasions: whence it is evident, that there was a flourishing trade carried on from this coast even in these times, and before them. As to the commerce of the river Thames, and the city of London, there is an ample testimony in the works of William of Malmesbury, who flourished under King Stephen: for he assures us that it was then frequented by merchants of all nations, and so ample a store-house of all the necessaries of life, that, upon any dearth or scarcity of corn, the rest of the nation was cheaply

<sup>k</sup> Gul. Malmesb. de gestis reg. Ang. lib. iii. p. 103. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 10.

<sup>l</sup> Balens de Script. Britan. p. 183. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 15. <sup>m</sup> Leland,

Comment. de Script. Brit. vol. i. p. 201.

<sup>n</sup> Bal. de Script. Britan. vol.

ii. p. 50, 150. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 16.

<sup>o</sup> Bal. de Script. Britan. vol. i.

p. 191. Hakluyt, ubi supra.

and

and conveniently supplied from thence<sup>p</sup>. The same writer observes as to Bristol, that a great trade was driven from thence to Norway, Ireland, and other places, whence the inhabitants were vastly enriched<sup>q</sup>. Without doubt; the accession of the Norman dominions was of considerable use in respect to trade; as was our former intercourse with the Danes, since it enlarged our correspondence with the northern parts of the world, a thing always profitable to a country abounding with valuable commodities or manufactures; as will more clearly appear, even from our concise account of the succeeding reigns.

The reader will observe, that we refer any advantages arising to the inhabitants of this island, from their falling under the same sovereignty with the duchy of Normandy, to the succeeding reigns; since there is nothing more certain, than that under the government of the prince mentioned in this chapter, they suffered severely. William I. provoked by frequent insurrections in the north, and the assistance given by the Scots to such as took arms against him, ruined the northern parts of his territories in such a manner, that they did not recover during this whole period. On the other hand, his son and successor, William Rufus, demolished thirty-six good towns, in the fairest and most fruitful part of England, for the making that which is still called the New Forest. What is ascribed to rage in the one, and wantonness in the other, may perhaps be justly styled the fruits of the same policy in both: for it looks as if the father had a mind to make war, a thing more difficult to the inhabitants of the north, by preventing their joining with the Scots so easily, or subsisting their forces conveniently when joined, and the son might possibly be willing to have that coast less populous, that the inhabitants might not be tempted to aim at preventing his return from Normandy, whenever his affairs carried him thither, as otherwise perhaps they might have been.

Both those monarchs seem to have had no tenderness at all for this country, but considered it as a farm, of which it was wisdom to make the most while in their possession. Henry had indeed a heart, if not entirely, yet in a good measure, English: under him the people began to recover again, and grow weak-

<sup>p</sup> De gest. pontif. Anglor. lib. ii.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. lib. iv.

thy, as the king did likewise: for it was in his time that the revenue arising from the crown lands was adjusted, and fixed to a settled and certain rate, so as that it might be paid, either in money or provisions. As this shews that the people were beginning to grow rich, so, by attending his affairs at home as well as he did those abroad, the king grew rich too, inasmuch, that at the time of his demise, he actually left in his coffers the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in ready money, exclusive of plate and jewels. This would have coined, in our times, to thrice that sum; but, in reference to its real value, ought to be esteemed about a million. Stephen seized upon all this, and spent it in his wars, with much more. Better had it been, if he had spent it in his follies; for then it would have gone amongst the people, without prejudice to their industry: whereas his reign being a series of troubles, they were so often in arms, that they could attend to nothing else; which was the true source of that misery and poverty before-mentioned.

But to understand this, and many of our subsequent reflections perfectly, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the manner of dealing in those days, the nature of payments, and the value of gold and silver. As to the common people, in their ordinary way of trading in the country, they made but little use of money, and yet derived great advantage from the laws enacted for settling its value; since, by those laws, the rates of most saleable goods were likewise settled; by which exchange or barter was very much facilitated; and where commodities could not be brought to balance each other exactly, the difference was paid in money, that is, in silver or gold, according to the rates at which they were then fixed by law, so that none, in their open dealings, could be over-reached, cheated, or wronged.

Payments, *ad scalam* and *ad pensum*, were by weight. Twenty shillings were then a pound, and the officers took sixpence over, called vantage-money. This kind of payment was very ancient: when payment was made *ad pensum*, the payer was to make good the weight, though he had allowed the sixpence over. To prevent fraud in the fineness, as well as weight, part of the money was melted down, called combustion. There were two sorts of payments by combustion; real and nominal:

real, when a sample of the money was put into the furnace; nominal, when a twentieth part of a pound was taken and accepted in lieu of actual combustion. When money paid in was melted down, or the supplement made by adding one shilling to each twenty; the ferme was said to be dealbated, or blanché: so one hundred pounds, thus paid into the exchequer after combustion, was said to be one hundred pounds blank. This was opposed to payments made *numero*, or by tale, which is our modern way. Computations, or at least payments, were made by pounds, marks, half-marks, shillings, pence, &c. silver by marks, half-marks, ounces, and half-ounces of gold. The mark of gold was equivalent to six pounds of silver, or six score shillings: the ounce of gold was equivalent to fifteen shillings of silver: the pound of silver was twenty shillings; the mark of silver thirteen shillings and fourpence; the shilling twelpence. It is requisite to have these notes before our eyes, when we are speaking of what passed in times at such a distance; for, otherwise, it will be almost impossible to prevent falling into great mistakes about subjects of importance; as, indeed, several able historians have done, for want of attending carefully to these matters, which, in all probability, they did not conceive so deserving their notice: and yet a disposition to negligence is sometimes as fatal to the reader, as an inclination to falsehood.

But that I may not seem to expect more caution in others, than I have shewn myself, I think it may not be amiss to give the public some account of the reasons why I suppose, that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, found in the treasury of King Henry I. was equivalent to near a million at this time. In order to this, it is necessary to acquaint the reader, that, in the reign of that prince, the king's tenant, who was bound to provide bread for one hundred men, was allowed to compound, by paying one shilling in money. The very learned bishop Fleetwood supposes, that this was bread for one meal; but I am inclined to think, that it was bread for a whole day; and am induced to think so, because, in countries where this establishment has always prevailed, a ration of bread is still so accounted. In our times, I presume, the value of bread for a day may be computed at about twopence, or rather more; and consequently, bread for a hundred men will come to sixteen shillings

shillings and eightpence; so that what could be then bought for one shilling, would cost almost seventeen now. Yet if we should hastily conclude from hence, that any given sum of money, at that time, ought to be multiplied by seventeen, to find its equivalent in ours, we shall be much in the wrong. For the shilling, in those times, was thrice as heavy as ours; and therefore was, in reality, worth three shillings; so that, in fact, the bread that would now cost sixteen shillings and eightpence, might have been bought then for as much silver as is in three of our shillings. According to this computation, one hundred thousand pounds then, would not be worth quite six hundred thousand now: but if we reflect, that a great part of this sum must have been in gold, and that it is very reasonable to believe the composition was not exactly made, or strictly set, it will appear, that the estimation I have made is agreeable to truth; or, at least, not very wide of it.

It may not be amiss, after dwelling so long upon this subject, to explain another point; that is, the difference between the Saxon and Norman money, which in found was very great, though but very little in fact. The Saxons divided the pound weight of silver into forty-eight shillings, which the Normans divided only into twenty; but then the Saxons divided their shilling into fivepence only; whereas the Normans split theirs into twelve: from whence it follows, that the number of pence in the Saxon and Norman pound was the same, and the pounds themselves exactly of the same value, as being in reality what the word implies, a pound weight of silver. It has been before observed, that great sums of money were paid in weight; and the reason of it is not hard to be found: for the coin then current was the silver penny, with a deep cross indented on the reverse; so that it might be easily broken into the halfpenny, or farthing. This was convenient enough, therefore, for small matters, but not for great: and for this reason all large payments were by the scale; and in cases of very great moment, it was stipulated that it should be so: just as in succeeding times it was required, that payments should be made in sterling money, and as in ours we use the phrase of good and lawful money of England.

We collect most of these particulars either from old records, monkish historians, or those ancient chronicles in rhyme, which are still preserved to us by the industry and care of a few men of a particular taste, though very little regarded by the many. It is, notwithstanding, very certain, that points of this nature are highly important, to the thorough understanding the most useful and material parts of history: such as comparing the state and conditions, the manners and usages, the felicity and infelicity of past times with our own; without which, historical reading is a mere amusement: which, how much soever it may enable a man to talk, will, notwithstanding, scarce afford him the capacity of thinking or reasoning better. It is on this account that we see the common people very apt, upon some occasions, to treat learning and learned men with contempt; because they are not able to answer readily such questions as are proposed to them about matters in common use: and it is this, likewise, that recommends to them Baker's chronicle, and other Books of a like nature, written in a familiar style, and which descend to things which fall under daily notice, though they are but mean in point of composition, and are very frequently dark and inaccurate; which is indeed a good reason why they should be corrected and set right, instead of being undervalued and wholly neglected by men of parts and knowledge. For, after all, we can never expect to see an English history complete, if there is not full as much respect paid to the discoveries made by antiquaries, as to the greater and more shining events which are recorded by those who make the wars and state intrigues of our monarchs their principal care, and discussing them the great business of their writings.

LIVES

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S;  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. V.

The Naval History of England, during the reigns of  
Henry II. Richard I. John, Henry III. Edward I.  
Edward II. Edward III. Richard II.

Containing the space of about 235 years.

**H**ENRY II, ascended the throne, with universal consent, on the death of King Stephen, having, besides his kingdom, large dominions on the continent, by various titles, viz. Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Main, and Tourain, which rendered him extraordinary powerful. He was about twenty-eight years old at this time, and esteemed as wise and brave a prince as that age produced. His first care was to restore the government to its former state, by rectifying the many disorders which had crept in during the unsettled reign of King Stephen<sup>a</sup>. Having performed this, he projected the conquest of Ireland; for which, though he had many pretences, yet he thought fit to obtain the Pope's bull, the rather, because the reigning pontiff, Adrian IV.<sup>b</sup> was by birth an Englishman. This

<sup>a</sup> Gul. Neubrig. hist. rer. Angl. lib. ii. c. 1.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 1155.

favour

favour he easily obtained, for propagating the Christian faith, together with the power and profits of the holy see, as by that instrument appears<sup>c</sup>. In order to this expedition, the king conferred with his great council at Winchester; but his mother disliking the project, it was for that time laid aside<sup>d</sup>.

His next expedition was beyond the seas, in the fifth year of his reign<sup>e</sup>, undertaken at a vast expence, with a great fleet and potent army, for the recovery of the earldom of Tolouse, to which the king claimed a title: but he was not so happy in this as in his other expeditions, though he was so far superior at sea, that his enemies durst not contend with him on that element<sup>f</sup>. In the eleventh year of his reign, he employed both a fleet and an army against the Welch<sup>g</sup>, and afterwards was engaged in various disputes with the king of France, which obliged him to a long residence in Normandy<sup>h</sup>. In the sixteenth year of his reign<sup>i</sup>, he caused his son Henry, then about fifteen years of age, to be crowned king in his life-time<sup>k</sup>, which instead of contributing, as he supposed it would, to his peace and prosperity, proved the cause of very great calamities to himself and subjects.

About this time, the king resumed his grand design of conquering Ireland, to which he had various incitements. Some pretensions he formed, from its having been anciently subdued by the Britons; another motive was, the injuries done to his subjects by the piracies which the Irish committed, taking and selling English prisoners into slavery: but that which gave him the fairest occasion was the tyranny of Roderick O'Connor, who, assuming the title of Monarch of Ireland, oppressed the other princes in the island, and thereby forced them to seek the protection of King Henry. One of these, whose name was Dermot, king of Leinster, being driven out of his dominions, passed over into Normandy, where the king then was, and intreated his assistance, which was readily granted: but the king, like a politic prince, advised him for the present to apply himself to some of his barons, to whom he granted a licence to undertake an expedition in his favour. Accordingly, Robert Fitz-Stephens in the month of May, in the year 1169, landed at Wexford

<sup>c</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 28.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 31.

<sup>e</sup> A. D. 1159.

<sup>f</sup> Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>g</sup> A. D. 1165.

<sup>h</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal.

vol. i. p. 46.

<sup>i</sup> A. D. 1170.

<sup>k</sup> Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 25.

with

with a very small force: he was immediately followed by Maurice Prendergast; and these, by the assistance of King Dermot, having gained footing in the island, Richard earl of Chepstow, commonly called in our histories Richard Strongbow, who was the chief undertaker, went thither in person, and landed August 25, 1170, at Waterford with a greater force, and in a short time reduced Dublin and many other places. King Henry, having advice of their unexpected success, began to take umbrage thereat, and published a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to return out of that island by a time prefixed, on pain of confiscation of their estates in England: but they, by assuring the king of their duty, and submission to his will, engaged him to revoke that order, and to come to an agreement with them, whereby he reserved to himself the sea-ports and coasts, and confirmed their inland conquests to the undertakers. The king, however, resolved to go over thither in person, and for that purpose drew together a considerable army, which he embarked on board a fleet of four hundred sail, and passed therewith from Milford-haven to Waterford, where he landed October 25, 1171. The appearance of so great a force, and the presence of the king, had such an effect on this country, then torn by intestine divisions, that, in a very short space, the king made this great conquest, which he had so long sought, and so vigorously endeavoured, without effusion of blood. Afterwards, keeping his Christmas at Dublin, he there received homage and hostages of the several petty princes, and even of the great King Roderick O'Connor; so that, if his affairs had permitted him to have remained there so long as he intended, he would in all probability not only have effectually reduced Ireland, but also left it in a quiet and peaceable state<sup>1</sup>. It was discord arising in his own family that prevented this; for Eleanor his queen, his eldest son King Henry, his younger sons Richard and Geoffrey, entering into a conspiracy against him, and being supported therein by the power of the king of France, old King Henry was obliged about Easter to leave Ireland, and return to Wales; which he did, without suffering any loss, having before settled the English

<sup>1</sup> Rog. Hoved. annal. par. post. p. 526, 527. Matt. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 126. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 26. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 57.

conquests in that island as he thought proper <sup>m</sup>. Of this war we have a very distinct account, though interlarded with many superstitious circumstances by Gerald Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, an eye-witness <sup>n</sup>.

The king was engaged, by the unlucky accidents before-mentioned, in various wars for many years together; in all which he supported himself with undaunted courage, and admirable conduct. In Normandy he defeated the king of France, and the forces of his own son Henry: the loyal nobility of England, in the mean time, not only repulsed the king of Scots, who had invaded the northern provinces of England, but took him prisoner; and the earl of Flanders, who had raised great forces, with an intent to have invaded England, was so awed by the king's success, that he was forced to give over his enterprize, and disband his army: and these great things the king was chiefly enabled to perform by his superior power at sea, in which, though some contest happened between him and his son Henry, yet it was quickly over; for the king's fleet destroyed most of the rebels ships, and many of their confederates, insomuch that, wearied by degrees with repeated disappointments, and brought low by numberless defeats, his enemies were at length content to accept a peace on the terms prescribed them by the king; after which, he transported his victorious army on board a royal fleet into England, landing at Portsmouth on May 26, 1175 <sup>o</sup>. The same year, Roderick O'Connor made a second and more full submission to the king <sup>p</sup>, who thereupon transferred his title to that island to his son John, who, as some writers report, was crowned king with a diadem of peacock's feathers set in gold, sent to his father by the Pope for that purpose. Some part of this story, however, cannot be true, since it appears, from the great seal made use of by this prince, that he never styled himself king, but lord only of Ireland; into which country he also went <sup>q</sup>, several years after, with a considerable army, and continued there some time, though without performing any great matter <sup>r</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 27.

his work in the first volume of Holingshed's chronicle.

vol. i. p. 67.

<sup>p</sup> Roder. O'Flaherty in Ogyg. p. 441.

vol. i. p. 68.

<sup>q</sup> A. D. 1185.

<sup>r</sup> Camden. Britan. p. 795. Roger Hoved. annal. p. 630. Speed's chronicle, p. 499.

Even after these times of confusion, and notwithstanding all the expence they had occasioned, the king shewed the greatness of his mind by giving extraordinary assistance to the Christians in the Holy Land, not only by licensing several of his nobility to go thither at their own charges, but also by advancing large sums of money, and furnishing ships and arms<sup>s</sup>. How much there was of piety in these expeditions, I pretend not to determine; yet certainly the king's intent was good, and this good effect followed it, that his fame, and the reputation of the nation, was spread thereby to the most distant parts of the world, insomuch that the crown of Jerusalem was offered to the king, who, considering the state of his affairs at home, modestly declined it. Indeed, the troubles he had so happily quelled some years before broke out again in the latter part of his reign, when he was as unfortunate as of old he had been happy; insomuch that, after undergoing a cruel reverse of fortune, occasioned chiefly by his being obliged to end these disputes by fighting on land, where his French and Norman lords often betrayed him; he was at length compelled to accept such terms of peace as France and his rebellious son Richard would afford him; which affected him so sensibly, that it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which he died on July 6, 1189, when he had reigned near thirty-five years, and lived sixty-three<sup>t</sup>. He was the first prince of the royal house of Plantagenet, and was possessed of very extensive dominions. He enjoyed England in a fuller and better settled condition than his predecessors, restoring the ancient laws, and abolishing danegeld. He humbled Scotland more than any of his predecessors, kept Wales in strict subjection, subdued Ireland, and held all the maritime provinces of France, even to the mountains which divide it from Spain; so that, as a foreign writer confesses, he justly claimed, and undeniably maintained, his sovereignty over the sea<sup>u</sup>, which he esteemed the most honourable prerogative of his crown.

<sup>s</sup> Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 10. Roger Hoved. annal. p. 641. <sup>t</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 551. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii. cap. 25, 26. Roger Hoved. annal. p. 652, 653. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 94. Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, p. 481. <sup>u</sup> P. Daniel, histoire de la Mil. Franc. tom. ii. p. 445.

RICHARD succeeded his father King Henry in all his dominions<sup>w</sup>, as well on the continent as in this island; and, having adjusted all his affairs in France amicably with Philip Augustus, who was then king, he came over hither to settle his domestic concerns, that he might be at liberty to undertake that great expedition on which he had set his heart, *viz.* of driving the Saracens out of the Holy Land, in which he was to have King Philip of France and other great princes for his associates<sup>x</sup>. Our historians speak of this according to their own notions, and without any respect had to the then circumstances of things: hence some treat it with great solemnity, and as a thing worthy of immortal honour, while others again consider it as a pure effect of bigotry, and blame the king exceedingly for being led by the nose by the Pope, and involving himself in so romantic a scheme to the great danger of his person, and the almost entire ruin of his subjects. I must own, that to me neither opinion seems right; yet I should not have expressed my sentiments on this subject, if it did not very nearly concern the matter of this treatise. The power of the Saracens was then exceeding great, and they were growing no less formidable at sea than they had been long at land; so that, if the whole force of Christendom had not been opposed against them in the east, I see very little or no room to doubt of their making an entire conquest of the west: for, since they were able to deal with the joint forces of these princes in the Holy Land, they would undoubtedly have beat them singly, if ever they had attacked them. How little soever, therefore, the Popes are to be justified in their spiritual characters in regard to these croisades, they indisputably shewed themselves great politicians. As to the particular case of England, though it might be hard on those who lived in these times, yet the nation, as a nation, reaped great advantages from it; for it not only excited a martial spirit, which in that age was necessary for their preservation, but it also raised a much greater naval force than had ever been set on foot since the coming of the Normans, and withal carried the English fame to such a height, as astonished the whole world, and was the true source of that

<sup>w</sup> A. D. 1189.    <sup>x</sup> Matt. Paris, *hist. Angl.* p. 155. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. c. 1, Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 97. Galfrid. *de vino salvo*. Roger Hoveden, *annal.* Johan. Brompton, *Rad. de Diceto. Ran. Higden. in Polychron.*

respect which has ever since been paid to the English flag. But it is now time to return to the expedition.

The articles of agreement between the two kings, Richard and Philip, are recorded at large in our own and the French historians, as also the naval regulations<sup>7</sup>; with which, therefore, I shall not meddle. One thing, however, is very observable, that, when King Richard appeared with his fleet before the city of Messina in Sicily, it so much astonished the French king, that he from that moment conceived such a jealousy of King Richard, as could never after be extinguished. During the stay of our king in this island, a difference happened between him and King Tancred, which occasioned the attacking Messina, and taking it by the English, which, as our writers say, gave no small umbrage to King Philip; though the French historians affirm, that he abetted King Richard, and had a third part of the money paid him by King Tancred for his pains<sup>8</sup>. However that was, it is certain, that this last-mentioned prince did, by a treaty of composition, agree to give King Richard 60,000 ounces of gold, four large galleons, and fifteen galleys; by which accession of strength, the English fleet, when the king left Sicily to sail for Cyprus, consisted of thirteen capital ships of extraordinary burden, 150 ships of war, and fifty-three galleys, besides vessels of less size, and tenders. In their passage to Cyprus, they were sorely shaken by a tempest, in which several ships were lost, and a great number of men drowned, among whom were some persons of very great distinction. The ship in which Berengaria, daughter to the king of Navarre, and who was contracted to King Richard, was, with many other ladies of great quality, very near perishing by their being denied entrance into one of the ports of Cyprus by the tyrannical king of that island, whose name was Isaac, and whom most of our historians grace with the high title of Emperor. This, with the plundering such ships as were wrecked upon his coast, and making prisoners of such persons as escaped drowning, so provoked King Richard, that he made a descent with all his forces, and, in the space of fourteen days, reduced the whole island, taking the king and his

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Paris, Roger Hoveden, and in Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 20. there is a very large relation in English, drawn from John Fox, who had consulted all our historians.

<sup>8</sup> *Abregé de l'histoire de France par Mezeray*, tom. ii. p. 595.

daughter and heiress prisoners. Here he received Guy, formerly king of Jerusalem, with several other Christian princes in the east, who swore fealty to him as their protector; and, having left two governors with a considerable body of troops in Cyprus, he sailed from thence with a much better fleet than he brought with him; for it consisted of 254 stout ships, and upwards of 60 galleys. In his passage to Acon or Ptolemais, he took a huge vessel of the Saracens, laden with ammunition and provision, bound for the same place, which was then besieged by the Christian army. The size of this ship was so extraordinary, that it very highly deserves notice. Matthew Paris calls it *Dromunda*, and tells us, that the ships of the English fleet attacked it briskly, though it lay like a great floating castle in the sea, and was in a manner impenetrable<sup>a</sup>. At length, however, they boarded and carried it, though defended by no less than 1500 men, of whom the king caused 1300 to be drowned, and kept the remaining 200 prisoners, who, another writer says, were all persons of distinction. After this victory, the king proceeded to Acon, which he blocked up by sea, at the same time that his forces, in conjunction with those of other Christian princes, besieged it by land; so that at length, chiefly by his means, it was taken, though defended by the whole strength of the Saracens under their famous prince Saladin<sup>b</sup>.

The French and English took joint possession thereof<sup>c</sup>; but King Philip was so sensible of his glory being eclipsed by the superior merit of King Richard, that nothing would satisfy him but returning home, contrary to all the stipulations that he had made with the king of England. To this King Richard, with much ado, consented, upon his taking a solemn oath not to invade any of his dominions till King Richard himself should be returned forty days. King Philip left behind him the duke of Burgundy, with a body of ten or twelve thousand men, with orders to obey King Richard as captain-general of the Christian forces in the Holy Land, but with private instructions, as our historians surmise, to frustrate, as much as in him lay, all that king's undertakings; which, if it be not true, is at least very probable, since that duke acted as if he really had such instruc-

<sup>a</sup> Hist. Angl. p. 163. <sup>b</sup> Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 22. Matt. Paris, vol. i. p. 163, 164. Roger Hoveden, Galf. de vino salvo, Mezeray. <sup>c</sup> A. D. 1191.

tions. But notwithstanding this, Richard took Ascalon, Joppa, and other places; reduced the greatest part of Syria, beat the Saracens in several engagements, and if his confederates had done their duty as well, would infallibly have retaken Jerusalem, which was the principal design of the war. That he really intended it, appears from the testimony of a celebrated French historian; who tells us, that the king had formed a project of acquiring mighty dominions in the east, and had for that purpose given to Guy of Lusignan the kingdom of Cyprus, in exchange for his title to the crown of Jerusalem<sup>d</sup>. But at length finding himself envied and betrayed by his confederates in the east, and having intelligence that his brother John sought to usurp his dominions at home, he made a treaty with Saladin, and resigned his pretensions to the kingdom of Jerusalem, to his near kinsman Henry earl of Champagne. Such was the conclusion of this famous expedition, which might have ended better, if that mixture of envy and jealousy, which is so rooted in the temper of our ambitious neighbours the French, had not inclined them rather to sacrifice all regard to honour, and all respect to religion, than suffer so great an enterprize, as that of taking Jerusalem would have been, to be achieved by an English prince<sup>e</sup>.

The king, having settled his affairs in the best manner he could in the east, endeavoured to make all possible haste home, but met with a sad misfortune in his passage; for being shipwrecked on the coast of Istria<sup>f</sup>, where with great difficulty he saved his life; he thought, for expedition sake, to travel by land through Germany incognito, taking the name of Hugo, and passing for a merchant. But arriving in the neighbourhood of Vienna, he was unluckily discovered, and made prisoner by Leopold, duke of Austria, with whom he had formerly had some difference in the Holy Land, and who basely made use of this advantage to revenge his private quarrel. After he had kept him some time, he delivered, or rather sold him to the emperor Henry VI. a covetous, mercenary prince, who was resolved to get all he

<sup>d</sup> Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 165. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 124. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 30. Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 598. <sup>e</sup> Galf. de Vino Salvo, Roger. Hoveden, Gul. Neubrig. <sup>f</sup> A. D. 1192.

could by him, before he set him at liberty<sup>a</sup>. The injustice of this proceeding was visible to all Europe; but the dominions of the emperor, and of the Austrian prince, were so far out of the reach of England, and withal the enemies of King Richard were become so numerous and powerful, that, instead of wondering at his remaining fifteen months a captive, posterity may stand amazed how he came to be at all released; especially, since so large a ransom was insisted on, as one hundred and four thousand pounds: which, however, was raised by the people of England, though with great difficulty; part of it being paid down, and hostages given for the rest<sup>b</sup>. In the spring of the year 1194, the king returned to England, where he began to rectify all the miscarriages which had happened in his absence; and perceiving that nothing could effectually settle his foreign dominions but vigorous measures, and a war with the French, whose king acted as perfidiously as ever, he suddenly drew together a considerable fleet, embarked on board thereof a large body of forces, and transporting them into Normandy, quickly disappointed all his potent enemy's views; and, after five years war, brought him to think in earnest of peace<sup>c</sup>. Here, notwithstanding, I must take notice of one thing, which however slight in appearance, is exceedingly pertinent to my subject: I mean the marriage of Philip Augustus with Isemberga, the daughter of Canutus V. king of Denmark; which match was made with no other view than to engage the Danes in the interest of King Philip, who intended to have employed their naval force against that of the English<sup>d</sup>: and sure a clearer proof than this cannot be offered, of our being masters of the balance of Europe, notwithstanding the personal misfortunes of King Richard, in virtue of our superiority at sea.

In the course of the war, the king having gained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Blois<sup>e</sup>, his troops possessed the enemy's camp and baggage; whereby all the records and charters

<sup>a</sup> Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 173. Roger Hoveden, Annal. p. 728. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 173, 174. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 117. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 41. <sup>c</sup> T. Walsingham Hypodigm. Neubrig. Matth. Paris, Roger Hoveden.

<sup>d</sup> Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. 26. <sup>e</sup> Histoire de France par Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 61.

of France, which then were wont to follow the court wherever it went, came into the hands of the English, and through carelessness were dissipated and destroyed<sup>m</sup>. At last, when King Richard was reconciled to his brother John, and had effectually quelled his foreign enemies, he was taken out of this life by an extraordinary accident. A certain nobleman having found a large treasure hid in his own lands, sent a part of it to the king, who thereupon demanded the whole; which being refused him, he presently besieged this nobleman in his castle; and going too near the walls to give directions for an assault, he was mortally wounded by an arrow; though some say that the wound was not mortal in itself, but was rendered so by the ill management of an unskilful surgeon<sup>n</sup>. However this might be, he died on April 6, 1199, in the tenth year of his reign, and forty-first of his age. He was a prince very justly surnamed *Cœur de Lion*, or *Lion's Heart*; since his courage carried him through all things; and his firmness was such, that it alike bound to him his friends, and daunted his enemies: a strong instance of which we have in the message sent by Philip of France to Earl John, on the king's being released by the emperor; *viz.* That the devil was now let loose again, and therefore he should take the best care he could of himself<sup>o</sup>. Of all our princes, none better understood the value of a naval force, or how to use it; as appears not only by the victories he gained in time of war, but by his establishing the laws of Oleron, for the regulating maritime affairs, and by the constant care he took in supporting the ports and havens throughout the kingdom, and encouraging seamen; whereby he drew numbers from all parts of Europe into his service, and by a like vigilance in promoting and protecting commerce<sup>p</sup>.

JOHN succeeded his brother by virtue of his will, and not in right of blood: for if that had taken place, the crown would have belonged to his nephew Arthur, the son of his elder brother Geoffrey. From the day of his ascending the throne, he

<sup>m</sup> A. D. 1194.

<sup>n</sup> Matth. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* p. 195. Roger Hoveden, *Annal.* p. 791. Nic. Trivet, *Annal.* vol. i. p. 124.

<sup>o</sup> Roger Hoveden, *Annal.* p. 729.

<sup>p</sup> Joan, Seiden, in *dissertat. ad Actam. c. ix.* Matth. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* p. 191.

was perplexed with foreign wars, and domestic seditions; and the latter hath had such an effect upon our historians, that there cannot be a more difficult task, than even attempting to draw this king's true character. Those who allow him many virtues, are at a loss how to account for several of his actions; and those who deny him any good qualities at all, are still more at a loss to render their relations consistent. That he had very just notions as to maritime force, and was extremely tender of his sovereignty over the seas, is more authentically recorded of him, than of any of our preceding kings: for it appears, that very early in his reign, he, with the assent of the peers at Hastings, enacted, that if any of the commanders of his fleets should meet with ships of a foreign nation at sea, the masters of which refused to strike to the royal flag, then such ships, if taken, were to be deemed good prizes; even though it should appear afterwards that the state of which their owners were subjects, was in amity with England<sup>q</sup>. It cannot be supposed, that this striking to the royal flag was now first claimed; but rather, that as an old right, it was for the preventing unnecessary disputes clearly asserted. If it had been otherwise, one would imagine that it would prove more still; since no prince, who was not confessedly superior at sea, could ever have set up, and carried into practice, so extraordinary a pretension<sup>r</sup>. We may therefore conclude, that this, together with his warrant for pressing all ships into service, when he had occasion for transports, with other things of the like nature, were, in consequence of ancient usage, founded on the indubitable rights of his predecessors.

From his entrance on the government, the king of France shewed himself as much his enemy, as ever he had been his brother's; invading his territories on the continent<sup>s</sup>, under pretence of protecting prince Arthur; but in reality in order to aggrandize himself, and to unite Normandy and other provinces to the French crown. These stirs obliged King John to pass frequently into Normandy with considerable armies; where sometimes he did great things, and sometimes little or nothing. Our historians, generally speaking, charge the king roundly

<sup>q</sup> Selden *Mare Clausum*, vol. ii. c. 26.

<sup>r</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>s</sup> A. D. 1200.

with

with negligence, and want of spirit<sup>t</sup>; whereas the king, in his days, attributed all his losses to the want of fidelity in his barons<sup>u</sup>. The best way to learn truth, is to consult unprejudiced writers; and in this case it must be owned, that the French historians describe King John as a fierce and active prince; and particularly ascribe the great victory he gained at Mirabell, to his extraordinary expedition<sup>v</sup>; marching night and day with his forces to the relief of his mother<sup>w</sup>. It seems therefore most probable, that the great men in those times were in fault; and that they suffered themselves to be persuaded, that the humbling of their prince might prove the means of their own exaltation. This conduct of theirs lost the king the greatest part of his French dominions, and was also the cause of the disputes between him and his barons at home; who always thought themselves well intitled to their privileges, and yet seldom saw it convenient to yield the king their obedience. When by their help he might have preserved his territories on the continent, they denied their assistance; and yet, when they were torn from him, they clamoured at the loss. This so exasperated the king, who was certainly a prince of a very high spirit, that he resolved to conquer them, and make one experiment more of the fidelity of his subjects<sup>x</sup>. In order to this, he assembled a great army, and provided a numerous fleet, which he never wanted, in order to pass into Normandy: but, when all was ready, and the nobility seemed thoroughly disposed to behave as became them, the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshall earl of Pembroke came, and, in the name of the Pope, forbade him to proceed<sup>y</sup>. The king unwillingly obeyed; and yet, repenting of this step, he the next day put to sea, with a few faithful subjects, hoping that the rest, either out of fear or shame, would have followed; but in this he was disappointed; for they not only remained where they were, but by sending after the king's small squadron, prevailed on many to come back; so that the expedition was entirely frustrated: which filled the nation with murmurs, and particularly distasted the seamen, of whom no less than fourteen thousand were come from

<sup>t</sup> Roger Hoveden. Polyd. Virgil.

Speed's chronicle.

Metcray, vol. ii. p. 611.

<sup>u</sup> A. D. 1201.

<sup>v</sup> A. D. 1206.

<sup>w</sup> See the reign of this prince in

<sup>x</sup> Histoire de France, par

<sup>y</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl.

different parts of the kingdom, in order to serve on board the royal fleet<sup>a</sup>. This, at the same time that it shews King John's misfortune, demonstrates also how great our maritime force was in those days, and what wise regulations subsisted; since such a number of seamen could be so easily drawn together. Our best writers agree, that the conduct of the archbishop and the earl of Pembroke, was the effects of their engagements with France, and in all probability, the great view of France in this transaction was to distress the king in this tender point, and prevent his being able to assemble such a naval force for the future. But in this their policy failed them: for the king always kept the hearts of the seamen; and by doing so defeated the attempts of his enemies, though he had the whole force of France to struggle with abroad, and was never free from the effects of their fraud at home. This is an extraordinary fact, and of the highest importance to my subject; therefore I shall endeavour to make it out in such a manner, as to leave the reader no colour of doubt; and, by so doing, shall effectually prove, that though a king may be undone by trusting to his army, he cannot but be safe if he is secure of his fleet.

The kingdom, or as it was then properly styled, the dominion of Ireland, belonged to King John before he attained the realm of England; and had remained more obedient to him than any other part of his territories: but now troubles began there<sup>b</sup>; and such accounts were transmitted of the insolence of some of the lords proprietors, and of the devastations committed by the native Irish, hitherto unsubdued, that the king resolved to go over in person and reduce it<sup>c</sup>. For this purpose, the king ordered a great army to be levied, and drew together a prodigious fleet, little short of five hundred sail; with which he passed from Pembroke in Wales into Ireland, where he landed on May 25, 1210. The fame of his coming, and the appearance of so great a force as he brought with him, so terrified the inhabitants of the sea coast, and low countries, that they immediately came and submitted. On his arrival at Dublin, twenty of the Irish chiefs came in, and swore fealty to

<sup>a</sup> Roger Hoveden, Annal. Angl. p. 230.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 1209.

<sup>c</sup> Matth. Paris, hist.

him;

him; and having thus performed much in a peaceable way, he by force of arms atchieved the rest, reducing the king of Connaught, besieging and taking the castles of many rebellious lords, and forcing them either to yield or to quit the kingdom. When things were brought to this pass, he thought of civil establishments; ordered the whole realm to be for the future governed by the English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other legal officers in every county. At his departure, constituting John de Gray, then bishop of Norwich, governor of Ireland, a very wise and prudent man, who pursuing the king's plan, brought that nation into a settled state <sup>d</sup>. This certainly shewed not only the spirit and temper of the king, but the utility of his fleet, without which he could not have entered on this expedition with such honour, or have finished it with so great success; especially at a time when at home things were in so bad a situation.

On his return he found the Welch in rebellion, his barons disaffected, and the king of France contriving an invasion. His spirits were far from being broken by these crosses: for as to the Welch, he hanged up their hostages<sup>e</sup>, and with a royal army would have entered into, and subdued their country, if he had not been well informed, that some of his principal lords intended either to destroy him in that expedition themselves, or else deliver him up to the enemy<sup>f</sup>. He thereupon first dismissed his army, and then took hostages of the noblemen he most suspected<sup>g</sup>. Soon after, the French invasion terrified the nation; the Pope having absolved the king's subjects from their allegiance, and given the kingdom of England to Philip Augustus of France. This monarch, well pleased with so noble a present, raised a prodigious army, and brought together, some say, thirteen hundred ships, in order to embark them for this island<sup>h</sup>. On the other hand, King John was not slack in his preparations; he shewed his diligence in collecting a force equal to that of the enemy, and his magnanimity in dismissing a part

<sup>d</sup> Annal. Hibern. ap. Camd. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 154. Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. vol. i. p. 230, 231. Thom. Walsingham. Hypodigm. Neust.

<sup>e</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 231. R. Wendover. <sup>f</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 231. <sup>g</sup> A. D. 1212. <sup>h</sup> Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 622. Matth. Paris, vol. i. p. 232. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157.

of them, that the rest might have the greater plenty of provisions; yet, after this was done, he encamped sixty thousand men on Barham Downs, having a larger fleet riding along the coast than had been seen in those times; and in this posture he waited for his foes<sup>1</sup>. But the Pope's legate coming over, and promising to deliver him from this danger, if he would submit himself and his kingdom to the see of Rome; he, to prevent effusion of blood, and perhaps fearing the treachery of his barons, consented thereto, and the Pope immediately prohibited King Philip to proceed<sup>2</sup>. He, too, notwithstanding his great power, obeyed, though with an ill will; yet resolved to make some use of this mighty armament, and therefore turned it against the Earl of Flanders; sending the best part of his fleet to waste the coasts of that country; while himself with a great army entered it by land. King John was no sooner informed of this, than he ordered his navy, under the command of his brother the Earl of Salisbury, to sail to the assistance of his ally<sup>3</sup>. He finding the French fleet, part riding in the road, and part at anchor, in the haven of Dam in Flanders, first attacked and destroyed those without, and then landing his forces, fell upon the French in the harbour by sea and land, and after an obstinate dispute, took them all; sending home three hundred sail, well laden with provisions, to carry the news of the victory, and setting all the rest on fire. So fortunate was this prince at sea, because his sailors were loyal, who was so unlucky on shore through the treachery of his great men<sup>4</sup>.

Thus delivered from his present apprehensions of the French, the king began to think of passing once again beyond the sea, in order to recover his rights; but met with so many difficulties and disappointments, that it was long before he could carry his design into execution. At last, in the month of February 1214, he, without the assistance of his barons, embarked a great army on board a powerful fleet, and therewith sailed to Rochel, where he landed and was well received, the greatest part of the country submitting to him immediately. For some

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p.

157, 158. Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 237. Robert of Gloucester's chronicle, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. 1213.

<sup>4</sup> Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. i. p. 157.

Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 623. Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 238.

time he carried on the war against the French prosperously; but fortune changing, and his allies being beat in the fatal battle of Bovins<sup>a</sup>, he was constrained, about Easter the next year, to agree to a truce; the rather, because his subjects in England began to rebel<sup>o</sup>. In the month of November he returned into this kingdom, where he found things in a much worse condition than he expected. The barons, in his absence, had time to confer together, and had reduced their demands into form; so that the king quickly found, that he either must grant what they asked, or if he ventured to refuse them, must have recourse to the sword. At first he chose the latter; but he quickly found, that the barons were like to be too powerful for him; and therefore, in a meadow between Egham and Stanes, called Runnemede, i. e. the Mead of Council, he granted that charter in the sight of both armies, which since, from the importance of its contents, and the solemnity with which it was made, hath been called *MAGNA CHARTA*, or the Great Charter<sup>p</sup>. Yet repenting of this soon after, he endeavoured to frustrate what he had done; but the barons were too powerful for him, and reduced him to such straits, that at length he was constrained to fly to the Isle of Wight, where he lived in a manner little different from that of his predecessor King Alfred, when he fled from the Danes; yet in all his distresses his seamen remained faithful; and now, when he had not a house in which he could sleep with safety on shore, he found a sanctuary from all dangers in his ships, in which he frequently chased the vessels of his disloyal subjects, and, by landing on the coasts, spoiled their estates, and thus subsisted the few loyal persons who stuck to him, at the expence of his and their enemies<sup>q</sup>.

In the mean time the barons, plainly perceiving their want of a head, resolved to invite over Lewis, son to the king of France<sup>r</sup>, who had married King John's niece, in order to shelter themselves against the resentment of that monarch by setting his crown on the head of this young prince. Not only Lewis, but King Philip his father, relished this proposal exceedingly, and assem-

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 1214.  
<sup>z</sup> eray, vol. ii. p. 625.

<sup>o</sup> Chroniques Abrege de Rois de France, p. 79. Mc-

<sup>p</sup> Marth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 255, 256, &c.

<sup>q</sup> R, de Wendover.

<sup>r</sup> A. D. 1215.

bling a fleet of 610 sail at Calais, the prince, with a numerous army, landed in Kent<sup>1</sup>. The city of London, long alienated from the king in affection, declared immediately for the invader, received him with joy, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign<sup>2</sup>. In the mean time, King John was no ways idle; he endeavoured to maintain himself in Kent, where he had a considerable army; but finding many of his barons unfaithful, and his forces not strong enough to hazard a battle, he garrisoned some castles, and particularly that of Dover, that he might be able to protect his fleet, and then marched to Winchester, where he soon drew together a much greater force than his enemies expected. Breaking out from thence like a tempest, he laid waste the estates of his rebellious barons, in spite of the foreign assistance they had received; and, having acquired a vast booty, he came with it to Lynn in Norfolk, which had signalized its loyalty to him in his utmost distress, as most of the ports in the kingdom did; but, marching from thence into Lincolnshire, his carriages were lost in the washes, and himself and his army narrowly escaped<sup>3</sup>. At Swine's-head abbey he was attacked by a distemper which proved fatal to him; but what that distemper was, is very difficult to say. Some affirm, that it was the effects of grief<sup>4</sup>; others call it a fever<sup>5</sup>; others a flux<sup>6</sup>; and others a surfeit<sup>7</sup>; but many of our first writers, and the most authentic foreign historians, affirm, that he was poisoned by a monk, which it is certain his son Henry<sup>8</sup> believed. This end had the troubles of King John at Newark, to which place he was carried in a horse-litter on October 18, 1216, when he had reigned near eighteen years<sup>9</sup>.

We have already shewn how vigorously this king maintained his sovereignty of the sea, and left more express tokens thereof to his successors, than any of the kings who reigned before him. To this we must add, that he was a great encourager of whatever had a tendency to the support of maritime strength, or the

<sup>1</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 281. Nic. Trivet, annal. vol. i. p. 165, 166. Meyeray, vol. ii. p. 629. <sup>2</sup> A. D. 1216. <sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> Johan. de Wallingford.

<sup>5</sup> Polyd. Virgil. <sup>6</sup> Thom.

Osterborn.

<sup>7</sup> Matth. Westmonast.

<sup>8</sup> See this point cleared in the

close of King John's reign, in Speed's chronicle.

<sup>9</sup> Nic. Trivet, annal.

vol. i. p. 166. Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 288. Robert of Gloucester's chronicle,

etc. p. 512, 513.

ease and increase of trade. He granted more and larger charters to cities and boroughs than any of his predecessors, and, by thus strengthening the liberties of the people, incurred the hatred of his ambitious barons<sup>c</sup>. He settled the rates of necessaries, and effectually punished all kind of fraud in commerce<sup>d</sup>. To him likewise was owing many regulations in respect to money, and the first coining of that sort which is called sterling. One cannot therefore help doubting, when we consider that he was the author of our best laws, whether those writers do him justice, who declared that King John was one of the worst of our kings. He stood on bad terms with the monks, and at that time they penned our histories; which is a sufficient reason against his obtaining a good character, even though he had deserved it. So much of his fame, however, as may result from the respect he had to naval affairs, we have endeavoured to vindicate; and shall do the same good office (as indeed it is our duty to do) to every other prince, in whose favour authorities may be produced against common opinion.

HENRY III. a child between nine and ten years of age, succeeded his father immediately in his dominions, and in time became also the heir of his misfortunes. At first, through the care of the earl of Pembroke his guardian, he was very successful, that wise nobleman shewing the barons, that now they had nothing to fear from King John; and themselves also by this time well knew, they had very little to hope from King Lewis, who put French garrisons into all the castles that were taken by the English lords, and gave glaring proofs of his intention to rule as a conqueror, in case he could possess himself of the kingdom<sup>e</sup>. In a short time, therefore, the royalists grew strong enough to look the enemy in the face; which the French so little apprehended, that, with an army of 20,000 men, they had marched northwards, and besieged Lincoln. The city quickly fell into their hands; but the castle, being very strong for those times, made an obstinate defence; and, while they were engaged before it, the earl of Pembroke with his forces came to of-

<sup>c</sup> Speed's chronicle, p. 506.

<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 129. Camden's Britan. in Striveling. Roger Hoveden. annal.

Augl. p. 292.

<sup>e</sup> Matth. Paris, hist.

fer them battle. The barons, who adhered to King Lewis, and were certainly best acquainted with the strength of their countrymen, advised the French general to march out and fight; but he, suspicious of their integrity, endeavoured to secure his forces in the city. The royalists first threw a considerable reinforcement into the castle, and then attacked the enemy in the town. The struggle was very short, the French and their confederates being quickly beat, almost without blood-shed, and the victorious army so exceedingly enriched by their plunder, that they called this battle Lewis-fair, as if they had not gone to a fight, but to a market<sup>f</sup>. The consequences of this battle brought the French prince and his faction so low, that he was glad of a truce, which might afford him time to go back to France for succours; and this being granted, he passed over accordingly to Calais, many of the barons deserting him in his absence<sup>g</sup>.

He did not stay long abroad, but, providing with the utmost diligence a considerable recruit, embarked on board a fleet of eighty stout ships, besides transports, and immediately put to sea. Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover castle, assisted by Philip de Albanie and John Marshall, resolved to encounter him with the strength of the cinque ports, and accordingly met him at sea with forty sail of ships. The English, perceiving that the French had the advantage of them both in ships and men, made use of their superiority in skill; so that, taking advantage of the wind, they ran down many of the transports, and sunk them with all the soldiers on board: their long bows also did them notable service: and, to prevent the French from boarding them, they laid heaps of lime upon their decks, which the wind, blowing fresh, drove in the faces of their enemies, and in a manner blinded them; so that, declining the dispute, they as fast as possible bore away for the shore; and landing at Sandwich, Lewis, in revenge for the mischief their ships had done him, burnt it to the ground<sup>h</sup>. The English were every way gainers by this engagement, as on the other hand it entirely ruined the affairs of Lewis, who was now forced to shut himself up in London, where very soon after he was besieged, the English fleet in the

<sup>f</sup> A. D. 1217.    <sup>g</sup> Nic. Trivet. *Annal.* vol. i. p. 168. Mauth. *Paris, hist.* Angl. p. 296. Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631.    <sup>h</sup> *Annal. Waverl. Thom. Walsingham.* Hypodigm. Neustriez.

mean time blocking up the mouth of the Thames. He quickly saw how great his danger was, and how little reason he had to expect relief. In this situation he did all that was left for him to do; that is to say, he entered into a treaty with the earl of Pembroke, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of England, and provided the best he could for himself and his adherents; which freed the kingdom from the plague of foreigners<sup>l</sup>, and remains an incontestible proof, that as nothing but our intestine divisions can invite an invasion, so, while we retain the sovereignty at sea, such attempts in the end must prove fatal to those who undertake them.

The importance of this engagement will excuse our dwelling upon it so long, as well as our taking notice here of some lesser circumstances relating thereto. One Eustace, who had been in his youth a monk, but for many years had exercised the trade of a pirate, and had done the English in particular much mischief, fell now into their hands; and though he offered a large sum of money for his ransom, yet it was refused, and he put to death. There are some differences in our ancient historians as to the year in which this famous sea-fight happened, which it will be necessary to clear up, because any error therein would affect most of the subsequent dates. In the first place, Matthew Paris fixes on the very day, and assures us, that it was gained on the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1217<sup>k</sup>. Trivet places it in the same year, and gives us the reason why Eustace the monk was so severely dealt with. He, like an apostate as he was, says my author, went from side to side, and, of a wicked monk, became a very devil, full of fraud and mischief. As soon, therefore, as he was taken, his head was struck off, and, being put upon a pole, was carried through a great part of England<sup>l</sup>. Yet Holingshed places it under the year 1218<sup>m</sup>, and the French historian Mezeray in 1216<sup>n</sup>. These errors, however, are easily rectified, since it is certain, that the treaty of peace followed this victory; and we find it bore date September 11, 1217<sup>o</sup>.

The same wise governors, who had so happily managed the king's affairs hitherto, and had so wonderfully delivered him out

<sup>l</sup> Mezeray, vol. ii. p. 631.      <sup>k</sup> Hist. Angl. p. 298.      <sup>i</sup> Annal. vol. i. p. 169.      <sup>m</sup> Vol. ii. p. 201.      <sup>n</sup> Abregé de l'histoire de France, vol. ii. p. 631.      <sup>o</sup> Rymer's fœdera, vol. i. p. 222. edit. 2da.

of all his difficulties, shewed a like diligence in establishing the tranquillity of the realm, and cultivating a correspondence with foreign princes; of which various testimonies occur in Mr. Rymer's collection of treaties, whence it is incontestibly evident, that they were extremely tender of trade, and of the dominion of the sea<sup>p</sup>. In order, however, to keep up the martial spirit of the nobility, and perhaps to prevent their breaking out into rebellions at home, leave was given them to take the cross, and to make expeditions into the Holy Land<sup>q</sup>. Thus the earls of Chester, Winchester, and Arundel, went at one time<sup>r</sup>; the bishops of Winchester and Exeter at another, with many followers<sup>s</sup>: so that, when they came into Syria, there were not fewer English there than 40,000 men, of whom very probably not many returned home<sup>t</sup>.

The desire King Henry had to recover the provinces taken from him by the king of France, and the clear title he thought derived to him from the treaty made with Lewis, who was now king, induced him, more than once, to solicit that prince to restore them, and to send over small supplies of forces into the places which he still held. All this produced nothing considerable: so that at last the king resolved to go over, as his predecessors had done, with a great fleet, and a numerous army. With this view, large sums were demanded, and given by parliament, and such a force assembled, as the nation had scarce ever seen; but when the forces marched about Michaelmas to Portsmouth, in order to embark, the fleet provided for that purpose appeared so insignificant, that it became necessary to postpone the expedition till the next spring<sup>u</sup>; a thing highly prejudicial to the king's affairs, and much more so to his reputation<sup>v</sup>. The next year the king actually invaded France, and might, if he had pushed this war with vigour, have recovered the dominions of his ancestors; but, being entirely governed by his mother, and her second husband, he consumed both his time and

<sup>p</sup> The reader may find a multitude of instances in support of this in the first volume of the *Fœdera*, and not a few in the second volume of Hakluyt.

<sup>q</sup> Matth. Paris, p. 303. T. Walsingham. *Ypodigma Neustriz*, p. 463. *Anal. Waverl.* p. 184. Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 177. <sup>r</sup> A. D. 1218.

<sup>s</sup> A. D. 1227. <sup>t</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 37—38. <sup>u</sup> A. D. 1229. <sup>v</sup> Matth. Paris, *hist. Angl.* p. 263. Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 867. Holinghed, vol. ii. p. 211.

money<sup>z</sup> in pompous entertainments: so that the French, coming down with a considerable body of forces, compelled him, after he had been there from April to October, to embark and sail home again, without adding any thing either to his honour, or to his dominions<sup>y</sup>. This mistake had terrible effects; for it emboldened such of the lords as were disaffected, and gave the common people a mean opinion of their sovereign; which is, generally speaking, the consequence of all such miscarriages.

His brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, who was naturally an active prince, and therefore little pleased with the king's management, resolved, about the year 1240, to take upon him the cross, and to lead a body of succours into the Holy Land. With him went the Earl of Salisbury, and many other persons of distinction; and not long after, Simon Earl of Leicester, and John Earl of Albemarle, followed his example<sup>z</sup>. Thus, in times of great supineness, in the administration here, the honour of the nation abroad was supported by the valour and activity of private persons<sup>a</sup>. Disputes with the barons continued to embroil the kingdom, and to hinder the king from thinking of foreign affairs; but, in 1242, the king resumed his project of reducing Gascoigny under his dominion. To this he was chiefly excited by his mother, a high-spirited haughty woman, who had contributed much to his father's misfortunes. Accordingly, having, with much ado, obtained money of his parliament for that purpose, the king, with a small force, passed over into France<sup>b</sup>, where, so long as his money lasted, he kept up a kind of war, more detrimental to himself than to the enemy<sup>c</sup>.

By this strange sort of management, the naval force of the kingdom was impaired to such a degree, that the Normans and Britons were too hard for the cinque ports, and compelled them to seek relief from the other parts of the kingdom, who, in the first year of this king's reign, had performed such extraordinary things. One William Marshall, of the noble family of Pembroke, having by some means or other, incurred the king's displeasure, became a pirate, and, fortifying the little island of

<sup>z</sup> A. D. 1230.      <sup>y</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 183. T. Wike's chronicle, p. 41. H. Knyghton, p. 2439. Tyrrel, vol. ii. p. 870.      <sup>z</sup> A. D. 1240.

<sup>a</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Angl. p. 536. Annal. Waverl. p. 201. T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustria, p. 465. Annales Monast. Burton, p. 292.

<sup>b</sup> A. D. 1242.      <sup>c</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 194. Fabian. p. 50, 51. Grafton, p. 124.

Lundy, in the mouth of the Severn, did so much mischief, that at length it became necessary to fit out a squadron, to reduce him; which was accordingly done; and he suffered by the hand of justice at London<sup>d</sup>: yet the example did not deter other discontented persons from practices of the like nature.

An idle desire of making his son Edmund king of Sicily, drew the king into vast expences, and yet produced nothing glorious, in the least degree, to the nation, any more than another expedition he made for the recovery of Normandy, in 1260, which ended in a dishonourable treaty; whereby, for the sake of certain sums of money, he renounced all title to those countries which had been the patrimonial possessions of his ancestors; and thenceforward left the dukedoms of Normandy and Anjou out of his titles<sup>e</sup>. On his return home, he met with fresh griefs, and greater disturbances than ever. The barons grew quite weary of a king entirely directed by foreigners, and who thought of nothing but providing for his favourites, at the expence of his people. The cinque ports, ever steady in his father's interest, revolted from him, sided with the barons, and fitted out a considerable fleet for their service: but, as these were times of great licence, so, in a very short space, the inhabitants of these ports forgot the motives on which they took arms, and began to consider nothing but their private interest, taking indifferently all ships that fell into their hands, and exercising an unlimited piracy on foreigners, as well as the king's subjects. By their example, something of the same nature was practised on the coast of Lincolnshire; for certain malecontents, having seized the isle of Ely, plundered all the adjacent countries, and carried to this receptacle of theirs all the booty they acquired. At length, however, by the industry and valour of Prince Edward<sup>f</sup>, they were reduced; and the same worthy person, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, brought the inhabitants of the cinque ports to return to their duty<sup>g</sup>.

The confusion of the times, however, was such, and the king's temper so timid, so irresolute, and, in all cases, so little

<sup>d</sup> Matth. Paris, hist. Ang. p. 584. Holingshed's chronicle, p. 230. <sup>e</sup> Gul. Rithanger in continuat. Matth. Paris, p. 289. Chron. T. Wike's, p. 54. <sup>f</sup> Annal. W. verl. p. 214. Rymer's foedera, vol. i. p. 668. <sup>g</sup> A. D. 1266. <sup>h</sup> Annal. Waverl. p. 221. Gul. Rithanger contin. hist. Angl. p. 1004.

to be depended on, that the gallant prince Edward, with his brother Edmund, and many other persons of the first distinction, took the cross<sup>b</sup>, and went against the Saracens<sup>c</sup>. A stronger instance there could not be, of the low and exhausted state of the kingdom, than the equipage with which these princes went; for their squadron consisted of no more than thirteen ships, on board of which there were embarked but one thousand men: and yet, on his coming into the east, the very fame of Prince Edward drew to him a considerable force, with which he performed many noble acts, inasmuch, that the infidels, despairing of any success against him in the field, had recourse to a base assassination, which likewise failed them<sup>d</sup>. On his recovery, the prince, finding that he should not be able to do any great service to the Christian cause in those parts, settled his affairs in the best manner he could, in order to return home: in the mean time, the king his father, in the last years of his life, enjoyed more peace than he had formerly done, which was in some measure owing to a change in his conduct; having learned, by experience, that to govern a kingdom was a painful office, and required more application than hitherto he had bestowed upon it. But what seems to have been the chief cause of this short calm, after so high a storm, was, the death of his principal opposers, all of whom King Henry out-lived, and the uneasy circumstances in which they left their heirs: so that, upon the whole, the fire of sedition might, in this case, be said to extinguish for want of fuel, and the king to die in peace, because the power of disturbing him was exhausted.

He ended his life on November 10, 1272, when he had reigned somewhat more than fifty-six years, and lived sixty-six<sup>e</sup>. He was a prince of but moderate endowments, which rendered him unable to govern without assistance, and made him also too prone to an implicit confidence in such as were about him. In the first years of his reign, while the famous Hubert de Burgh,

<sup>b</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 229. Chronica de Mailros, p. 241. T. Wallinghami Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 471. 1 A. D. 1269. <sup>c</sup> Annal. Waverl. p. 225, 226. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 232. Gul. Rishanger in cont. hist. Angl. p. 1007. Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 36. <sup>d</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 236. H. Knyghton, p. 2461. Annal. Waverl. p. 226. T. Wallinghami Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 472. Chron. Mailros, p. 242. Chron. Goss. v. p. 99. Chron. W. Thorn. p. 1320. Chron. T. Otterbourne, p. 77—80.

earl of Kent, was at the head of the administration, there seems to have been great care taken of commerce, which must have been very considerable, to supply the prodigious expences of his foreign expeditions, or rather journeys; in one of which he carried over no less than thirty large casks of specie, as also the mighty sums employed by the several adventurers in the holy wars, who constantly mortgaged their lands at setting out, and spent the money they raised beyond the seas. Besides all this, we find that whenever any respite from troubles would allow it, this was a most luxurious age, and the king's kindness for foreigners, especially the Poictovins, enabled them to carry away vast sums; and his brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, is said to have lavished much treasure in attaining the pompous title of King of the Romans; which enormous expence did not however hinder his living and dying a very rich man: so that some way or other vast sums must, by the balance of foreign trade, have centered here, otherwise such large draughts could not have been supplied; and yet we are pretty certain, that the policy of this king's time did not reach to any of those refined arts of creating an appearance of wealth by altering the value of the current coin, which have been since found out. Better arguments than these to prove a balance of trade in favour of that age can hardly be produced; and therefore we must allow, that such a balance there was: though doubtless, under a better government and a more settled state of things, it might have been much larger. But the mistakes of former, are, or at least should be, lessons to later ages.

EDWARD I. surnamed Longshanks, though at his father's decease in the Holy Land, was readily and unanimously acknowledged his successor; nor did there happen any disturbance, notwithstanding he delayed his return to July 25, 1274: in his passage home he visited Pope Gregory X. and King Philip of France; stayed some time at his city of Bourdeaux, and having thoroughly settled his affairs abroad, arrived here with an established reputation, as well for wisdom as courage; which perhaps was the principal reason that all ancient animosities seemed buried in oblivion: and his barons shewed as great alacrity in obeying him, as they had discovered obstinacy in thwarting his father.

father. He, on the other hand, manifested a great spirit of forgiveness, and addressing himself to the government with equal spirit and diligence, quickly gave a new face to public affairs. The desire he had of settling the realm in perfect tranquillity, engaged him to spend some time in making new laws, and composing old differences amongst potent families; in regulating affairs with the king of Scots, and in providing for the security of the English frontiers towards Wales, by redressing the grievances complained of by the Welch, and heaping favours upon David, brother to Llewellyn, who ruled over all Wales. Yet this peace did not continue long, and the nature of our work leads us to shew how it was broken, and what were the consequences of that breach <sup>m</sup>.

Llewellyn was a wise and warlike prince, more potent than any of his predecessors, but withal excessively ambitious; filling his mind with vain hopes, founded on old prophecies, and furthered in all probability by his intrigues with some of the English barons. These notions induced him to decline paying homage to King Edward, and to endeavour to strengthen his interest, by marrying the daughter of Simon Mountford, late earl of Leicester, that determined enemy of the royal family <sup>n</sup>. This lady coming to him by sea, from France, (for when came mischief into this island from another quarter?) was taken at sea by some ships from the port of Bristol, and, with her brother, brought to the king, who treated her very kindly. In order to put an end to these disputes, Edward entered Wales with a great army, and at the same time harassed the coast with his fleet, which brought the proud Llewellyn so low, that he yielded to a peace on very hard terms: in consequence of which, however, the king, from a royal generosity, sent him his wife <sup>o</sup>. Not long after, he broke out again, and, in conjunction with his brother David, committed such devastation in the English marches, that the king was obliged to turn against him the whole force of the kingdom; and having slain him in battle, added Wales

<sup>m</sup> Walter Hemingford, *historia de rebus gestis Edw. I. Edw. II. and Edw. III.* vol. i. p. 1—4. Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Chronicon. Godstovianum MS. p. 100. Mat. Westm. *chron.* Dunelm.

<sup>n</sup> A. D. 1276. <sup>o</sup> Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 5. Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 248.

to his dominions, and declaring his young son Edward, just born at Caernarvon <sup>p</sup>, prince thereof, put an end to the British line <sup>q</sup>. His policy in securing his conquest is worthy of observation: for first, to awe the people he distributed the inland parts amongst his nobility; and next, to prevent their giving in to the Welch customs, he established the English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other legal officers in those parts: lastly, for his own security, which he judged depended on a naval force, he kept all the ports of the principality in his own hands, encouraging the inhabitants in their application to inland trade and foreign commerce, more than any of their native princes had done<sup>r</sup>, that they might become true subjects of an English king, rich and free.

In the seventeenth year of the king's reign, fell out the death of Alexander king of Scots, which afforded Edward another opportunity of displaying his wisdom, and of extending his power<sup>s</sup>. This prince had for his first wife Margaret, the king's sister, by whom he had a son, who died young, and a daughter named Margaret, who was married to the king of Norway, to whom also she bore a daughter, called Margaret likewise, whom the Scots, with the consent of King Edward, acknowledged for the heirs of their crown. She, in her passage from Norway, going on shore in the Orkneys, died there; whereupon many competitors for the Scottish diadem appeared<sup>t</sup>, who agreed to submit the decision of their respective titles to King Edward. These were, Eric king of Norway, Florence earl of Holland, Robert le Brus lord of Anandale, John de Baliol lord of Galloway, John de Hastings lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn lord of Badenoch, Patrick Dunbar earl of Marche, John de Vesci for his father, Nicholas de Soules, and William de Ros: and great consequences King Edward drew from this reference, which put the whole island into his

<sup>p</sup> Thom. Walsingham. Hist. Angl. p. 47—52. Hen. de Knyghton, lib. iii. esp. l. p. 2464. Annal. Waverl. p. 234, 235. Chron. Dunstaple, p. 432, 433, 454, 507. Chron. T. Otterbourne, p. 81, 82. <sup>q</sup> A. D. 1288.

<sup>r</sup> Walr. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 8—13. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 256—259. Chron. Godstovian, ubi supra. <sup>s</sup> A. D. 1289. <sup>t</sup> H. Knyghton, lib. iii. esp. l. p. 2468. Chron. T. Otterbourne, p. 82—89. Chron. Dunstaple, p. 594, 595. Hector Boeth. Hist. Scot. lib. xiii. fol. 297.

power,

power, and gave him a pretence for keeping a strong squadron of ships upon the northern coast, in right of his sovereignty over those seas; which, though always claimed, had not been exercised by some of his predecessors<sup>u</sup>. After much consultation, and with great solemnity, the king pronounced his judgment in favour of Baliol, as descended from the eldest daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon<sup>v</sup>, notwithstanding Robert le Brus was somewhat nearer in descent, though by a younger daughter; who therefore holding himself injured, still kept up his claim; which perhaps was not disagreeable to Edward, who thought nourishing dissensions in that kingdom necessary to preserve peace in his own<sup>w</sup>.

Notwithstanding these arduous affairs at home, King Edward was far from neglecting his concerns on the continent, where he still preserved the duchy of Guienne, and some other dominions, to which he passed over when occasion required; and, contrary to the usage of his predecessors, took all imaginable care to preserve the friendship of France, which in the end he found impracticable; and that his rights were only to be defended by force<sup>x</sup>. An extraordinary act of French insolence gave rise to the bloody war which broke out in the twenty-first year of King Edward's reign<sup>y</sup>, and of which I shall exhibit a distinct account from proper authorities. The first grounds of the quarrel are very differently reported, both by our own and foreign historians; but the relation given us by Walter of Hemmingford is more circumstantial and much more probable than any of the rest; and therefore from him (especially as it has never appeared in English) we shall insert it.

“ In the year 1295, a fatal contention happened between the English seamen of the cinque ports and the mariners of the French king in Normandy, which began thus: An English ship putting into a Norman port, remained there some days;

<sup>u</sup> John de Fordun, *Scotichron.* vol. iii. p. 782. Walter Hemmingford, vol. i. p. 29. Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 267. <sup>w</sup> A. D. 1292.

<sup>x</sup> Walter Hemmingford, vol. i. p. 37, 38. Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 273, 274. Hector. Boeth. *hist. Scot.* lib. xiv. Tho. Walsingham. *hist. Angl.* p. 59. <sup>y</sup> Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 368, 369. Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 777. T. Walsingham, p. 60. T. Wike's *chron.* p. 125, 126. Nic. Trivet. *annal.* vol. i. p. 274.

<sup>z</sup> A. D. 1293.

“ while they lay at anchor, two of the crew went to get fresh  
 “ water at a place not far distant from the shore, where they  
 “ were insulted by some Normans of their own profession; so  
 “ that coming from words to blows, one of the Englishmen  
 “ was killed, and the other flying to the ship, related what  
 “ had happened to his fellow-sailor; informing them, that the  
 “ Normans were at his heels. Upon this they hoisted sail and  
 “ put to sea; and, though the Normans followed them, they  
 “ nevertheless escaped, but with some difficulty: whereupon  
 “ the inhabitants of the English ports sought assistance from  
 “ their neighbours; and the enemy, on the other hand, retain-  
 “ ing still the same disposition, increased their strength daily,  
 “ and chased all English ships. In these excursions, having  
 “ had the fortune to meet six, and to take two English vessels,  
 “ they killed the sailors, hung up their bodies at the yard-arm,  
 “ with as many dogs; sailing in this manner for some time on  
 “ their coasts, and signifying to all the world thereby, that  
 “ they made no sort of difference between an Englishman and  
 “ a dog.

“ This, when it came to the ears of the inhabitants of the  
 “ English ports, by the relation of those that escaped, provok-  
 “ ed them to take the best measures they could to revenge so  
 “ signal an affront; and having in vain cruized at sea, in order  
 “ to find out the enemy, they entered the port of Swyn, and  
 “ having killed and drowned abundance of men, carried away  
 “ six ships; many acts of a like nature succeeding this on both  
 “ sides. At last, wearied by this piratical war, they by mes-  
 “ sengers who passed between them, fixed a certain day to de-  
 “ cide this dispute with their whole strength: this day was the  
 “ fourteenth of April, and a large empty ship was fixed in  
 “ the middle, between the coasts of England and Normandy,  
 “ to mark the place of engagement. The English, against the  
 “ time appointed, procured some aid from Ireland, Holland,  
 “ and other places; and the Normans drew to their assistance  
 “ the French, Flemings, and Genoese. At the appointed day  
 “ both parties met, full of resolution; and as their minds  
 “ boiled with rage, so a like spirit seemed to agitate the ele-  
 “ ments: storms of snow and hail, and boisterous gusts of  
 “ wind, were the precludes of an obstinate battle; in which at  
 “ length

“ length God gave the victory to us ; many thousands being  
 “ slain, besides those who were drowned in a large number of  
 “ ships which perished ; the victorious English carrying off  
 “ two hundred and forty sail ; and with these they returned  
 “ home.

“ When King Philip received this news, though his brother  
 “ Charles had been the author of the battle, yet he sent ambassa-  
 “ dors to the king of England, demanding reparation for the  
 “ wrong done him, by punishing such as were concerned, and by  
 “ the payment of a vast sum for the losses which his merchants  
 “ had sustained. To them the king prudently answered, that he  
 “ would inquire into the matter, and return his resolution by  
 “ messengers of his own. Agreeable to his promise, he sent to  
 “ desire the French king, that time and place might be fixed for  
 “ commissioners on both sides to meet and inquire into the cir-  
 “ cumstances of the fact, in order to its being amicably adjust-  
 “ ed ; but this the French king refused, and, by the advice of  
 “ his nobility, summoned the king of England to appear, and  
 “ answer for what had passed in his court, on a day assigned.  
 “ The day came, and, the king not appearing, a new summons  
 “ was issued, wherein the king was cited to appear on another  
 “ day, under pain of forfeiting all his dominions beyond the  
 “ seas. The king, before this day elapsed, sent his brother Ed-  
 “ mund earl of Lancaster, and the earl of Leicester, with in-  
 “ structions for the making an end of this business : yet these  
 “ ambassadors, though they produced proper credentials, were  
 “ not heard, nor even admitted, but judgment was given, that  
 “ the king should lose Aquitaine, and all his transmarine domi-  
 “ nions, for his contempt in not appearing <sup>a</sup>.”

Such is the account given by Hemingsford, which is clear and exact, and very agreeable to what we find in the best French authors, particularly Father Daniel, who very candidly relates, and very honestly blames, this violent procedure<sup>b</sup>. But what followed was so very base, that, though I own it is somewhat beside my purpose, I cannot help relating it. By the interposition of the French queens, a treaty was set on foot with Prince Edmund for the accommodating all differences. By this treaty

<sup>a</sup> Historia de rebus gestis Edward I. &c. vol. i. p. 39, 40, 41.  
 de France, tom. iv. p. 358.

<sup>b</sup> Histoire

it was agreed, that, to save the honour of King Philip, a few French troops should be admitted into certain forts and cities, and that, after this mark of submission, they should be withdrawn, and, letters of safe conduct being granted to King Edward, he should pass the seas, and settle all things in a personal conference with the French king, the troops to be recalled, and the sentence vacated in forty days, in consequence of the before-mentioned submission. All this being fairly executed by King Edward, when the time was elapsed, and the French troops were required to evacuate the towns, King Philip roundly declared, that he was unacquainted with the treaty, and that he would by no means comply therewith<sup>c</sup>. Such was the policy of France of old, and such the honourable means by which her monarchy was extended!

The resentment of the king for this base usage shewed itself in various treaties with foreign princes, as also by sending a speedy relief to Gascony under his nephew the earl of Richmond, attended by Lord St. John and Admiral Tiptoff<sup>d</sup>. At the same time, to secure the seas, and prevent any descents on his coast, the King fitted out three fleets, well provided with men and ammunition; one from Yarmouth, which was commanded by John de Botecourt; another from Portsmouth, under the direction of William de Leibourne; the third, which had the care of the western coast, under the command of a valiant knight of Ireland<sup>e</sup>. In some of the copies of Trivet's annals, this admiral is said to be of the illustrious house of Ormonde<sup>f</sup>.

All these fleets did good service. That of Portsmouth, about Michaelmas, sailed into the mouth of the Garonne<sup>g</sup>, and, having debarked the troops on board, took several places from the French<sup>h</sup>: yet, next year, the French king having hired a great fleet, some of our writers say not less than 300 sail, they stood over to the English coast, and landing the troops on board suddenly near Dover, by the assistance of Sir Thomas Turberville a traitor, took the town<sup>i</sup>, and burnt it, but were quickly after-

<sup>c</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 42, 43. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 276, 277. T. Walsingham, p. 61. <sup>d</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 279. Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 51. *Histoire de France*, par J. de Serres, p. 174. <sup>e</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 279. <sup>f</sup> See the MS. of Trivet in the library of Merton college in Oxford. <sup>g</sup> A. D. 1294. <sup>h</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 56. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 280. <sup>i</sup> A. D. 1295.

vards forced to fly to their ships, with the loss of 800 men<sup>a</sup>. In the mean time, the Yarmouth fleet made a descent in Normandy, burnt the town of Cherbourg, and spoiled a rich abbey<sup>b</sup>. The Portsmouth Squadron also, on the coast of Flanders, took fifteen sail of Spanish merchantmen, richly laden, and brought them into Sandwich<sup>c</sup>. To balance this, there happened an unforeseen stroke at Berwick<sup>d</sup>, where the English fleet rashly entering the harbour, the Scots destroyed four ships, and the rest with some difficulty escaped<sup>e</sup>.

In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the king made great preparations for invading Flanders, and notwithstanding he met with many interruptions from his barons and clergy, yet by the latter end of August he sailed from Winchelsea with a mighty fleet, having a gallant army of between fifty and sixty thousand men on board, and landed at Sluys in Flanders on the twenty-seventh of the same month<sup>f</sup>, where a very unlucky accident fell out. The Squadron from the cinque ports, quarrelling with the Yarmouth mariners, suddenly fell to blows; so that, notwithstanding the king's interposition, a desperate engagement followed, wherein twenty ships of the Yarmouth Squadron were burnt, most of the men on board them lost, and three of the largest ships in the navy, one of which had the king's treasure on board, were driven out to sea, and, not without much difficulty, escaped<sup>g</sup>. This was an ill beginning; and indeed nothing answerable to the force employed therein was done through the whole expedition; yet in one respect they were fortunate; for the French having formed a scheme for burning their whole navy in the harbour of Dam, it was luckily discovered; and the English fleet, putting to sea, escaped<sup>h</sup>. The king's confederates abroad also fell from their promises; and the Flemings, to whose assistance the English came, making a sudden defection, the king was next year obliged to return to England, as well on account of these miscarriages, as to quiet his barons, and to re-

<sup>a</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 59. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 284, 285. H. Knyghton, p. 2503, 2504. Mazaray, vol. ii. p. 789. <sup>b</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 284. <sup>c</sup> Thom. Walsingham, hist. Angl. p. 64. <sup>d</sup> A. D. 1196. <sup>e</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 90. Thom. Walsingham, hist. Angl. p. 66. H. Knyghton, p. 2512. <sup>f</sup> 1197. <sup>g</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 304. Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 146. <sup>h</sup> Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 305. Holingshed's chronicle, p. 304.

press the Scots, who, at the instigation of the French, took up arms, and invaded the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

The king, according to his disposition of entertaining peace on the continent if possible, while he had affairs of moment to employ him nearer home, was content, notwithstanding the injuries he received, to make a peace with King Philip, which in the twenty-seventh year of his reign<sup>2</sup> was confirmed<sup>3</sup>, and by the mediation of Pope Boniface VIII. made more explicit by a treaty; wherein it was stipulated, that the king of England should marry the French king's sister, and his son Prince Edward the daughter of the said king, and that the duchy of Aquitain should be put into the hands of the Pope, until the matters in difference between the two kings should be inquired into, and settled, with many other articles to be seen at large in Rymer's collection<sup>4</sup>. This truce, indifferently performed on the part of the French, subsisted to the thirtieth year of the king<sup>5</sup>, and then a peace was concluded between the two crowns, of which the third article contained a reciprocal engagement, that neither of the contracting parties should afford any manner of aid or assistance to the enemies of the other, or suffer the same to be given, in any way whatever, in any of the territories or places under their power, and that they should forbid the same to be done on pain of forfeiture of body and goods to the offenders, &c. I mention this article particularly, because, in consequence of it, there fell out the clearest proofs of the king of England's absolute sovereignty of the sea, that could be desired or wished; a clearer proof, perhaps, than the whole world can shew, in respect to the prerogative of a prince, with regard to other princes<sup>6</sup>. It happened thus:

The war still continuing between Philip the Fair and the Flemings, that prince thought fit to send a great fleet to sea under the command of a Genoese nobleman, whose name was Reyner Grimbaldi, (most of our writers call him Grimbaltz,) to whom he gave the title of Admiral, and who, under colour of this commission, took several ships of different nations, bound for the ports of Flanders, laden with various kinds of goods. Upon

<sup>1</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> A. D. 1299.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. i. p. 168, 169.

Annal. Abington. Nic. Trivet. annal. vol. i. p. 314, 315.

<sup>4</sup> Fordun, tom. ii. p. 840.

<sup>5</sup> A. D. 1303.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 941.

this,

this, complaints were made to the kings of England and France, who jointly appointed commissioners to hear and determine the matters contained in them.

To these commissioners, therefore, a remonstrance was presented in the name of the procurators of the prelates and nobles, and of the admiral of the English seas, and of the communities of cities and towns; likewise of the merchants, mariners, strangers resident, and all others belonging to the kingdom of England, and other territories subject to the said king of England; as also the inhabitants of other maritime places, such as Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Germany, Zeland, Holland, Frizeland, Denmark, Norway, &c. setting forth, that whereas the kings of England, by right of the said kingdom, have from time to time, whereof there is no memorial to the contrary, been in peaceable possession of the sovereignty of the English seas, and of the islands situate within the same, with power of ordaining and establishing laws, statutes, and prohibitions of arms, and of ships otherwise furnished than merchantmen used to be; and of taking security, and giving protection, in all cases where need shall require; and of ordering all other things necessary for the maintaining of peace, right, and equity, among all manner of people, as well of other dominions as their own, passing through the said seas, and the sovereign guard thereof; and also, of taking all manner of cognizance in causes, and of doing right and justice to high and low, according to the said laws, statutes, ordinances, and prohibitions, and all other things, which to the exercise of sovereign jurisdiction in the places aforesaid may appertain: and whereas A. de B. (Lord Coke<sup>a</sup> says his name was de Botetort) admiral of the said sea, deputed by the said king of England, and all other admirals deputed by the said king of England, and his ancestors formerly kings of England, have been in peaceable possession of the said sovereign guard, with power of jurisdiction, and all the other powers before-mentioned, (except in case of appeal, and complaint made of them to their sovereigns the kings of England, in default of justice, or for evil judgment), and especially of making prohibitions, doing justice, and taking security for good behaviour from all manner of people carrying arms

<sup>a</sup> Instit. lib. iv. c. 22.

on the said sea, or sailing in ships otherwise fitted out and armed than merchant ships used to be, and in all other cases where a man may have reasonable cause of suspicion towards them of piracy, or other misdoings: and whereas the masters of ships, of the said kingdom of England, in the absence of the said admirals, have been in peaceable possession of taking cognizance, and judging of all facts upon the said sea, between all manner of people, according to the laws, statutes, prohibitions, franchises, and customs: and whereas, in the first article of the treaty of alliance, lately made between the said kings at Paris, the words following are set down, *viz.* First of all it is agreed and concluded between us, the envoys and agents above-mentioned, in the names of the said kings, that they shall be to each other, for the future, good, true, and faithful friends and allies against all the world (except the church of Rome), in such manner, that if any one or more, whosoever they be, shall go about to interrupt, hinder, or molest the said kings, in their franchises, liberties, privileges, rights, or customs, of them and their kingdoms, they shall be good and faithful friends, and aiding against all men living, and ready to die, to defend, keep and maintain, the above-mentioned franchises, liberties, rights, and customs, &c. and that the one should not be of counsel, nor give aid or assistance in any thing whereby the other may lose life, limb, estate, or honour. And whereas Mr. Reyner Grimbaltz, master of the ships of the said king of France, who calls himself admiral of the said sea, being deputed by his sovereign aforesaid, in his war against the Flemings, did, (after the above-mentioned alliance was made and ratified, and against the tenor and obligation of the said alliance, and the intention of those who made it) wrongfully assume and exercise the office of admiral in the said sea of England, above the space of a year, by commission from the said king of France, taking the subjects and merchants of the kingdom of England, and of other countries, passing upon the said seas with their goods, and did cast the men so taken into the prisons of his said master the king of France, and, by his own judgment and award, did cause to be delivered, their goods and merchandizes to receivers established for that purpose, in the seaports of the said king, as forfeit and confiscate to him; and his taking and detaining the said men with their said goods and merchandizes,

chandizes, and his judgment and award on them as forfeit and confiscate, hath pretended in writing to justify before you, the Lords Commissioners, by authority of the aforesaid commission for the office of admiral by him thus usurped, and against the general prohibition made by the king of England, in places within his power, in pursuance of the third article of the before-mentioned alliance, containing the words above written, and hath therefore required, that he may be acquitted and absolved of the same, to the great damage and prejudice of the said king of England, and of the prelates, nobles, and others before mentioned: wherefore the said procurators do, in the names of their said lords, pray you, the Lords Commissioners before-mentioned, that due and speedy delivery of the said men, ships, goods, and merchandizes, so taken and detained, may be made to the admiral of the said king of England, to whom the cognizance of this matter doth rightfully appertain, as is above said, that so, without disturbance from you, or any one else, he may take cognizance thereof, and do what belongs to his aforesaid office; and that the aforesaid Mr. Reyner may be condemned, and constrained to make due satisfaction for all the said damages, so far forth as he shall be able to do the same; and in default thereof, his said master, the king of France, by whom he was deputed to the said office, and that, after due satisfaction shall be made for the said damages, the said Mr. Reyner may be so duly punished for the violation of the said allowance, as that the same may be an example to others for time to come\*.

Thus far the remonstrance; on which other writers having largely insisted, let us content ourselves with making a few obvious reflections. I. It appears from this paper, that the dominion of the sea had not only been claimed, but exercised and possessed, by the kings of England, for time immemorial; which is sufficient to give some credit to the facts which we have related from the British history: for as to the times since the Roman invasion, they were, in an historical sense, within memory. II. It is clear, from hence, what the dominion of the sea was, viz. a jurisdiction over the vessels of all nations passing thereon for the common benefit of all, for the preventing piracies, the

\* Selden's mare clausum, lib. ii. cap. 27, 28. Coke's instit. lib. iv. cap. 22.

protection of commerce, and the decision of unforeseen disputes. III. It is no less apparent, that this was an exclusive jurisdiction, in which no other potentate had any share; which must have been founded either in common consent, or in superiority of strength; either of which afforded a good title. IV. We see, by this remonstrance, that the dominion of the sea resting in the king of England, was a point not only known to, but maintained by, the Genoese, Spaniards, Germans, Hollanders, Danes, and, in short, by all the maritime powers then in Europe; which is sufficient to evince, that trade was far from being at a low ebb; and that the prerogative of the crown of England, in this respect, had been hitherto so exercised, as to render it a common advantage. V. We perceive, that foreigners were so jealous of the assuming temper of the French princes, that they would not admit the commander in chief of their naval force to bear the title of Admiral, which they apprehended to include a title to jurisdiction; and therefore would have this Reyner Grimbaltz styled only Master of the ships to the king of France. VI. We must observe, that the Commissioners, to whom this remonstrance is addressed, neither had, nor claimed any naval jurisdiction whatsoever, but were appointed to hear and determine whether King Edward's prerogative, as sovereign of the sea, had been invaded by this Reyner Grimbaltz, in contravention of the first article of the treaty between the crowns of England and France, whereby the contracting parties covenanted to maintain each others prerogatives; and consequently, the French king was bound to maintain this prerogative of King Edward, which gave occasion to the commission. VII. We owe the knowledge of this whole affair not to our historians, but to our records; whence we may safely deduce this consequence, that the want of facts to support such a jurisdiction throughout preceding reigns, ought not to be urged as a just objection; because, as I once before hinted, most of those who applied themselves to writing history, were very little acquainted with these matters.

But there is one thing more relating to this affair, which deserves particular attention; and that is, the plea put in by Reyner Grimbaltz, in answer to this remonstrance. He did not dispute the king of England's sovereignty; he did not plead any  
power.

power derived to himself from the French king's commission : but what he insisted on was, the third article of the treaty before-mentioned, which he would have to be thus understood : that King Edward having contracted not to give any aid or assistance, or to suffer any aid or assistance to be given to the enemies of King Philip ; and having also actually issued out a prohibition, forbidding any such practices ; it followed, in his opinion, that all such as, after this prohibition, relieved the Flemings, by merchandize or otherwise, were to be esteemed enemies, of whatsoever nation they were : and that he, having taken none but the persons and goods of such, conceived himself to have a permission so to do by virtue of the said prohibition ; whereby King Edward, according to his interpretation, had signified, that he would not take it as an injury done to him, although the ships of such offenders should be taken in his seas by the French king's officers. I shall not enter into the reasonableness or validity of this defence, the issue of which is not known ; but content myself with observing, that it contains the clearest concession on the part of France, that can be desired ; because this man derives the legality of his own actions, if they were legal, not from the commission of the prince he served, but from the king of England's prohibition ; so that, in reality, he asserts himself to have acted under the English sovereignty, and from thence expected his acquittal <sup>b</sup>.

Many other instances of this king's claiming and exercising the sovereignty of the sea might be produced, if they were at all necessary ; but as, at that time, the title of our kings was no way contested, it is not necessary to detain the reader longer on this head. The remainder of his life was spent in subduing Scotland, on which he had particularly set his heart, as appears, by his directing his dead body to be carried about that country, till every part of it was brought under his son's dominion. In this temper of mind he died, in a manner, in the field ; for he caused himself to be conveyed from Carlisle to a village called Burgh upon Sands, where he deceased on July 17, 1307, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his age <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Selden, ubi supra. Molloy, de jure maritimo & navali, cap. v. <sup>c</sup> Walt. Hemingford, vol. i. p. 237, 238, 239. Nic. Trivet. annal. p. 346, 347. Chron. Godstovian. p. 103. T. Walsingham. hist. Angl. p. 94. Thom. Sprott, chronic. p. 111. Johan. Fordun de Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 2003. A. Knyghton, p. 2530. Fabian, p. 149.

He was, undoubtedly, one of the bravest, and most polite princes, that ever sat on the English throne. He rightly judged, that he could never be formidable abroad, till he had established unanimity at home; which was the reason that, at such an expence of blood and treasure, he annexed Wales for ever to his dominions; and endeavoured, with such earnestness, to add Scotland to them likewise; which, if he had lived, he would, in all probability, have done; and then, no doubt, the French would have felt the weight of his whole power. For though he was too wise to be diverted from the prosecution of his designs by any of the arts of his enemies, yet he was a monarch of too great spirit to bear the injustice done him by France, longer than the situation of his affairs required. As he set the state in order at his first coming to the throne, so he left the government thoroughly established at the time of his decease; which, with a numerous army and potent fleet, he consigned to his son, who resembled him very little, either in his virtue or his fortune.

EDWARD II. succeeded this monarch in the throne with the general satisfaction of the nation. His first care was to solemnize the marriage, concluded for him by his father, with the princess Isabella, daughter to the French King; and for that purpose he passed the seas, and went to Paris, where he was very magnificently received, and the ceremony of his nuptials was performed with extraordinary splendour. His marriage over, he returned to England with his new queen, and was crowned on the feast of St. Matthias, with all imaginable testimonies of joy and affection from the people<sup>d</sup>. But this fair weather was soon over; for he shortly after bringing back his favourite, called by most of our writers Gaveston, but whose true name seems to have been Piers, or Peter de Gaberston, a Gascon, the barons took such an offence thereat, and at the extravagant marks of royal favour he afterwards received, that more than one civil war happened upon his account, which hindered the King from applying himself to the care of his concerns abroad, as well as the nobility from rendering him those

<sup>d</sup> A. D. 1308.

services to which they were heartily inclined. These jealousies and disputes ended not but with the death of the king's minion, by whom they were occasioned; and who falling into the hands of the lords, had his head struck off without any form of justice. It is highly probable, that the French counsellors about the queen were the chief instigators of this fact, at least as to the manner of doing it; and yet after it was done, they inflamed the king's discontents, and by thus dividing this nation, kept their own quiet<sup>e</sup>.

In the year 1313, Robert le Brus, king of Scotland, invaded England with a great army, which roused the king from his lethargy, and obliged him to provide for the nation's safety, and his own honour. The next year, therefore, he assembled the whole strength of the realm, and marched therewith northward, intending to have reduced the whole kingdom of Scotland, according to his father's directions upon his death-bed; but those disasters which always attend princes when on ill terms with their subjects, waited on this unfortunate expedition; so that in a general engagement on June 24, 1314, the English were entirely defeated, though the King discovered much personal courage, and when all fell into confusion, was with difficulty prevailed upon to fly. He certainly meant to have attempted at least the repairing this misfortune, by invading Scotland with a new army; but his reputation was so much injured by his late defeat, and his nobility were so unwilling to fight under his banners<sup>f</sup>, that all his endeavours came to nothing; and he had besides the misfortune to see, not only the northern parts of England ravaged, but Ireland also invaded by the Scots, whom his father had left in so low a condition,

<sup>e</sup> Walter Hemingsford, vol. i. p. 242. Contin. annal. Nic. Trivet. per Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 5. Thom. Walsingham, p. 95—101. Mezeray. H. Knyghton, p. 2532. Thom. de la Moor vit. Edward II. p. 593. T. Otterbourne, p. 109, 110. Johan. Trokelowe, annal. Edward II. p. 1—18. Anonym. Monach. Malmesburiens. vit. Edward II. p. 95—106. <sup>f</sup> Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 15. Hæstor Boeth. hist. Scot. lib. xiv. p. 302. Thom. Walsingham. hist. Angl. p. 205. T. Otterbourne, p. 110. H. Knyghton, p. 2533. Johan. Fordun Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 1007. Monach. Malmesburiens. vit. Edward II. p. 146, 147. Johan. Trokelowe, annal. Edward II. p. 24—26. Fabian's chronicle, p. 167.

and so little likely to defend their own, instead of offending others.

This design of the Scots upon Ireland was very deeply laid, and nothing less was intended than an entire conquest of the island. For this purpose King Robert le Brus sent over his brother Edward, who took upon him the title of King of Ireland, and who landed in the north with six thousand men, attended by the earls of Murray and Monteith, Lord John Stuart, Lord John Campbell, and many other persons of distinction; and by the assistance of the native Irish, quickly reduced a great part of the country. This war lasted several years; King Robert going over thither at last in person; and in all probability had carried his point, if it had not been for the hasty temper of his brother. Sir Edmund Butler, in the beginning of these stirr, had with the English forces done all that in a very distracted state of affairs could be done for the preservation of the island, till such time as the king sent over Lord Roger Mortimer, with a very small force to repress the invaders; who engaging Edward le Brus in the famous battle of Armagh, which the Scots very imprudently fought before they were joined by King Robert and his forces; the English gained a complete victory<sup>a</sup>; the pretended King Edward being slain upon the spot, his head carried by the Lord Birmingham into England, and there presented to King Edward<sup>b</sup>. After this all matters in Ireland were so well settled, that the king had thoughts of retiring thither, when sinking under his misfortunes; and had probably done so, if he had remained master of the sea.

The king drew these troubles upon himself by suffering his new favourites, the Spensers, to guide him in all things; since, by this he equally disgusted his nobility and his own family. A dishonourable treaty he had made with Scotland, was another ground of discontent; and while things went on so ill at home, there wanted not some causes of disquiet abroad. Charles IV. of France, brother to Queen Isabel, pretending to take

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Hibern. Adam Mulumath, vol. ii. p. 28, 29, 49, 53. Johanz. Trokelowe, annal. Edward II. p. 33, 44. J. Fordun Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 1003, 1009. T. Walsingham, p. 107, 111, Hector Boeth. hist. Scot. lib. xiv. p. 305. <sup>b</sup> A. D. 1318.

umbrage because King Edward did not assist at his coronation, sent his uncle, Charles de Valois, into Guyenne, a great part of which he quickly reduced, and grievously distressed Edmund earl of Kent, the king's brother, who was sent to defend that province; insomuch that he agreed with the French general to come over, and persuade his brother to give King Charles satisfaction, or else to render himself, if the king of England was inflexible, prisoner of war; by which capitulation he preserved the few towns the English still retained in Guyenne, though he thereby paved the way, perhaps involuntarily, for his unfortunate brother's deposition and destruction<sup>1</sup>.

As soon as King Edward was informed of what had passed, he took it extremely to heart, banished the French who were about the person of the queen, and had thoughts of entering immediately into a war with that crown: but finding it impossible to obtain supplies from his parliament, he suddenly changed his purpose, and resolved to send over Queen Isabella to treat with her brother, and to endeavour to accommodate the differences which had happened between them; and upon this errand she accordingly went. By her applications, the French king was not only drawn to pass by what had given him offence, but was likewise induced to give him the dukedom of Aquitaine, and the earldom of Poitou to prince Edward his nephew, on condition that he came and did him homage for them in person; though, to preserve appearances, letters of safe conduct were also sent to the king, that he, in case he so thought fit, might also go over to France, and take possession of those countries<sup>2</sup>. When King Edward had considered these conditions, and consulted with his favourites, he resolved to send over the prince to his mother, in order to the due execution of the treaty. This was all that the queen and her party wanted: for no sooner was the heir of the crown in France under their tuition, than immediately they began to negotiate a treaty of marriage between him and the daughter of the earl of Hainault, directly

<sup>1</sup> Mezeray abregé de l'hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 841. Le Gendre hist. de France, tom. iii. p. 431. Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 62. T. de la Moor, vit. Edward II. p. 596. Thom. Walsingham, p. 122. <sup>2</sup> Paul Æmyle, hist. des Rois de France, p. 497. P. Daniel. hist. de France, tom. iv. p. 45. 47. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. iv. p. 195.

contrary to his father's instructions; and, at the same time, made all the necessary dispositions for invading England, as soon as this marriage was brought about<sup>1</sup>. The king having no intelligence of these proceedings, sent positive orders to the queen and his son to return home; and on their refusal proclaimed them enemies to the kingdom, and at the same time began to act vigorously against France; sending orders to his admiral to cruise on the French coasts; particularly to the constable of Dover-castle, and warden of the cinque ports; who executed his commands so effectually, that in a short time a hundred and twenty sail of ships belonging to Normandy were brought into the English ports<sup>m</sup>. This had such an effect upon King Charles, that in appearance at least he abandoned his sister<sup>n</sup>: though a French historian intimates, that it was rather occasioned by her too great familiarity with Roger Lord Mortimer. However it was, the queen retired first into Guyenne, and went thence with her son, the prince, to the court of the earl of Hainault, where she openly prosecuted her design of attacking her husband, in support of which she had formed a strong party in England.

The king on his side provided the best he could for his defence, which however did not hinder her landing with three thousand men, at Orwell in Suffolk, a little before Michaelmas: an inconsiderable force, in proportion to the design, and yet it is hard to conceive even how these were landed, without the connivance at least of such as had the command of the king's fleet: which may with the greater reason be suspected, since immediately after her arrival the earl of Lancaster and most of the nobility came in to her assistance; so that the king seeing himself deserted, was forced to retire, or rather was compelled to fly into Wales; where finding himself abandoned by those about him, he went on board a small ship, intending to retire to Ireland; but after tossing to and fro a whole week, he landed again in Glamorganshire, where for some time he lay hid.

<sup>1</sup> Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 63. Thom. de la Moor, vit. Edward II. p. 598. Thom. Walsingham, 123.

<sup>m</sup> Polydor. Virgil, lib. xviii. Thom. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustria, p. 507, 508. Mezeray, tom. ii. p. 843, 844.

<sup>n</sup> A. D. 1326.

At last being discovered, he was carried prisoner to Monmouth, and thence to Kenilworth-castle, belonging to the earl of Lancaster, where he remained till his queen and the counsellors about her took a resolution of forcing him to resign his crown; which by authority of parliament was placed on the head of his son<sup>o</sup>. He did not survive long after this, but was conveyed from place to place under the custody of Gournay and Mattravers, who in the end brought him to Berkley-castle, where he was basely murdered on September 21, 1327, when he had reigned twenty years, and with small ceremony buried at Gloucester<sup>p</sup>. With the character of this prince we shall meddle very little: his enemies have left us reports enough, in relation to his vices, and we have also some accounts of him from less prejudiced pens. As to maritime concerns, during his reign, they were certainly on the decline, as they will always be when the state is discomposed: yet, as far as the distractions in his affairs would give him leave, he shewed himself a friend to trade, and remarkably careful of wool, the staple commodity of the kingdom, as appears by his charter granted for that purpose, and other authentic proofs<sup>q</sup>.

EDWARD III. called, from his birth-place, Edward of Windsor, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime, being entirely governed by the queen his mother, and her favourite Roger Mortimer<sup>r</sup>. He married Philippa, daughter to the earl of Hainault, who was also crowned queen. In the beginning of his reign there happened many things which were far from promising those glorious events that afterwards followed. For, first he made an unfortunate war against the Scots, which was succeeded by a disadvantageous treaty; then passing over to France; he, by the advice of his mother and her counsellors, did homage to Philip, son of Charles de Valois, then styling himself king, to the prejudice of his own title to that crown. We may add to this, the cutting off his uncle Edmund earl of

<sup>o</sup> Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 69. Thom. Walsingham, p. 125—127. Thom. de la Moor, p. 600. <sup>p</sup> Chron. Godstovian, p. 109. Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 70. Thom. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neuftriz, p. 509. Thom. de la Moor, vir. Edward II. p. 602, 603. H. Knyghton, p. 2551. Grafton's chronicle, p. 218, 219. <sup>q</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 142. <sup>r</sup> A. D. 1328.

Kent's head, for a pretended reason, in endeavouring to set his brother King Edward on the throne again; though it was well known he was dead. But as by degrees he began to act according to his own sentiments, he easily wiped off these imputations, due rather to the tenderness of his age, than to any fault of his mind. For in the fourth year of his reign, when the king himself was but twenty years of age, he, at a parliament held at Nottingham, went in person, and at the hazard of his life seized Mortimer in his mother's bed-chamber<sup>2</sup>, caused him to be carried to London, where, by his death, he in some measure atoned for the crimes he had committed in his lifetime<sup>1</sup>.

Thenceforward King Edward ruled like a great prince, and one who had his own honour, and the reputation of his people at heart. He first turned his arms against the Scots, who had done incredible mischiefs in the north; and resolving to repair the dishonour he had sustained during the weak administration of his mother, he prepared both an army and a fleet for the invasion of that country; and though the latter suffered grievously by storm on the Scottish coast, whereby most of his great ships were wrecked, and the rest rendered unserviceable; yet he persisted in his design of expelling David Brus, and restoring Edward Baliol; which at length, with infinite labour, he effected, and received homage from the said Edward, as his grandfather Edward I. had from John Baliol<sup>4</sup>: David Brus, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of Scotland, retiring into France with his queen, where they were kindly received. In this step of securing Scotland, previous to any expeditions beyond the seas, King Edward imitated his grandfather, as he seems to have done in most of his subsequent undertakings, having always a special regard to the maintenance of a stout fleet, and securing to himself the possession as well as title of lord of the seas, which enabled him to assert, whenever he thought fit, his rights abroad, and effectually secured him from apprehending any thing from the efforts of his enemies at home. While he was laying these solid foundations of

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1328.    <sup>2</sup> Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 76. Walter de Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 271. Chron. Godstovian, p. 110. Robert de Avesbury, hist. Edwardi iii. p. 8, 9. H. Knighton, p. 2556—2559. T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustria, p. 510, 511. Wilhelmi Wyrcestri Annales, p. 429.    <sup>4</sup> A. D. 1334.

power, he thought it not at all beneath him to make use of such temporary expedients as were proper to serve his purpose, and to enable him to maintain his right to the crown of France, whenever he should think fit to claim it \*.

As this war was of great importance to the nation, as well as to the king, and carried our naval force to a greater height than ever it arrived at before; it will be necessary to enter into a distinct, though concise detail of its causes, as well as of the circumstances attending it. Philip the Fair, king of France, left behind him at his decease three sons, who all swayed the sceptre of that kingdom in their turns. The eldest of these, Lewis X. reigned twenty-six years, leaving his queen big with child, who after his decease brought forth a son, called John; but the child died at a week old, and Philip, the late king's brother, succeeded, who reigned also twenty-six years. On his demise, Charles IV. surnamed the Fair, claimed and enjoyed the crown twenty-eight years; and deceasing in the year 1328, left his queen Jane pregnant, who was afterwards delivered of a daughter named Blanch; and immediately thereupon King Edward set up his title to the succession: thus he acknowledged that the salique law excluded the females; but he maintained, that the males descending from those females were not excluded by that law; because the reason whereon it was founded did not reach them. The peers of France, however, decided against him, and acknowledged Philip de Valois, cousin to the deceased prince, as the next heir-male, and seated him on the throne. This was in 1328; and King Edward being at that time in no condition to vindicate his rights by force, seemed to acquiesce, and being afterwards summoned to do homage for the countries he held in France, he made no difficulty, as we before observed, of complying; and even performed it in person with great magnificence †.

But afterwards, being better informed as to the validity of his pretensions, and finding that several foreign princes were ready

\* Adam Murimuth, vol. ii. p. 79—84. T. Otterbourne, p. 115—117. Monach. Malmesburiens, p. 246, 247. Robert de Avesbury, p. 21—23. H. Knyghton, p. 2563—2565. Hector Boeth. hist. Scot. lib. xv. p. 312—316. J. Fordun Scotichronicon, vol. iv. p. 1021, 1022. † Mézeray abrégé de l'histoire de France, vol. i. p. 3—12. P. Daniel histoire de France, tom. iv. p. 63—72. Continuat. Adam Murimuth. Holingshead's chronicle.

to abet his claim, he resolved to do himself justice by force of arms, in case he could obtain it no other way. With this view, he entered into a treaty with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the earl of Hainault, the Duke of Brabant, and other princes; and having proceeded thus far, the king next wrote letters to the Pope and cardinals, setting forth the injury that was done him, and his resolution to do himself right. At length, these previous endeavours having served no other purpose than that of giving the French king time to strengthen himself, Edward, by the duke of Brabant, made his claim to the French crown, and spent the next winter in disposing all things for the obtaining it by force, issuing his orders for raising a very numerous army, and for drawing together a great fleet; his allies in like manner sending their defiances to the French king, and making great preparations for fulfilling their promises to the king of England, which nevertheless they did but slenderly<sup>7</sup>. And thus was this great war begun, in speaking of which, we shall concern ourselves no farther than with the naval expeditions on both sides.

The principal confederate, or at least the confederate of principal use to our monarch, was James Arteville, a brewer of Ghent; for this man so well seconded the king's endeavours, that he drew to him the hearts of the Flemings, whom King Edward had already made sensible of the importance of the English friendship, by detaining from them his wool<sup>8</sup>. However, they durst not shew their inclinations till such time as the king sent the earl of Derby with a considerable force, who made themselves masters of the isle of Cadzant; upon which most of the great cities in Flanders declared against the French, and invited King Edward thither<sup>9</sup>. The French, however, struck the first blow at sea: for having, under colour of sending relief to the Christians in the Holy Land, assembled a squadron of large ships, they sent them over to the English coast, where they took and burnt Southampton; and yet in their retreat they lost 300

<sup>7</sup> T. Otterbourne, *chron.* p. 118—118. Rob. de Avesbury, p. 27—44. H. Knyghton, p. 2569. Fabian's *chronicle*, p. 214, 215. <sup>8</sup> Froissart, *chron.* cap. xxix. fol. 18. Mezeray, *abrégé de l'histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 14. P. Daniel, *histoire de France*, tom. iv. p. 90. <sup>9</sup> Froissart, cap. 30. T. Walsingham, *hist. Angl.* p. 136. H. Knyghton, p. 2570. Paul Æmyle, p. 512, 513.

men, and the son of the king of Sicily who commanded them<sup>b</sup>: so that, upon the whole, this, though an apparent hostility, could scarce be styled an advantage.

In 1338, King Edward by the middle of July drew his numerous army down to the coast of Suffolk, and at Orewell embarked them on board a fleet of 500 sail, with which he passed over to Antwerp. On his arrival he was received with great joy by the allies, particularly the Emperor Lewis; but the subsidies he paid them were excessive; nor could he immediately make use of their assistance, the French king declining a battle<sup>c</sup>. In the mean time, by the advice of the Flemings, he assumed the arms and title of king of France; but while the king spent his time in marches and countermarches, in which, however, he gained some advantages over the enemy, the French and their allies the Scots, did a great deal of mischief on the English coasts with their fleet<sup>d</sup>. The town of Hastings they ruined, alarmed all the western coast, burnt Plymouth, and insulted Bristol<sup>e</sup>; all which was owing to the king's employing the greatest part of his naval force abroad, and the remainder in the north, to awe the Scots; yet, in two instances, the English valour and naval force appeared with great lustre. A squadron of thirteen sail of French ships attacked five English, who defended themselves so valiantly, that, though they lost the *Edward* and the *Christopher*, two of the largest, yet the other three escaped, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy<sup>f</sup>. The mariners of the cinque ports also, taking advantage of a thick fog, manned out all their small craft, and ran over to Bulloigne, where they did notable service; for they not only burnt the lower town, but destroyed four large ships, nineteen galleys, and twenty lesser ves-

<sup>b</sup> T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 512. Fabian's chronicle, p. 206. *Dupleix histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 451. *Le Gendre histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 449. The king, in his letters to the Pope, takes notice of the ships being those intended for the Holy Land, and which the reader may meet with in *Walter of Hemingford*, T. Walsingham, and others. <sup>c</sup> T. Otterbourne, p. 129. *Monach. Malmesburiens*, vit. Edward III. p. 248. W. Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 282. *Froissart*, cap. xxxii. <sup>d</sup> Robert de Avesbury, p. 51. *Holinghed*, vol. ii. p. 356. Gio. Villani, lib. xi. cap. cviii. Paul Æmyle, p. 516. *Chronique abrégé du Tillet*, p. 104. <sup>e</sup> A. D. 1339. <sup>f</sup> H. Knighton, p. 2573. Fabian's chronicle, p. 206. Stow's chronicle, p. 225. *Froissart*, cap. xxxvii. fol. 21—23.

fels, which lay in the harbour, and consumed the dock and arsenal, filled with naval stores<sup>b</sup>.

In 1330, King Edward returned to England in the month of February, in order to hold a parliament to provide for the expences of the war, wherein he succeeded to the utmost extent of his expectations; and, in return for the readiness expressed by his subjects to assist him, he made many good laws, and granted great privileges to merchants<sup>b</sup>. After this, with a strong fleet, he passed over into Flanders, and gave the French a terrible defeat at sea. As this is one of the most remarkable events in this period of our history, and as there are various discordances in the relations thereof published by modern authors, I think it may not be amiss to give the reader that distinct and accurate account which is preserved in Robert of Avesbury, who lived and wrote in those days, and who besides fortifies what he says, by annexing the account published by royal authority within four days after this battle; which detail I am the more inclined to copy, because I find in it several circumstances, particularly respecting the king's conduct, which are not to be met with elsewhere.

“ It happened,” says my author, “ that, on the Saturday fortnight before the feast of St. John Baptist, the king was at Orewell, where there were forty ships or thereabouts, preparing for his passage into Flanders, where he was going to his wife and children, whom he had left in the city of Ghent, as well as to confer with his allies about the measures necessary to be taken for carrying on the war, intending to sail in two days time; but the Archbishop of Canterbury sent to give him intelligence, that Philip de Valois, his competitor for the crown of France, having had notice of his intended passage, with much diligence, and as much privacy as the nature of the thing would admit, had assembled a great fleet, which lay in the port of Sluys, in order to intercept him; wherefore he advised his Majesty to provide himself with a better squadron, lest he and those who were with him should perish.

<sup>a</sup> Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 357.

<sup>b</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 318, 319. T. Walsingham, p. 147. Cotton's abridgment of the records, p. 22. H. Knyghton, p. 2576.

“ The king, yielding no belief to his advice, answered, that  
 “ he was resolved to sail at all events. The archbishop quitted,  
 “ upon this, his seat in council, obtaining the king’s leave to  
 “ retire, and delivered up to him the great seal. His Majesty  
 “ sent, therefore, for Sir Robert de Morley, his admiral, and  
 “ one Crabbe, a skilful seaman, and gave them orders to in-  
 “ quire into the truth of this matter, who quickly returned, and  
 “ brought him the same news he had heard from the archbishop:  
 “ upon which the king said, Ye have agreed with that prelate  
 “ to tell me this tale, in order to stop my voyage; but, added  
 “ he angrily, I will go without you, and you, who are afraid  
 “ where there is no ground of fear, may stay here at home.  
 “ The admiral and the seamen replied, that they would stake  
 “ their heads, that, if the king persisted in this resolution, he  
 “ and all who went with him would certainly be destroyed;  
 “ however, they were ready to attend him even to certain death.  
 “ The king, having heard them, sent for the archbishop of  
 “ Canterbury back, and, with abundance of kind speeches,  
 “ prevailed upon him to receive the great seal again into his  
 “ care; after which, the king issued his orders to all the ports  
 “ both in the north and south, and to the Londoners likewise,  
 “ to send him aid: so that, in the space of ten days, he had a  
 “ navy as large as he desired, and such unexpected reinforce-  
 “ ments of archers and men at arms, that he was forced to send  
 “ many of them home; and with this equipage he arrived be-  
 “ fore the haven of Sluys on the feast of St. John the Baptist.

“ The English perceiving, on their approach, that the French  
 “ ships were linked together with chains, and that it was im-  
 “ possible for them to break their line of battle, retired a little,  
 “ and stood back to sea. The French, deceived by this feint,  
 “ broke their order and pursued the English, who they thought  
 “ fled before them: but these, having gained the sun and wind,  
 “ tacked, and fell upon them with such fury, that they quickly  
 “ broke, and totally defeated them; so that upwards of 30,000  
 “ French were slain upon the spot, of whom numbers through  
 “ fear jumped of their own accord into the sea, and were mise-  
 “ rably drowned. Two hundred great ships were taken, in one  
 “ of which only there were four hundred dead bodies. The day  
 “ after this victory was gained, it was published at London by  
 “ the

“ the voice of the people, which is said to be the voice of God: “ but though the rumour thereof, through the distance of “ places, was uncertain, yet, on the Wednesday following, the “ king’s eldest son had perfect intelligence thereof at Waltham, “ as appears by the following authentic account;” that is, the narrative by authority published, as before mentioned, by Prince Edward<sup>1</sup>.

We have also many remarkable particulars, in relation to this battle, in other writers. The Lord Cobham was first sent by the king to view the French fleet, which he found drawn up in line of battle; and, having given the king an account of the vast number and great force of their ships, that brave prince answered, Well, by the assistance of God and St. George, I will now revenge all the wrongs I have received. He ordered the battle himself, directing his ships to be drawn up in two lines; the first consisting of vessels of the greatest force, so ranged, that, between two ships filled with archers, there was one wherein were men at arms, the ships in the wings being also manned with archers; the second line he used as a reserve, and drew from thence supplies as they became necessary. The battle lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night; and, even after this, there was a second dispute; for thirty French ships endeavouring to escape in the dark, the English attacked them under the command of the earl of Huntingdon, and took the *James of Diep*, and sunk several others. The king behaved with equal courage and conduct throughout the whole fight, giving his orders in person, and moving as occasion required, from place to place.

The French fleet, some authors say, had three, others, four divisions, one of which consisted of the Genoese ships. They were extremely well provided with arms and ammunition, and abundance of machines for throwing stones, with which they did a great deal of mischief; but they were less dextrous in managing their ships than the English; and this seems to have been one great cause of their defeat. The victory, however, cost the English a great deal of blood; for a large ship and a galley, belonging to Hull, were sunk, with all on board, by a volley of stones: and in a great ship, which belonged to the king’s

<sup>1</sup> Robert de Avesbury, p. 54—56. Fabian, p. 210, 211.

wardrobe, there were but two men and a woman that escaped. In all, the English lost about four thousand men, and amongst them the following knights; Sir Thomas Monthermer, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Boteler, and Sir Thomas Poinings<sup>k</sup>.

The account the French writers give us of this battle, contains likewise some remarkable passages. They tell us, that there was a great dissension among their chief commanders<sup>l</sup>. The French had two admirals, Sir Hugh Quieret, and Sir Peter Bahuchet; the former would have come out and fought, but the latter was for remaining within, and defending the haven; and, persisting in this dominion, he detained the ships so long in the port, that, at last, they could not get out. As for the Genoese, they were under an admiral of their own, whose name was Barbarini, who, with his squadron, stood out to sea as soon as the English approached, and behaved very bravely, carrying off some part of his squadron, which was all that escaped. Sir Hugh Quieret was killed in the engagement, and Sir Peter de Bahuchet was hanged at the yard arm, for his ill conduct<sup>m</sup>. To take, as much as may be, from the honour of the English, these writers report, that the victory was chiefly owing to the Flemings, who joined the English fleet a little before the battle began: and they likewise magnify the loss which the English received, computing it at ten thousand men; adding, also, that King Edward was wounded in the thigh<sup>n</sup>. On the whole, it appears to have been a very hard-fought battle; and the victory seems entirely due to the skill and courage of the English sailors, who were more adroit in working their ships, as the men at arms were more ready in boarding than the French; and the archers, also, did excellent service. King Edward kept the sea three days, to put his victory out of dispute; and then, landing his forces, marched to Ghent, in order to join his confederates<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Walter Hemingsford, vol. ii. p. 319—321. Froissart, chap. l. fol. 30. T. Walsingham, p. 148. H. Knyghton, p. 2578. Du Chesne, lib. xv. p. 651. Grafton, p. 242, 243.

<sup>l</sup> Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 16. P. Daniel *histoire de la Milice France*, tome ii. p. 468. Froissart, chap. li. lii. <sup>m</sup> Le Gendre, tome iii. p. 455.

<sup>n</sup> *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 491. <sup>o</sup> Chron. Godstovian, p. 112. Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 96. T. Otterbourne, p. 129.

The French king acted now on the defensive, putting garrisons into all his strong places, that, whatever the English and their allies won might cost them dear<sup>p</sup>. Hereupon, King Edward, with a very numerous army, invested Tournay, from which siege he sent King Philip a challenge, offering to decide their quarrel either by a single combat between themselves, or of a hundred against a like number; which King Philip refused, for two reasons; because the letters were addressed to Philip de Valois, and therefore seemed not to concern him; as also, because King Edward staked nothing of his own, and yet required Philip to hazard his all. Both these letters are preserved in one of our old historians<sup>q</sup>. At last, after the siege had continued three months, King Edward, perceiving that his foreign auxiliaries daily dropped away, while the French king's army of observation became gradually stronger and stronger, he was content to make a truce for some months, which was afterwards renewed, and then returned to England<sup>r</sup>, having got a great deal of honour by his naval victory, and no less experience by his disappointment before Tournay; which convinced him, that in all foreign confederacies, an English monarch is no farther considered than for the sake of his treasure, with which he is sure to part, though without any certainty of meeting with a proper return.

But if these foreign expeditions excessively harassed the nation, and cost immense sums of money, yet it must be owned, that King Edward had always an eye to his subjects welfare, and was very attentive to whatever might promote their commerce. He had, from the beginning of his reign, made several good laws for the regulation of trade, and preserving to the nation the benefit of their wool; but now his long residence in Flanders having given him an opportunity of observing the great profits made by the Flemish manufacturers, who then wrought up almost all that commodity, he wisely contrived to draw over great numbers of them hither, by insisting on the difficulties they laboured under at home, where their country was the seat of war, and the great advantages they might reap by transport-

<sup>p</sup> A. D. 1340. <sup>q</sup> Robert de Avesbury, p. 60, 61. <sup>r</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Muri-muth, annal. vol. ii. p. 96. Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 224. Froissart, chap. lxiii. fol. 35. M. Knyghton, p. 2578. T. Walsingham, p. 159. Gaguin. hist. Franc. lib. viii. p. 138, 139.

ing themselves into England, where he was ready to afford them all the encouragement they could desire: and from his endeavours, in this respect, sprung, though not wholly, yet in a large degree, that great, that lucrative manufacture, which has been since productive of such mighty advantages to the English nation\*. Yet, in other respects, the king discovered severity enough in his temper, by displacing and imprisoning most of his great officers, and obstinately persisting in levying vast sums to be lavished away in useless confederacies, and a fruitless prosecution of his claim to the French crown. But it is time to return from these reflections, however natural, to the business of this treatise.

In the year 1342 the war was renewed, on account of the contested succession to the duchy of Brittany, King Edward supporting the cause of John de Montford, who was owned by the nobility against Charles de Blois, declared duke by the French king, who was his uncle. On this occasion a considerable body of English troops was sent over into that duchy under the command of Sir Walter de Mannie, who performed many gallant exploits, both by land and sea, though to no great purpose; the French king having it always in his power to pour in as many French troops as he pleased: so that the party of Charles de Blois prevailed, though against right, and the inclination of those who were to be his subjects†. King Edward, on advice thereof, sent over a new succour, under the command of the Earls of Northampton and Devonshire.

The French king, having notice of the intended supply, sent Lewis of Spain, who commanded his fleet, which was made up of ships hired from different nations, directing that it should ly near the island of Guernsey, in order to intercept the English squadron in its passage. The fleet consisted of thirty-two sail, of which nine were very large ships, and three stout gallies, and had in them three thousand Genoese, and a thousand men at arms, commanded under the admiral by Sir Carolo Grimaldi and Antonio Doria. The English fleet consisted of ordinary transports,

\* Stow, Holingshed, Speed, Brady.

† Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 17. Histoire de France, écrite par ordre de M. de Harley, P. président du parlement de Paris, vol. i. p. 494. Froissart, cap. lxxx, lxxxi. H. Knyghton, p. 2581. T. Wallinghami Ypodigma Neustria, p. 515.

about forty-five sail in all, having on board five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, under the command of the Earls of Northampton and Devonshire. The French squadron attacked them unexpectedly at sea, about four in the afternoon, and the fight continued till night, when they were separated by a storm. The French and Genoese kept the sea, their vessels being large, with four or five prizes; but the rest of the English fleet, keeping close to the shore, found means to land the forces which they had on board, who shortly after took the city of Vannes, and performed other notable services<sup>u</sup>. Towards winter the king passed over with a great army into Brittany, and besieged three principal places at once, yet without success; for the Duke of Normandy, the French king's eldest son, coming with a great army to their relief, a negotiation followed, which ended in a cessation of hostilities for three years; which, however, was but indifferently kept, notwithstanding the Pope interposed, as far as he was able, in order to have settled an effectual peace<sup>w</sup>.

In 1345, the war being already broke out with France, the king determined to sail over to Flanders, in order to accomplish his great design of fixing that country firmly to his interest, either by obliging the earl to swear fealty to him as his sovereign, or else to deprive him of his dominions. While, therefore, he lay in the harbour of Sluys, a council was held of his principal friends in Flanders, on board his great ship the Catharine. At this council assisted James d'Arteville the brewer, who, by the strength of his natural eloquence, ruled all the Netherlands, and ruined himself by giving into the king's project. He, when his countrymen the Flemings demanded a month's time to consider of the propositions that had been made to them, undertook that all things should go to the king's wish; yet finding a great faction raised against him by one Gerard Dennis a weaver, he accepted of a guard of five hundred Welchmen from the king. This, however, proved of little signification, for, in a

<sup>u</sup> Holingshed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 363. We find the continuation of Trivet's annals cited there in support of these facts; yet we meet with nothing relating to this matter in the continuation published by the reverend Mr. Anthony Hall, printed at Oxford, 1724.

<sup>w</sup> Walter Hemingsford, vol. ii. p. 359. Contin. Nic. Trivet: annal. vol. ii. p. 97. Freissart, Thom. Walsingham, chron. Godstovian.

fudden tumult of the people, a cobbler, snatching up an ax, beat out his brains.

The king was still at Sluys with his fleet when this unfortunate accident happened; at which, though he was much moved, yet he was forced to dissemble his resentment, and to accept of the excuses made him by the cities of Flanders \*. Attributing, however, all to the arts of the French, he resolved once again to attempt the conquest of that kingdom, and to employ therein the utmost force of his own. Our historians give us a very copious account of this war; there is, consequently, the less need that I should insist upon it here: I will therefore content myself with giving a succinct detail of the English forces employed in this expedition, and a more particular recital of what was remarkable in the siege of Calais, which, as it was in part formed by a naval force, falls more immediately under the design of this treatise.

In the midst of the summer of the year 1346, the king drew his navy, consisting of 1000 ships, to Portsmouth, and shortly after arrived at Southampton with his army, composed of 2500 horse, and 30,000 foot: these he quickly embarked, the fleet sailing thither for that purpose, and on the 4th of June he put to sea, intending to have landed in Guyenne; but being driven back by a storm on the coast of Cornwall, and, the French writers say, put back thither a second time, he at last determined to make a descent on Normandy, where at la Hogue he safely debarked his forces, and began very successfully to employ them in reducing the strongest cities in the neighbourhood; after which, he spread fire and sword on every side, even to the very gates of Paris. The French king, provoked at so dismal a sight, as well as with the news that the earl of Huntingdon, with the English fleet, destroyed all the coast almost without resistance, resolved, contrary to his usual policy, to hazard a battle, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of August, and received that remarkable defeat, which will immortalize the little town of Cressy. Of this victory I chuse to say nothing, since my subject will not allow me to say of it what I could

\* Froissart, chap. cxv. Gisp. Villani, p. 855. Dupicix, tom. ii. p. 473. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 368. Stowe, Speed.

with<sup>7</sup>. It was so entire, that for the present it left the king without enemies; and so much the effects of true courage, that, though Philip had quickly after an army of 150,000 men on foot, yet they had no stomach to fight again.

After this victory, the king on the last day of August<sup>8</sup> appeared before Calais, and formed a siege that lasted eleven months, and which, if we had leisure to dilate on all the circumstances attending it, would appear little inferior to the fabulous siege of Troy, or the reduction of Tyre by Alexander the Great. The king knew that he was to reduce a place strong by nature and art, well supplied with ammunition and provisions, furnished with a numerous garrison, full of expectation of relief from King Philip, who was not far from thence with his mighty army before mentioned. These difficulties, instead of discouraging Edward, inflamed him with a desire of overcoming them. He invested the place regularly by land, fortified his lines strongly, and within them erected, as Froissart, a contemporary writer tells us, a kind of town for the conveniency of his soldiers, wherein were not only magazines of all sorts for the service of the war, but vast warehouses also of wool and cloth for supplying the sinews of war by a constant trade at two settled markets, his troops all the while being exactly paid, and doing their duty cheerfully.

As for the fleet which blocked up the place at sea, it consisted of 738 sail, on board of which were 14,956 mariners. Of these ships 700 sail belonged to his own subjects, and thirty-eight to foreigners; so that there seems to be no reason for putting us on a par with our neighbours for hiring ships, since it is as evident, that we were then able to fit out great fleets from our own ports, as that our enemies were able to do nothing but by the assistance of the Genoese, and other foreigners. The French king made some shew of relieving this place, by approaching within sight of Calais at the head of a mighty army, the loss of which he was determined, however, not to venture. The garrison of Calais and the citizens, seeing themselves thus deceived, had no other remedy left than to submit themselves to the mercy of a

<sup>7</sup> Walter Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 287. Rob. de Avesbury, p. 123. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth. annal. vol. ii, p. 92. Froissart, chap. cxxx. T. Walsingham, p. 166. <sup>8</sup> A. D. 1347.

provoked conqueror, which, in the most abject manner, they fought, and were, at the queen's intreaty, spared. Thus ended this glorious siege, wherein the English monarch triumphed over his enemy by land and sea, carrying his own and the nation's fame to the utmost height, and forcing even his enemies to acknowledge, that nothing could equal the courage and conduct of himself and his renowned son the Black Prince, but the courtesy and generosity of their behaviour<sup>a</sup>.

The king, having carried his point in taking Calais, was content, at the earnest intreaty of the Pope, to make a truce for a year; and the first use the French made of this was to attempt recovering by fraud what they knew it was in vain to attempt by force. The king had bestowed the government of Calais on Aymeri de Pavia, whom soon after some French noblemen persuaded to accept of 20,000 crowns, and to deliver up this important fortress<sup>b</sup>. King Edward, being informed of the design, passed with great secrecy from Dover to Calais, with 300 men at arms, and 600 archers; and, being received by night into the forts, he was ready to repulse the French troops under the command of the Count de Charny, who came, with 1200 men, to surprise the place. The combat was long and doubtful; but at last it ended in the total defeat of the French, who, instead of taking the fortresses, were all either killed, or made prisoners. The king and Prince Edward were both in this action, and both in some danger, especially the king, who at length took Sir Eustace de Ribaultmont, the knight with whom he fought, prisoner<sup>c</sup>, and rewarded him for his valour with a rich bracelet of pearl<sup>d</sup>: and thus, as Robert de Avesbury remarks, the deceit of the deceivers proved fatal to themselves<sup>e</sup>.

In the month of November 1349, a squadron of Spanish ships passed suddenly up the Garonne; and finding many English vessels at Bourdeaux laden with wine, they cruelly murdered all the English seamen, and carried away the ships, though in time

<sup>a</sup> Rob. de Avesbury, p. 136—141. *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 503. Mezeray, p. 29. Froissart, vol. i. c. 133. T. Otterbourne, p. 132. H. Knyghton, p. 2595.

<sup>b</sup> Duplex, tom. ii. p. 438. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 31. P. Daniel, tom. iv. p. 175.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 1349. <sup>d</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Merimouth, annal. vol. ii. p. 101. Froissart, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Edward III. p. 181—183.

of full peace. King Edward having intelligence that a Squadron of Spanish ships, richly laden, were on the point of returning from Flanders, he drew together at Sandwich a Squadron of fifty sail, on board which he embarked in person about Midsummer<sup>f</sup>, having with him the prince of Wales, the earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Arundel; and Gloucester, with many other persons of distinction. They met with the Spanish fleet on the coast near Winchelsea, which consisted of forty-four very large ships, styled carracks: they were out of comparison bigger and stronger than the English vessels; and yet the latter attacked them with great boldness. The Spaniards defended themselves resolutely, and chose at last death rather than captivity, refusing quarter, though it was offered them. Twenty-four of these great ships, laden with cloth and other valuable goods, were taken, and brought into the English harbours, and the rest escaped by a speedy flight. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king caused himself to be represented on a gold coin, standing in the midst of a ship with a sword drawn, thinking it an honour to have his name transmitted to posterity as **THE AVENGER OF MERCHANTS**<sup>g</sup>.

It would be beside, or rather beyond, our purpose to record all the glorious expeditions of this reign, which would require a volume to do them right. In order to connect such passages as fall properly under our pen, we shall observe, that, on the death of Philip the French king, his son John succeeded in the throne, who in the beginning of his reign bestowed the duchy of Aquitain upon the dauphin; which so provoked king Edward, that he gave it, with the like title, to his son the prince, and sent him with a small army of veteran troops to maintain his title. With these forces, on September 19, 1356, he won the famous battle of Poitiers, in which he took the king of France and his youngest son Philip prisoners, and with them the flower of the French nobility, with whom, towards the close of the year, he landed in triumph at Plymouth; from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received with the utmost

<sup>f</sup> A. D. 1350.      <sup>g</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 102. Rob. de Avesbery, p. 184, 185. T. Walsingham, p. 169. H. Knighton, p. 262. Fabian, p. 228. Matth. Villani, lib. i. cap. 99.

respect by the citizens, having at their head Henry Picard, then lord-mayor, who afterwards entertained the kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, at dinner<sup>b</sup>.

The taking of their king brought the French affairs into great disorder, which was increased through their own dissensions, and occasioned such a terrible fluctuation in their councils, that king Edward, believing himself ill dealt with in the negotiations they had set on foot for the deliverance of their king, resolved to quicken them by invading France with a more potent army than hitherto he had employed against them, and accordingly embarked at Sandwich, October 24, 1359, on board a fleet of 1100 sail, and the next day landed his army on Calais sands, consisting of near an hundred thousand men. The dauphin, with a great army, kept about Paris, but could not be drawn to a battle; which, though it lost him some reputation, yet it certainly preserved France; for King Edward, perceiving that though he was able to take their greatest cities, and to plunder their richest provinces, yet it was by no means in his power to preserve his conquests, resolved to put an end to so destructive a dispute, which, though it raised his glory, served only to ruin two great nations; and, from this generous view, concluded the peace of Bretigny, so called from its being signed at that place, May 8, 1360.

By this treaty King Edward, for himself and successors, renounced his title to the kingdom of France, the duchy of Normandy, and many other countries; the French, on the other side, giving up to him all Aquitaine, with many countries depending thereupon, as also the town and lordship of Calais, with a considerable territory thereto adjoining<sup>c</sup>. By this treaty King John obtained his liberty, and was conveyed in an English fleet to Calais in the month of July following. King Edward, who was in England at the time the French king went away, passed also over to Calais in the month of October, where, upon the twenty-fourth, the treaty was solemnly ratified after the perform-

<sup>b</sup> Continuat. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, anal. vol. ii. p. 107. Robert de Avesbury, p. 220—252. Anonym. hist. Edward III. c. lvi. T. Walsingham, p. 172. Froissart, c. clxiv. Paul Émyle, p. 540. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 504. <sup>c</sup> Rymer's fœdera, tom. vi. p. 229. Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, anal. p. 113. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 59. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 81.

ance of divine service; and the kings mutually embracing, put an end to all their differences; John proceeding from thence to Paris, and King Edward returning on board his fleet to England<sup>\*</sup>.

This peace lasted as long as the French king lived; who in 1364 came over into England again, under pretence of treating with King Edward, but in reality out of respect to an English lady; and died here soon after his arrival. His son, the dauphin, succeeded him by the name of Charles V. surnamed The Wise; and from the instant he mounted the throne, projected the breach of the late treaty, and the depriving King Edward of the advantages stipulated thereby, which has been always a great point in French wisdom<sup>†</sup>. The war, however, did not break out till the year 1369. The pretence then made use of by the French was, that the prince of Wales had raised some illegal taxes in his French dominions, of which the nobility of those provinces were excited to complain to the French king, and to demand redress as from their sovereign lord.

The French historians themselves admit, that this was mere pretence, and that King Charles had secretly disposed all things for expelling the English out of France; and when his mines were ready, directed the Count de Armagnac, and others of prince Edward's barons, to spring them, by presenting their petition: upon which he summoned the prince of Wales to answer before his court of peers at Paris. This was a direct breach of the treaty of Bretigny, whereby the provinces in question were absolutely yielded to the king of England. The prince, on receiving this summons, declared that he would come to Paris with his helmet on his head, and sixty thousand men to witness his appearance. The French king, who expected such a return, immediately declared, that the territories of the king of England in France were forfeited for this contempt; of which sentence he gave King Edward notice, by so contemptible a messenger as a scullion<sup>‡</sup>. To such an act as this,

<sup>\*</sup> Froissart, chap. ccxiii. T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neuftritz, p. 524. Fabian, p. 243.

<sup>†</sup> Paul Æmyle, p. 548, 549. Gaguin. hist. p. 155, 156. Duplex, tom. ii. p. 536.

<sup>‡</sup> Froissart, chap. ccxiii. Du Cheyne, p. 699. Mazeray, tom. iii. p. 78, 79, 80.

he was prompted by the confidence he had in a scheme of his own, for invading and destroying England. In order to this, he had been for some years purchasing ships all over Europe; so that at length he drew together a prodigious fleet, on board of which he was preparing to embark a numerous army; when he had advice that the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Warwick, with a considerable body of English forces, were landed in the neighbourhood of Calais, and in full march towards him. This obliged him to abandon his design, and to make use of his forces to defend his own country, which they performed indifferently, though they were lucky in another respect; for the Count de St. Pol disappointed a design the duke of Lancaster had formed, of burning the whole French fleet in the port of Harfleur<sup>a</sup>.

King Edward in the mean time conceiving himself, by this series of unprovoked hostilities, entirely freed from his stipulations in the treaty concluded with King John, resumed the title of king of France; and having received great supplies of money from his parliament, made mighty preparations for invading France; and for the present several squadrons were sent to sea to cruize upon the enemy<sup>b</sup>. One of these, on the coast of Flanders, took twenty-five sail of ships laden with salt<sup>c</sup>. These ships were commanded by one John Peterfon: and having brought this cargo from Rochelle, thought to shew their bravery by attacking the earl of Hereford with his small squadron, and so drew upon themselves this misfortune. The same year, the French formed the siege of Rochelle, the news of which gave King Edward great disquiet: he therefore immediately ordered the earl of Pembroke, a young nobleman of great courage, to sail with a squadron of forty ships, and such forces as could be drawn together on a sudden to its relief<sup>d</sup>. Henry, king of Castile, having notice of this embarkation, and fearing

<sup>a</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 113. Anonym. vit. Edward III. cap. lx. Froissart, chap. cclxix, T. Walsingham. p. 183. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 82, 83. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 171. <sup>b</sup> A. D. 1371, <sup>c</sup> Anonym. histor. Edward III. cap. lx. Froissart, chap. ccxcii. fol. 177, T. Orterbourne, p. 147. Jacob. Meyer. anal. Flandr. lib. xiii. p. 190. <sup>d</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 127, 128. T. Walsingham. p. 186. Anonym. histor. Edward III. cap. lx. p. 439.

if the English succeeded, that they would again deprive him of his kingdom, which was claimed by the duke of Lancaster in right of his wife, fitted out a stout fleet consisting of forty sail of great ships, and thirteen tight frigates, which, well-manned, under the command of four experienced sea-officers, he sent to cruize before the entrance of the port of Rochelle, in order to intercept the English fleet<sup>1</sup>.

The earl of Pembroke arriving on Midsummer-eve, before Rochelle, engaged this fleet, but with indifferent success; the Spaniards having ships of war, and he only transports; however, being parted in the night, he lost no more than two store-ships. The next day he renewed the fight, wherein he was totally defeated; all his ships being taken or sunk, and himself sent prisoner into Spain. On board one of his ships were twenty thousand marks in ready money, which were to have been employed in raising forces; but by this accident went to the bottom of the sea. French writers pretend, that the besieged were not displeased with this misfortune which befel the English; and, as a proof of this, alledge, that they gave them no assistance; the contrary of which appears from our authors, who give us a list of the Rochellers who perished in this fight<sup>2</sup>.

This loss was attended with that of Rochelle, and the greatest part of Poictou; which so raised the spirits of the French, that they besieged the strong city of Touars, which they brought to a capitulation on these terms: that if, by the feast of St. Michael, they were not relieved by King Edward, or one of his sons, then the place, with all its dependencies, should be rendered into the hands of the French. The principal person employed by the French in this expedition, was one Sir John Evans, a native of Wales, who had forsaken his country through some discontent. This man was an excellent officer, both by land and sea, and was now recalled from the island of Guernsey, upon which he had made a descent, and had almost

<sup>1</sup> Paul Æmyle, p. 550, 551. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 566. Le Gendre, tom. ii. p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriz, p. 529. Wilhelmi Wyrcester annales, p. 437. T. Otterbourne, p. 147. Froissart, chap. ccxcviii. Gaguin, hist. p. 158. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 87, 88. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 189.

reduced the place, to perform the like service in Poictou<sup>c</sup>. I mention this to shew, that the French began now to have some power at sea, which is the natural consequence of their maintaining a lingering war with us.

King Edward had all this time been preparing a vast number of transports, and a stout fleet, in order to transport his army to Calais; but now, having intelligence of the terms on which the city of Touars had capitulated, he resolved to employ his forces and his fleet for its relief. With this view he embarked a considerable body of troops on board a fleet of four hundred sail; and to shew the earnest desire he had of saving so important a place, he went in person with the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, all three his sons, and many of his nobility; but all his endeavours were to no purpose<sup>u</sup>: for, embarking the beginning of August, the fleet was so tossed by contrary winds, that after continuing at sea about nine weeks, the king found himself obliged to return to England; where, as soon as he landed, he dismissed his army, by which untoward accident Touars was lost<sup>w</sup>. From this instance it is apparent, that notwithstanding the utmost care and diligence in fitting out fleets, and in spite of all the courage and conduct of the most accomplished commanders, expeditions of this kind may easily fail; and in such cases, the consequence generally is the same which fell out here: the people murmured at the vast expence, and began to suggest, that now the king grew old, fortune had deserted him.

The king, notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, still kept up his spirits, and resolved to make the utmost efforts for restoring his affairs in France: but being grown far in years, and withal much worn with fatigue, he contented himself with sending the duke of Lancaster, with a great fleet, and a good army on board, to Calais<sup>x</sup>. The French writers, and indeed most of our historians say, it consisted of thirty thousand men;

<sup>c</sup> Froissart, chap. cccv. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 407.

<sup>u</sup> A. D. 1372.

<sup>w</sup> Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 129. Anonym. hist. Edward III. cap. lx. Both these writers, however, say, this expedition was for the relief of Rochelle. Froissart, chap. cccv. Argentre hist. de Bretagne, liv. vii. chap. ii. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 89.

<sup>x</sup> A. D. 1372.

but Froissart, who lived in those times, and knew very well what he wrote, affirms they were but thirteen thousand, viz. three thousand men at arms, and ten thousand archers. They might indeed be increased after their arrival, and probably they were so. At the head of these forces the duke of Lancaster passed through the heart of France to Bourdeaux, in spite of all the opposition the French could give him, who made it their business to harass him all they could in his march, though they were determined not to fight<sup>1</sup>. Thus far the expedition was equally successful and glorious; but in the latter end of it the army, by continual fatigue, began to diminish, and the duke of Lancaster was glad to conclude a truce, which was prolonged from time to time so long as the king lived. In these last days of his life he grew feeble in body and mind, and was (as many of our historians say) governed in a great measure by a mistress and her favourites.

His glorious son, the Black Prince, lingered also for several years with a dropsy, and complication of distempers; so that we need not wonder at the wrong turn the English affairs took in France, if we consider the advantage the French then had, in the art and cunning of Charles V. who was certainly one of the ablest princes that ever sat upon their throne. In all probability the sense King Edward had of this great change in his affairs, and his foresight of the miseries that would attend a minority in such troublesome times, might possibly hasten his death, which happened on June 21, 1377, in the fifty-first year of his reign<sup>2</sup>.

In the course of this reign, we have taken notice of the great jealousy the king expressed for his sovereignty of the sea; but if we had mentioned every instance thereof, it would have swelled the account beyond all reasonable bounds; some special cases, however, it may not be amiss to touch here. In the peace made by him with King John, wherein Edward renounced all title to Normandy, he expressly excluded all the islands

<sup>1</sup> Cont. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 129. Froissart, chap. cccx. T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriz, p. 519. T. Otterbourne, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 138. T. Walsingham, p. 192. H. Knyghton, p. 2629. W. Wyrcester, annal. p.

dependent thereupon, that he might preserve his jurisdiction at sea entire<sup>a</sup>. In his commissions to admirals and inferior officers, he frequently styles himself sovereign of the English seas; asserting that he derived his title from his progenitors, and deducing from thence the grounds of his instructions, and of the authority committed to them by these delegations<sup>b</sup>. His parliaments likewise, in the preambles to their bills, take notice of this point; and that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of England, in right of his crown, was sovereign of the seas<sup>c</sup>. He was also, as we have before shewn, very attentive to trade, and remarkably careful of English wool, the staple of which he managed with such address, that he long held the principal cities of Flanders attached to his interest, contrary to the duty they owed to their earl, whom he more than once engaged them to expel<sup>d</sup>.

Yet for all this, his conduct in the last years of his life was fatal to the naval power of this nation; for, by long wars, and frequent embargoes, he mightily injured commerce: while, on the other hand, the French king was all this while assiduous in his endeavours to cultivate a maritime force in his dominions; in which he so far succeeded, that he became this way a formidable enemy to the English<sup>e</sup>, as will be seen in our account of the next reign. But before I part with this, I must take notice, that not only the state was exceedingly exhausted by the king's French wars, but that prince himself also driven to such necessities, that he thrice pawned his crown; first in the seventeenth year of his reign beyond the seas<sup>f</sup>; again, in the twenty-fourth, to Sir John Weseham, his merchant<sup>g</sup>; and yet again in the thirtieth of his reign, to the same person, in whose hands it then lay eight years, through the king's inability to redeem it<sup>h</sup>. Neither is this a slight report, or a story taken from private memoirs, but appears in our records; and ought, therefore, to be a caution to succeeding monarchs, not to lay too

<sup>a</sup> Thom. Walsingham. ad. xxxiv. Edwardi III.      <sup>b</sup> Rot. Scotiz, 10. Ed. III. membran. 16.      <sup>c</sup> Rot. Parl. 46. Ed. III. num. 20.      <sup>d</sup> Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 86.      <sup>e</sup> Histoire de la Milice Francoise, par P. Daniel, tom. ii. p. 448.      <sup>f</sup> Pat. Parl. 1. An. 17<sup>o</sup> Edw. III.      <sup>g</sup> Pat. annal. 24. membran. 21.      <sup>h</sup> Claus. annal. 30. Edw. III. Com. de Term. Hil. 39. Edw. III. ex parte rem. regis.

great a stress on their foreign expeditions; which, though sometimes honourable in appearance, have been always in effect ruinous to their predecessors.

RICHARD II. from the place where he was born, styled Richard of Bourdeaux, the son of the famous Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather in the kingdom with general satisfaction, though he was then but eleven years old. He was crowned with great solemnity; and being too young to govern himself, the administration naturally devolved upon his uncles, and particularly John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, then styled king of Castile and Leon<sup>1</sup>. While the great men in England were employed in adjusting their interests, and getting good places, the French king's fleet, consisting of fifty sail of stout ships, under the command of admiral de Vienne, infested our coasts; and a body of troops landed in Suffex, by whom the town of Rye was burnt. This was in the latter end of June, within six days after King Edward's decease; of which the French having notice, they thence took courage to attempt greater things. On the twenty-first of August they landed in the Isle of Wight, pillaged and burnt most of the villages therein, and exacted a thousand pounds of the inhabitants, for not burning the rest; and afterwards passing along the coast, they landed from time to time, and destroyed Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, to the great dishonour of the lords about the young king, who were so much employed in taking care of themselves, that they had little time to spare, and perhaps as little concern for the affairs of the nation; so that, if private persons had not interposed, matters had gone still worse. For though Sir John Arundel drove the French from Southampton with loss; yet they burnt Hastings, and attempted Winchelsea, which was defended by the abbot of Battel. At Lewes they beat the prior, with such troops as he had drawn together; and having killed about a hundred men, not without considerable loss on their side, re-embarked their forces, and returned home<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cortin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. annal. vol. ii. p. 140, 141. Thom. Walsingham, p. 195—197. H. Knyghton, p. 2630. <sup>2</sup> Froissart, chap. 327. Vita R. Richardi II. a Monach. de Evesham script. p. 2, 3. T. Otterbourn, p. 148.

In some measure to wipe off the shame of these misadventures, a considerable fleet was at length sent to sea, under the command of the earl of Buckingham, who had with him many gallant officers, and who intended to have intercepted the Spanish fleet in their voyage to Sluys; with which view he twice put to sea, and was as often forced into port by] contrary winds; so that his project came to nothing<sup>1</sup>. The duke of Lancaster, on a promise to defend the nation against all enemies for one year, got into his hands a subsidy granted by parliament for that purpose; yet he executed his trust so indifferently, that one Mercer, a Scots privateer, with a small squadron, carried away several vessels from under the walls of Scarborough-castle; and afterwards adding several French and Spanish ships to his fleet, began to grow very formidable, and greatly disturbed the English commerce<sup>m</sup>.

In times of public distraction, private virtues are commonly most conspicuous. There was one alderman John Philpot, of London, who with great wealth and a fair reputation, had a very high and active spirit, and could hardly digest the affronts daily done to his country by the French admirals, and the Scots pirates. This man, at his own expence, fitted out a stout squadron, on board which he embarked a thousand men at arms, and then went in quest of Mercer, whose fleet, superior in force, and flushed with victory, he engaged and totally defeated; taking not only his ships with all the booty on board them, but also fifteen Spanish vessels, richly laden, which a little before had joined Mercer, besides all the prizes he had carried from Scarborough. For this glorious act, alderman Philpot, according to the strange policy of those times, was called before the council, and questioned for thus manning a squadron without legal authority; but he answered the earl of Stafford so wisely, and justified himself so fully, that the lords were content to discontinue, with thanks, a man whose virtues were more illustrious than their titles<sup>n</sup>.

But, as there could be no dependence on these extraordinary remedies, the parliament provided in some measure for the security

<sup>1</sup> Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimurh. annal. vol. ii. p. 141. T. Walsingham, p. 208, 209.

<sup>m</sup> Stowe, p. 231. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 419.

Speed. <sup>n</sup> Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 6. T. Walsingham, p. 211. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 419.

of navigation by the imposition of certain duties. The very learned Sir Robert Cotton says, these impositions were by strength of prerogative only<sup>o</sup>, the contrary of which appears clearly by the record, which is still extant. But, before we speak of these, which in their own nature are the strongest proofs of our sovereignty at sea, it will be necessary to observe what former kings had done in this respect.

In King John's time, as we find it recited upon record in subsequent reigns, the town of Winchelsea was enjoined, in the sixteenth year of his reign, to provide ten good and large ships for the king's service in Poictou<sup>p</sup>; at another time twenty; Dunwich and Ipswich being to find five each, and other ports in proportion, all at their own expence<sup>q</sup>. Edward I. had from the merchants a twentieth, and afterwards a seventh, of their commodities<sup>r</sup>: he imposed a custom of a noble upon every sack of wool<sup>s</sup>, which in his son's time was doubled. In Edward II's time we find, that the sea-ports were for twelve years charged to set out ships, provided with ammunition and provision, sometimes for one month, sometimes for four, the number of ships more or less, according as occasion required<sup>t</sup>. Edward III. heightened the subsidy upon wool to six and forty shillings and fourpence a sack<sup>u</sup>, being seven times the first imposition. As for ships, he enjoined the sea-ports frequently to attend him with all their strength<sup>v</sup>. In the thirteenth year of his reign, he obliged the cinque ports to set out thirty ships, half at his cost, and half at theirs, the out-ports furnishing fourscore ships, and the traders of London being commanded to furnish ships of war at their own expence<sup>w</sup>. Complaint being made, on account of these hardships to parliament<sup>x</sup>, no other answer could be had, than that the king would not permit things to be otherwise than they were before his time<sup>y</sup>; that is, would not permit his prerogative to be diminished. By these methods he raised his customs

<sup>o</sup> Answers to reasons for foreign wars, p. 46.

<sup>p</sup> Ex. Joan. Everiden.

Pat. an. 3 E. I. m. 26.

<sup>q</sup> Rot. Claus. an. 26 H. III.

<sup>r</sup> Rot. Vasceniz,

an. 22 E. I. m. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Ex. historia Joan. Everiden. See Brady's history in

that king's reign.

<sup>t</sup> Rot. Scot. an. 2 E. II. m. 17. Rot. Scot. an. 12 E. II.

m. 8. Rot. Pat. an. 4 E. II. Dorset. Claus. an. 17 E. II. m. 8.

<sup>u</sup> See Brady's

history, Molloy de jure maritimo, p. 289.

<sup>v</sup> Claus. an. 1 E. III. Rot.

Scot. eod. an.

<sup>x</sup> Rot. Scot. an. 13 Ed. III. m. 15.

<sup>y</sup> Rot. Scot. an.

20 Ed. III.

<sup>z</sup> Rot. Alman. an. 2 Ed. III. m. 2.

in the port of London to a thousand marks *per* month<sup>a</sup>. These were certainly hardships, and hardships that would not have been borne under any other pretence.

But now, under the minority of King Richard II. when things could not be carried with so high a hand, and yet the necessity of maintaining a constant squadron at sea for the security of the coasts was apparent, a new order was taken, equally agreeable to justice and reason, for imposing certain duties on all ships sailing in the north seas, that is, from the mouth of the river Thames northwards. These duties were to be levied not only on merchants, but on fishermen, and on those belonging to foreign nations, as well as of English subjects. It consisted in paying sixpence *per* ton; and such vessels only were excused as were bound from Flanders to London with merchandize, or from London to Calais with wool and hides. Fishermen, particularly such as were employed in the herring-fishery, were to pay sixpence *per* ton every week; other fishermen a like duty every three weeks; ships employed in the coal-trade to Newcastle, once in three months; merchantmen sailing to Prussia, Norway, or Sweden, a like duty; and, for the collecting these impositions, six armed vessels were to be employed.

As for the authority by which this was done, it will best appear by the title of the record, which runs thus: "This is the ordinance and grant by advice of the merchants of London, and of other merchants to the north, by the assent of all the commons in parliament, the earl of Northumberland, and the mayor of London, for the guard and tuition of the sea-coasts under the jurisdiction of the admiral of the north seas<sup>b</sup>," &c. This, as I observed before, is the clearest proof, that our sovereignty of the sea in those days was admitted by all nations, otherwise this ordinance would not have been submitted to; about which it appears, there was no kind of scruple or apprehension, since so small a force was appointed to collect it.

In 1378, the earls of Arundel and Salisbury passed with considerable forces into France, where, being able to perform little, they in their return were attacked at sea by a Spanish squadron. Part of the English fleet seems not to have engaged; and my

<sup>a</sup> Claus. an. 5 E. III.    <sup>b</sup> Rot. Parl. an. 2. Ric. II. part ii. art. 39. in schedula.

author charges Philip and Peter Courtney, who commanded the ships that fought, with temerity. However it was, they both behaved very gallantly; and Philip escaped, though much wounded. As for Peter, he was taken with a few of his men, who were never heard of afterwards; and as there perished, in this fight, abundance of Devonshire and Somersetshire gentlemen, it was looked upon as a very great misfortune<sup>c</sup>. It was, however, followed with a greater. The duke of Lancaster, with a very numerous army and a very potent fleet, failed to the assistance of the duke of Bretagne about midsummer; and, having spent near a month in a fruitless siege of the town of St. Malo, which he missed taking by his own negligence and ill conduct, he returned to England with little reputation to himself, the French fleet in the mean time having spoiled the coasts of Cornwall<sup>d</sup>.

The foes of the French court very naturally applied themselves for assistance to England, and seldom failed to obtain it, though it was not often that either we or they were gainers by it in the end. The king of Navarre, who had shewn himself a bitter enemy to the house of Valois, and who met hitherto with but indifferent success in a great variety of intrigues and enterprizes into which he had entered, at last addressed himself to King Richard, and offered to put the fortress of Cherburg in Normandy into his hands; which was accepted, and with some difficulty obtained in the month of October, 1379. In the latter end of the same year, Sir John Arundel, going with a considerable reinforcement to Bretagne, was shipwrecked, part of his squadron being driven on the coasts of Ireland, some on the Welch shore, and others into Cornwall; so that himself and a thousand men at arms perished. This loss, and the uneasiness following upon it, occasioned the calling of a parliament.

The next year, however, new supplies were sent under the command of the earl of Buckingham, Sir Robert Knollys, and Sir Hugh Calverley, to Calais, and from thence passed through the heart of France into Bretagne, where the duke employed

<sup>c</sup> Coet. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. annal. vol. ii. p. 143. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 6. Molinghed. vol. ii. p. 419.

<sup>d</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 212, 213.

Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 7. Condin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth, annal. vol. ii. p. 144.

them in the siege of Nantes, a city which refused to acknowledge him; and, taking very little care to supply them with necessaries, they were by degrees reduced to such misery, that the English soldiers were glad to return in small companies through France, not in a hostile way, but begging their bread; which ought to have put an end to all these inconsiderate expeditions, that served only to waste the strength of the nation, and to expose us to foreigners; for in the mean time the French galleys burnt Gravesend, and plundered the whole Kentish coast\*.

In 1383 a new kind of war broke out, which, though inconsiderable in its consequences, ought not to be passed over in silence. There was at this time a schism in the church of Rome: Urban IV. was owned in that city, and Clement VII. was acknowledged for Pope at Avignon. The several princes of Europe consulted their own advantage in the choice they made of these pontiffs; and, as the French had owned Clement, the English grew very warm on the behalf of Urban. He, therefore, to serve his own interest, and to heighten their zeal, proclaims a croisade against his opponents, and constitutes Henry Newil, bishop of Norwich, his general in England. This prelate, a man of noble birth, was of a fit character for such an enterprize, having a high spirit, a resolute courage, and a very intriguing genius. He, knowing that the Flemings were then in arms against their earl, and that they were naturally inclined to the English, resolved to make use of his commission to over-run, if possible, that country. Passing over with this view to Calais, he there suddenly assembled 50,000 foot and 2000 horse, with whom, and a good fleet attending, he suddenly fell into Flanders, where he cut to pieces a body of 12,000 men belonging to the earl, took Dunkirk, Graveling, Mardyke, and other places, and at length besieged Ypres; his fleet proceeding with like good fortune at sea. But the French king marching with a great army into Flanders, and the Flemings beginning to fall off, the bishop of Norwich was glad to retire, and, after all his short-lived successes, to return with a handful of men into England.

\* Contin. Nic. Trivet. & Adam. Murimuth. annal. vol. ii. p. 147—150. T. Otterbourne, p. 150. W. Wyrester, annal. p. 441. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 111, 112.

The next year the French fitted out several squadrons to infest the English coast, in which they were but too successful, while our intestine divisions hindered us from taking that due care of our affairs, which our great strength at sea enabled us to have done: yet the inhabitants of Portsmouth, to shew the martial spirit of this nation was not quite extinguished, fitted out a squadron at their own expence, which engaging the French with equal force, took every ship, and slew all, but nine persons, on board them, performing also other gallant exploits before they returned into port<sup>f</sup>. So very apparent it is, that, if our affairs go wrong, this ought to be ascribed to the rulers, and not to the people, who are naturally jealous of our national glory, and ever ready enough to sacrifice, as is indeed their duty, both their persons and properties for its defence.

The French king, Charles VI. was, in the year 1385, persuaded to revive his father's project of invading England, in order to compel the English to abandon the few places they still held in France. With this view, he, at a prodigious expence, purchased ships in different parts of Europe, and, by degrees, drew together a very great number; an author of credit, who lived in those times, says, twelve hundred and eighty-seven sail; insomuch that, if it had been necessary, they might have made a bridge from Calais to Dover<sup>g</sup>. On the other hand, king Richard prepared a numerous army, and also drew together a powerful navy; yet, after all, there was no great matter done: for the French king's uncles, the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, fell at variance upon this head; and the design was so long protracted, that, at last, they were obliged to lay it aside for that year<sup>h</sup>. Mezeray seems to attribute this to the Duke of Burgundy<sup>i</sup>; but Father Daniel ascribes it to the Duke of Berry<sup>k</sup>; however, it was not entirely given over, but rather deferred till the succeeding spring, when the French failed a second time; partly through the treachery of the Duke of Bretagne, and partly through the cowardice of admiral-de Vienne. This man had been sent,

<sup>f</sup> T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 535. T. Otterbourne, p. 156, 157. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 44, 45. Duplex, tome ii. 605, 606. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 308, 309. <sup>g</sup> Histoire de Charles VI. A. D. 1385. <sup>h</sup> Froissart, vol. iii. cap. xxv. <sup>i</sup> Abregé de l'histoire de France, vol. iii. p. 129. <sup>k</sup> Histoire de la milice de France, vol. ii. p. 448.

with a fleet of sixty ships to Scotland, in order to excite and enable the inhabitants of that kingdom to make a diversion; but he behaved there very indifferently: for he declined fighting the English, when they destroyed all the country before them; and entered into an amour with a princess of the royal blood; which, says Mezeray, the barbarous Scots, being strangers to French gallantry, took amiss, and shewed their resentment in such a manner, as obliged him to leave their country very abruptly. On his return he reported the English army to consist of ten thousand horse, and a hundred thousand foot, which struck the French with terror. As for the Duke of Bretagne, on some private distaste, he clapped up the constable of France in prison, who was to have commanded the forces that were to be transported in this mighty fleet, which new disappointment frustrated the whole design.

Father Daniel is just enough to acknowledge, that it is doubtful whether the duke, by this act of treachery, did the English or the French most service; since, if this design had miscarried, the greatest part of the nobility of France, who were embarked therein, must have necessarily perished. As it was, a great number of ships belonging to this huge fleet, in sailing from the haven of Sluys, were driven on the English coast and taken; and the year before, the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, with the English fleet, had attacked a great number of French, Spanish, and Flemish merchant-men; and, having beat their convoy, took upwards of a hundred sail. Thus this wild scheme ended in the destruction of the naval power of France; which as it is in itself unnatural, so whenever it receives a considerable check, it is very hard to be restored again, as Father Daniel tacitly acknowledges; for he owns, that during the remainder of the reign of Charles VI. as also during that of Charles VII. which takes in upwards of half a century, they attempted little or nothing by sea, and not much in the succeeding fifty years<sup>1</sup>.

The expedition of the Duke of Lancaster into Spain deserves to be mentioned in a work of this nature; for though it be true, that it did not concern the kingdom of England, yet as the whole naval strength of the nation was employed therein,

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la malice Française*, vol. ii. p. 448. Stowe, Hollinghed, Speed, Brady, Tyrrel, &c.

and as the reputation of the English arms was spread thereby over all Europe, it would be unpardonable to omit it. The Duke's title, notwithstanding the slight put on it by some authors, was in reality a very good one; he claimed in right of his second wife Constantia, who was the daughter of Peter, the cruel king of Castile; whereas the possessor of that crown was of a bastard line. The king of Portugal was likewise in his interest, and sent into England seven galleys and eighteen ships, to join the duke's fleet; which was a long time in preparing.

At length, about midsummer 1386, he embarked with twenty thousand men; and the flower of the English nobility, himself commanding the army, and Sir Thomas Piercy the fleet. The first exploit they performed was the relieving Breff, at that time besieged by the French, by which the duke gained great reputation; after this, embarking again with fresh provisions; and some recruits, they arrived at the port of Corunna, or, as our sailors call it, the Groin, on August 9, and there safely landed their forces<sup>m</sup>. The king of Portugal behaved like a good ally, and many of the Spanish nobility acknowledged the duke for their king; yet the war, at the beginning, was not attended with much success, great sickness wasting the English army, and, through the precautions of John king of Castile, the country was so destroyed that a famine ensued, which proved of still worse consequence to the duke's affairs. By degrees, however, the soldiers recovered their health; and the duke, who had himself endured a sharp fever, resumed his spirits, and continued the war with fresh vigour, and with better fortune. John, king of Castile, seeing his dominions destroyed, and the French, who had promised him<sup>n</sup> great succours, very slow in performing, wisely entered into a negociation; which quickly ended in a peace<sup>n</sup>.

By this treaty King John paid the duke about seventy thousand pounds for the expences of the war, and assigned him and his duchess an annuity of ten thousand pounds. The eldest

<sup>m</sup> Mariana's hist. Hispan. tome ii. lib. xviii. cap. x. p. 155. M. Faria y Sousa; lib. iv. cap. xi. T. Wallingham, p. 321, 322. H. Knyghton, p. 2676. Vit. R. R: 1r di II. p. 90, 91. <sup>n</sup> Ferreras hist. de Espan. p. viii. § 14. De la Ciede hist. de Portugal, tome i. p. 336. T. Wallingham, p. 342. W. Wyrcester anal. p. 443.

daughter of the duke married Henry prince of Asturias, King John's heir, and the duke's second daughter espoused the king of Portugal. After this agreement made, the duke, with the remains of his army, which an eminent French writer says might amount to about a sixth part of the forces he carried abroad<sup>o</sup>, returned into England towards the end of the year 1389; and a little after, the king was pleased to honour his uncle with the title of Duke of Aquitaine<sup>p</sup>.

In 1394 an insurrection in Ireland obliged the king to pass over thither, being attended by the Duke of Gloucester, the earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland. In this expedition he had better fortune than in any other part of his life; reducing most of the petty princes to such straits, that they were glad to do him homage, and give him hostages: but, at the request of the clergy, he returned too hastily, in order to prosecute heretics, when he might have subdued his rebels, and settled that kingdom. This mistake in his conduct proved afterwards fatal to his crown and life<sup>q</sup>. The disputes he had with his nobility at home, inclined the king to put an end to all differences abroad; and therefore, after a long treaty, it was agreed, that King Richard should espouse the French princess Isabella, though but a child between seven and eight years old.

On this occasion he passed over to Calais, where he had an interview with the French king; and having espoused this young princess on October 31, he soon after brought her home, and caused her to be crowned, but very little to the people's satisfaction, who fancied there was something ominous in the loss of part of her portion, in the short passage between Calais and Dover, in a sudden storm<sup>r</sup>. Some time after, he was drawn into a much more unpopular act, by giving up the fortress of Cherburgh to the king of Navarre, and the town of Brest to the duke of Brittany: and the disturbances which followed these measures in England, encouraged the Irish to rebel<sup>s</sup>. In the first fury of these people they cut off Roger Mortimer, earl of March, governor of Ireland for King Richard, and presump-

<sup>o</sup> Mezeray, tome iii. p. 134.

<sup>p</sup> T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriæ,

p. 544. T. Otterbourne, p. 177, 179.

<sup>q</sup> Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1394.

<sup>r</sup> Rimer's fœdera, tome vii. p. 802. T. Walsinghami, p. 393. Vit. R. Ricardi II.

p. 128, 129. P. Asmyle, p. 602. Du Tillet, p. 309.

<sup>s</sup> Chron. Hibern.

A. D. 1395.

tive heir of the crown. The news of this so much provoked the king, that he determined to pass over into that island, in order to chastise the authors of so black a fact. With this view he drew together a considerable army, and a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he safely arrived at Waterford, in the spring of the year 1399<sup>c</sup>.

The king had some success in this, as he had in his former expedition, it being the constant foible of the Irish to be wonderfully struck with the presence of a prince, and the pomp of a court. But his success was quickly interrupted by the mortifying news of his cousin Henry of Lancaster's being landed in England, and in open rebellion. This young nobleman, styled in his father's lifetime first earl of Derby, and then duke of Hereford, had ever been of a martial disposition, and had attained to great military skill by serving in Prussia under the Teutonic knights. He had been very indifferently treated by King Richard, yet had no thoughts of pretending to the crown, when he first returned home : but finding the people universally disaffected, the king in Ireland, and himself surrounded by a number of brisk and active young noblemen, he grew bolder in his designs, though he still acted with much caution. The king, on the first advice of this rebellion, returned into England, where he no sooner arrived, than all his spirits failed him, inasmuch, that the first request he made to the earl of Northumberland was, that he might have leave to resign his kingdom<sup>d</sup>. The precedent of his grandfather Edward II. was too recent to leave the rebels any scruple of making use of the king's pusillanimous temper ; they therefore brought him up prisoner to London, where he was committed to the Tower ; and shortly after, by authority of parliament, deposed, when he had reigned twenty-two years, and was in the thirty-third year of his age<sup>e</sup>.

After this his life was of no long continuance ; for, being carried from place to place, he at length ended his days at Pom-

<sup>c</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 356. T. Otterbourne, p. 197. Chron. Hibern. A. D. 1399.

<sup>d</sup> Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 151—155. T. Walsingham, p. 358, 359. T. Otterbourne, p. 201—206. Chron. Godstovian, p. 126. Fabian, p. 345.

<sup>e</sup> Attested copies of all these proceedings, from the original records in the Tower, the reader will meet with in H. Knyghton, col. 2743—2752,

frat-castle, in the year 1401; but how, or with what circumstances, is not clearly known to posterity. Some say, that hearing of the misfortunes which attended his friends, who endeavoured to restore him, and had miserably lost their lives in the attempt, he refused sustenance, and starved himself; others, with greater probability, affirm, that with hunger and cold, and other unheard-of torments, his cruel enemies removed him out of their way<sup>2</sup>; and to this opinion Camden inclined, who, in speaking of Pomfret-castle, says, it is a place *principum cade & sanguine infamis*<sup>3</sup>.

THE history of our commerce within this period of time would be equally curious and useful, if carefully and impartially collected from our records and histories. What I have to offer on this head, is only the fruit of my own reflections upon some remarkable passages, that, in the composition of this history, appeared of too great importance, in reference to the subjects under my consideration, to be passed by without notice, amongst a long train of common events. Such observations, I conceive, may be of more use, because, generally speaking, our writers upon political arithmetic, have very rarely carried their researches so high as these times, from a notion, very probably, that there was not much in them to their purpose: in which, however, I must confess myself of a very different sentiment, being fully satisfied, that many points of the greatest consequence might be very much enlightened, if due attention were paid to such occurrences, in these times, as any way regard our foreign and domestic trade, the scarcity and plenty of coin, and the different state of the finances of our several monarchs; for all which, though there may not be sufficient materials to compose a complete history, yet there are more than enough to convince us, that the vulgar opinion of the poverty of our ancestors, in past times, is very far from being founded in truth, but is rather the consequence of an ill-grounded complaisance for our own age.

We have before observed, that Henry I. left behind him a very large sum of money at his decease; his grandson Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 363. Vit. R. Ricardi II. p. 169. T. Otterbourne, p. 228, 229.

<sup>3</sup> Descript. Brit. p. 83.

reigned about the same space of time, that is, four months short of thirty-five years, as his grandfather reigned four months more than that number of years. Their tempers were much alike with respect to economy; that is to say, both of them were inclined to collect and leave behind them as much wealth as they could: the former for the sake of establishing his family; the latter that he might make a provision for the expedition into the Holy Land, which he certainly had very much at heart. But Henry II. at his demise, left in gold and silver, exclusive of jewels and other curiosities, the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds; which would be a thing altogether incredible, if we had not as good authority for this as for any historical fact whatever<sup>2</sup>. It is indeed true, that some writers have represented him as an avaricious, and even rapacious prince; but the facts which they assign to prove this, are such as will scarce satisfy an impartial reader. He levied, from time to time, considerable sums upon the Jews, who were the monied people of those days: he had considerable aids from his nobility; and he kept bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices in his hands for several years together. His predecessors, however, had done as much without acquiring any such treasure; and therefore we may conclude from this fact, that the nation was become much richer.

It is said, and very truly said, that coin or ready money is the PULSE of a state. If it beats high and even, there is no reason to question the health of the body politic: but if it grows low, and intermits, even wise men may be allowed to doubt as to the public safety. We may therefore safely collect, that the trade of this kingdom was very much increased during the course of this reign, though we had no other argument to prove it; since in the same space of time, and without having recourse to any extraordinary methods, this monarch was able to leave, after bestowing very considerable sums in ready money for the holy war, a treasure nine times as great as that of

<sup>2</sup> The words of Matthew Paris, my author, are these: "*Inventa sunt plura quam nongenta millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utensilia, & jocalia & lapides pretiosos.*" The will of this great monarch is preserved in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, published by Hearne; but in this we find none but charitable legacies.

his grandfather, though he was looked upon as the richest prince of his time.

The beginning of King Richard's reign was very fatal to the estates and revenues of the crown, as the latter end of it was excessively burdensome upon his people: yet those, who, from the difficulty of paying his ransom, would infer, that this kingdom was grown wretchedly poor, and that the wealth of the nation was nothing then to what it is now; are far from being so much in the right as they may imagine, as will appear from hence; that Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, when he desired the king's leave to withdraw from the administration, gave this as his reason, *viz.* that there had been levied upon the subjects, in the year 1195 and 1196, the sum of one million one hundred thousand marks<sup>a</sup>; which I have the authority of an ingenious and judicious writer to bear me out in affirming, was equal to eleven millions in our times<sup>b</sup>. So that it was not the poverty of the kingdom which made the impositions of those days seem insupportably hard; but the impositions themselves were so excessive, and so often repeated, that at last they really made the nation poor.

Another thing to be observed, in regard to this reign, is the tax, or rather subsidy given in wool, which is the first time any thing of that nature occurs in history; though, without all doubt, wool was long before one of the principal staple commodities of this country. If we look into this affair carefully, we shall

<sup>a</sup> Roger Hoveden, p. 767, 768, assures us, the scope of that prelate's letter to the king, was to shew how much the wealth of England was exhausted, and as a proof, added, "*Quod infra biennium proximo præteritum, adquisierat ad opus illius undecies centena millia marcarum argentide regno Angliæ.*" Robert de Bruare, in his chronicle informs us, that though the sums levied were large, yet the king's visible necessity, and the bad behaviour of King Philip of France, made the nobility contribute cheerfully to their master's assistance, as well in their persons, as out of their purses.

<sup>b</sup> The author referred to in the text is Dr. Davenant; who in his discourse on grants and resumption, p. 112. not only says what I have mentioned, but farther, that what was given to King Richard was more than was really levied on the people in any two years of King William's war. If so, why might not the whole necessary supplies have been raised, which could not (the difference of times considered) have been in any degree so oppressive as what our ancestors endured, rather than a debt created, which has proved ever since an accumulating burden?

find something very different in it from what is commonly understood: for it was not a tax imposed upon wool for leave to export it, a thing frequent in succeeding times, and which, for anything we know, might not have been altogether new even then; it was not a grant to the crown of a certain quantity of wool, which was the land-tax of those times, and very commonly granted to his successors; but it was a loan taken from the Cistercian monks, who then exported the wool of this island to Flanders, and other countries, the produce of which, for that year, was received to the king's use, in order to compleat his ransom, and was to be repaid: and perhaps the different accounts we have of the sum to which that amounted, might be owing, in some measure, to this manner of raising it. But however these things may stand, there is nothing clearer than that the vast sums raised in this reign, must have been brought into this island by foreign trade, that is, by the produce of our commodities and manufactures. The latter, without question, were very inconsiderable, in comparison of what they have since been, and yet not altogether so inconsiderable as is commonly thought: but as for our staple commodities we certainly had them then as well as now; and I believe there is some reason to think that they were not only exported in very large quantities, but were also vended in foreign markets, at very high prices; that is, the proportion of things in those times, and in these, being duly weighed and considered<sup>c</sup>.

In the reign of King John, if we may believe most of our historians, there was nothing but oppression and taxes; and immense sums of money, from time to time, levied upon the nation; which however is a proof there was money in the nation; as the great number of seamen he had constantly in employment shews there must have been trade. The Cistercian monks were still the exporters of wool; and that this was no inconsiderable thing, may appear from hence; that they charge

<sup>c</sup> Two things principally contributed, in those days, to turn the scale of trade in our favour: First, we were not given to refined luxury: if we indulged in any extraordinary degree, it was in our native and unpurchased blessings, which made our wants the less. And, secondly, commerce not being so extensive, some of our staple commodities were highly valued, and from thence brought in the more money.

the king with taking from them by violence, in the space of a few years, sixty-six thousand pounds. It may be, he only took by violence what they had got before by fraud: for why such vast sums were to rest in the hands of religious men, when the public treasury was empty, it will be hard to render a just reason. The same king is said to have imprisoned an archdeacon of Huntingdon, till he extorted from him twenty-two thousand marks: this might be injustice in the king; but public affairs could not be well regulated, when a clergyman of his rank was able to pay so much<sup>d</sup>. If King John had not bore so hard upon the priests and monks, they would have furnished, or at least they would have allowed him a better character in their chronicles: if he had been more indulgent to his nobility, they might possibly have been more loyal; but if he had not shewn himself a lover of trade, and a kind master to the commons, he would not have had the seamen, the sea-ports, and the trading towns at his devotion, London only excepted: and, amongst other provocations given to her, it was no small one, that this monarch favoured the out-ports; so that the trade of Boston, in Lincolnshire, approached in some degree to that of London; as appears from the customs in both during this reign.

It has been hinted, that our manufactures were not quite so low at this time as they are generally represented: and it looks like a proof of this, that in the nineteenth year of Henry III. there passed a law for regulating some branches of the weaving business; and it appears from this very law, that the branches regulated thereby were different kinds of broad cloth. This does not indeed shew when we began to make cloth; for, without doubt, this could not be then a new manufacture; but it plainly shews, that we had it in a good degree of perfection,

<sup>d</sup> Matth. Paris, Ralph Coggeshale, and John Evesden, are the chief authors of what is reported of King John's excessive taxations: and the first of these speaks of him in a manner so full of indecency, that one naturally suspects to angry a writer of sometimes making free with truth. An unmarried clergy, immensely rich, was equally repugnant to the principles of sound policy, and of the gospel: the king, therefore, might well take somewhat from their immense revenues for the public service, without deserving to be thought either tyrant or infidel; though their charitable authors have pawned their credit with posterity, that he was both.

above a hundred years before most of our histories speak of its introduction into England<sup>e</sup>. In this king's reign arose the first complaints about clipping of money, which not only produced a standard<sup>f</sup>, but also a new regulation; which though it proved a remedy for the evil, was accounted almost as great an evil as that which it was intended to cure. In short, the taking money by tale, as is the custom now, and which first began to grow into a custom then, was prohibited, and people were directed to pay and receive by weight, in the manner that has been before described.

There are few princes that have sat upon this throne, whose behaviour we find represented in a worse light to posterity than that of this monarch: for he had the misfortune, like his father, to be upon bad terms with the barons and the clergy; who not contented with keeping him a beggar all his life, have transmitted his memory to succeeding times, with as heavy a load of infamy upon it as was in their power. It is indeed out of doubt that King Henry did levy large sums upon his people, which Matthew Paris, who lived in his time, and wrote the history of his reign, has very dexterously magnified, by reckon-

<sup>e</sup> Some circumstances relative to this manufacture, are mentioned in the reign of Henry II. nor does it then appear to be a new thing, but rather the contrary. It was in this reign, if not sooner, introduced into Scotland, which put the government on contriving methods to prevent wool being carried thither from any of the northern counties, but with very little success.

<sup>f</sup> There is some diversity in our old historians, and much more amongst our modern critics, about this matter; we will give the truth as near, and in as few words as we can. King John is by some reckoned the author of our standard; but this must be with regard to fineness especially; the sterling, or esterling, which was the name of a penny made of good silver, being introduced in his reign. As to weight, Thomas Rudborn tells us, William the Conqueror ordained, A. D. 1083, that a penny should weigh thirty-two grains of wheat out of the midst of the ear; and the statute 53d H. III. says the very same thing; but however there was a distinction, though not a difference. It was found by experience, that grains of wheat differed in weight; that those kept for the king's balance were affected by the weather, and that no certainty could arise while this method was continued. It was agreed, therefore, that twenty-four pieces of brass, equal in weight to the thirty two grains of wheat, should be substituted, as an easy number to divide; and thenceforward the penny-weight was said to contain twenty-four grains.

ing the same tax sometimes over and over again<sup>2</sup>. Upon the whole, he tells us, in the space of forty-one years (he reigned in all fifty-six) he had been the spoiler of the kingdom; that he had not taken less than nine hundred and fifty thousand marks: yet the reader has seen, that King Richard levied considerably more than this sum in two years. He might very well want extraordinary supplies, if what the same monk, in another place<sup>3</sup>, inadvertently tells us was true; that the whole ordinary revenue of the crown fell considerably short of sixteen thousand pounds a-year.

If we should conclude from these clamours, from the meanness of the king's circumstances, and from the distresses to which King Henry was driven, that the nation was quite exhausted, and that the nobility and clergy, who always complained, and often rebelled, were plundered and pillaged till they had nothing left to subsist them, we should be extremely mistaken. The king's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall, laid up out of his estate near 250,000 pounds, with a part of which he purchased the diadem of Germany. We are also told, that the Lord Warine, who is said to be the wisest, and yet not affirmed to be the richest baron in England, disposed, by will, of 200,000 marks, which he had by him in money<sup>4</sup>; so that private men (if the nobility in those times might be so called) were really very rich, though their king was often in a state of downright want. In short, pro-

<sup>2</sup> When an historian writes with a visible leaning to one side, the reader, to set things straight, must lean a little to the other. King Henry might have, and to be sure had great faults; but there was the less need to exaggerate them. Matthew Paris furnishes matter for his own refutation: he acknowledges the nobility were always rebellious, and yet blames the king for loving strangers; he exclaims against his avarice, and owns he gave away all he could obtain.

<sup>3</sup> It is in a manner by accident that Matthew Paris lets us into this important point: for, inveighing against the papal oppression, he says, that the revenue of the alien clergy in England amounted to no less than 70,000 marks *per ann.* when the king's ordinary income came to scarce a third part of that sum; which, considering the largeness of the king's family, was, even in those days, a very pitiful thing.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. Paris, p. 908. n. 10. I cite the place so particularly, because Sir William Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 561. after making very honourable mention of this Warine de Muntchenſ, and speaking particularly of his great riches, sets down what he disposed of by his will at no more than 2000 marks, which is visibly a mistake, as he quotes the very same author that I do, and the very same edition.

perty was in those days strangely divided ; and though, by the balance of trade, vast sums were brought into the nation, yet a very great part of these came into the coffers of the monks and of the Jews ; and as for the remaining produce of domestic industry, it was almost wholly swallowed up by the barons and the priests.

In the glorious reign of Edward I. we find many things worth observing ; and first as to the coin ; for though the fineness thereof had been established in the reign of his grandfather, and various regulations made in his father's long administration, yet in his time it was that the matter was entirely settled, and put into such a condition, as that in succeeding reigns the manner only has been susceptible of change. This was done in the seventh year of his reign, when he fixed the weight of his round silver penny at the twentieth part of an ounce Troy, whence our denomination of a penny-weight : as to the fineness, it remained the same as before ; that is, there were eleven ounces two penny-weights of fine silver, and eighteen penny-weights alloy\* in a pound of silver, which was coined into 240 pence. However, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, he reduced his penny somewhat ; and this was the first variation of its kind from the Saxon times. It was the weight and purity of his coin that tempted the Jews over hither, in greater numbers than ever, to exercise their laudable trades of usury and clipping ; for which last offence he hanged two hundred and eighty of them at once ; and having in vain endeavoured to moderate the rigour of their extortions, he at length banished them out of his dominions, to the number of 15,000, to prevent their preying upon the industry of his subjects, having exhorted them more than once by proclamation to apply themselves to honest labour, or to the exercise of lawful trades, and to forbear fleaing his people. In 1299 the king settled as a dowry, upon Margaret daughter to the

\* It is now hardly to be expected, that any clear account should be gained of the motives on which this change was made : but, by the smallest of it, there is good reason to conclude, that it was rather for the service of the state, than to serve a turn. But it is time to shew what this change was. The pound of silver, hitherto accounted equal to twenty shillings, was now raised to twenty and three pence ; the shilling, (or rather twelvepence) weighed 164, instead of 133 grains ; and, in short, silver was by this means raised from twenty pence (saying an ounce,

king of France, 18,000 livres *per annum*, which amounted to 4500 pounds sterling: so that four French livres were then worth an English pound<sup>1</sup>; which is a point of great consequence towards understanding the transactions of those times,

In this king's reign there were certain silver mines wrought in Devonshire, to considerable profit; in the twenty-second year of his reign they produced, from the twelfth of August to the last of October, 370 pounds weight of silver; the next year 521 pounds and a half; in the twenty-fourth year 704 pounds: they yielded afterwards more, but how much more is not said; nor have we any account when they were worn out<sup>2</sup>. We may form some judgment of the course of trade in his time from hence, that, having occasion to borrow a large sum of money for carrying on his wars against the Welch, he took up 8000 marks from the city of London, and 1000 from the port of Yarmouth. In reference to the wealth of private men, there is a particular fact recorded that gives us some light. The judges were found to have been guilty of corruption, and were fined amongst them 100,000 marks, of which Sir Edward Stratton paid 34,000<sup>3</sup>. There was in his reign a great clamour against foreign merchants, who now began to keep houses and warehouses of their own in the city of London, whereas before they lodged in some citizen's house who was their broker: and to this the citizens would very willingly have reduced things again, but the king and his council held, that it was for the public benefit they should remain as they were; and with this they were forced to be satisfied.

In the reign of Edward II. we meet with very little to our purpose, unless it should be thought so, that, upon the deposing of this unhappy monarch, the allowance settled for his maintenance in prison was 100 marks a-month, or 800 pounds a-year: yet this monarch had given to the Lady Theophania, a French woman, who was nurse to his Queen Isabella, an estate

<sup>1</sup> This comparative value of coin is a subject hitherto hardly considered, and yet ancient histories are unintelligible, without a due regard being had to it.

<sup>2</sup> These mines were opened again in Queen Elizabeth's time, and been also wrought since, but have not answered the cost of working.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. Westmon. p. 414. n. 10. Knighton, col. 3466. Thomas Wayland, who was the most guilty, lost his whole estate.

of 500 pounds a-year<sup>o</sup>. The taxes in his reign were very inconsiderable.

In the reign of Edward III. *anno Domini* 1331, the king granted a protection to one John Kent, a cloth-weaver, who came over from Flanders, and at the same time invited over fullers and dyers<sup>p</sup>; from whence it has been supposed, that clothing was then introduced into this kingdom, which is directly contrary to truth, that trade having been here long before, indeed so long before, that there is no record extant to shew when it was introduced. As King Edward was a very martial prince in his temper, and his reign almost a continued series of wars, there were successive impositions levied upon his subjects, and these amounting to such vast sums as very clearly prove, that, at the beginning of his reign, England was far richer than in the times of any of his predecessors.

Some attempts have been made to settle, by the help of the taxes in this reign, the manner in which they were levied, and the produce of them, the value of our wool: and, without doubt, something very near the truth may be discovered, if we proceed cautiously. In the year 1338, the laity<sup>q</sup> granted him one half of their wool, and the clergy nine marks a-sack upon their best wool. We know not what number of sacks the king received; but it is said, that he sent over 10,000 sacks into Brabant, which produced him 400,000 pounds, that is, at the rate of forty pounds a-sack one with another; and, from this, some writers think themselves warranted to compute the produce of our wool in foreign markets at least at forty pounds a-sack; and by the help of this calculation they estimate our annual exportations at a very large sum. We will shew first what this is, and then consider whether it be right, or whether the price should not be reduced.

<sup>o</sup> My author, for the first of these facts, is Thomas Walsingham, and, for the latter, Mr. Rymer, both unquestionable in such points.

<sup>p</sup> Rymer's *fœdera*, tom. iv. p. 496. There is very little room to doubt, that the true reasons of these encouragements were, first of all, instructing our own people to the utmost perfection in this capital art, and next drawing over the workmen here, that, as we rose in that manufacture, our neighbours might also gradually decline.

<sup>q</sup> The computations mentioned in the text are to be found in the historical account of taxes, p. 106.

When it is said, that we know not what quantity of wool the king received by that grant, it is to be understood, that we know it not from the historians who mention this grant; but it appears from the records, that it amounted to 20,000 sacks<sup>r</sup>. Those who made the computation, of which we have been speaking, compute the exportation of wool that year at 40,000 sacks, which amounts to 1,600,000 pounds; and the aid to the king comes to half that money, which they say is amazing and prodigious; and indeed well they might. But, when a grant was afterwards made to the king of 30,000 sacks of wool, we find it estimated far lower, viz. at six pounds a-sack the very best, the second sort at five, and the worst at four pounds a-sack, which, however, was exclusive of the king's duty or custom. This computation was certainly very fair; and this grant to the king was in the nature of a land-tax, which is the reason that the produce of it was computed at the rate wool sold here, though there is no manner of doubt, that, by exporting and selling it abroad, the king made much more of it. We will try, however, if it be not practicable to extract something more certain out of the facts mentioned by ancient authors, because, if it could be done, it would be very satisfactory.

A certain writer has preserved the state or balance of the English trade, as found upon record in the exchequer, in the twenty-eighth year of this monarch; and there is no reason to suspect its authenticity<sup>s</sup>. In this the export of wool is set down at 31,651 sacks and a half, valued at six pounds a-sack; but then the duty is excluded. It appears also from this account, that a considerable quantity of cloth, both fine and coarse, and of worsted also, was exported. We cannot therefore doubt, that, when the commons granted King Edward 30,000 sacks of wool, it was at least as much as giving him 150,000 pounds in money out of their pockets. But, if we are inclined to know what it brought the king,

<sup>r</sup> By this method of receiving taxes in kind the king became in some measure a merchant, and that to his great profit.

<sup>s</sup> This account was published in a treatise intitled, *The circle of commerce*, p. 119, 120. written by Mr. Edward Misselden, and printed in 1633. After drawing from it the remarks mentioned in the text, I thought it would be for the conveniency of the reader, and render my observations more perspicuous, if a place was allowed this curious paper in the notes.

king, we may perhaps find the means of discovering it. In the last year of his reign the citizens of York complained, that a German lord<sup>c</sup> had seized thirty-six surples of their wool, which they valued at 1900 pounds for a debt due from the king, and, according to this reckoning, wool was worth in that country thirteen pounds a-sack, and something more: so that the aid granted to the king could not produce much less than 400,000 pounds, which was a very large sum for those days.

The balance of the English trade in the 18th year of Edward III. as said to be found upon record in the exchequer.

## EXPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One and thirty thousand six hundred fifty-one sacks and a half of wool, at six pounds value each sack, amount to	189,909	0	0
Three thousand six hundred sixty-five fells, at forty shillings value each hundred at six score, amount to	6,073	1	8
Whereof the custom amounts to	81,624	1	1
Fourteen last, seventeen dicker, and five hides of leather, after six pounds value the last,	89	5	0
Whereof the custom amounts to	6	17	6
Four thousand seven hundred seventy-four cloths and a half, after forty shillings value, the cloth is	9,549	0	0
Eight thousand and sixty-one pieces and a half of worsted, after 6 s. 8 d. value the piece, is	6,717	18	4
Whereof the custom amounts to	215	13	7

Exports 294,184 17 2

## IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
One thousand eight hundred thirty-two cloths, after six pounds value the cloth,	10,992	0	0
Whereof the custom amounts to	91	12	0
Three hundred ninety-seven quintals and three quarters of wax, after the value of 40 s. the hundred or quintal,	759	10	0
Whereof the custom is	19	17	0
One thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine tons and a half of wine, after 40 s. value per ton,	3,659	0	0
Whereof the custom is	182	0	0
Linen cloth, mercery, and grocery wares, and all other manner of merchandize,	22,943	6	10
Whereof the custom is	285	18	3

Imports 38,970 13 8

Balance 255,214 13 8

N. B. The totals do not answer the particulars exactly; but, at this distance of time, it is impossible to aim at correcting them with any degree of certainty.

<sup>c</sup> This foreign nobleman had served the king in his wars, and pretended so much money was due to him; he had also ships in our ports, with goods on board, which the citizens thus injured desired might be seized.

BUT

BUT we must not part with this account, without drawing from it some other observations. We find the whole imports of that year computed at something less than 39,000 pounds, whereas the exports amounted to above 294,000 pounds; so that the clear balance, in favour of this nation, was above 295,000 pounds. Yet this is not all: we must consider, that in this account there is no notice taken of lead and tin, probably because the accounts relating to them might not be brought into the exchequer, that is, not into the exchequer at Westminster; which will raise the account very considerably; insomuch, that there seems very good reason to believe, the intrinsic value of the coin in those days, being compared with ours, the whole balance of trade fell very little, if at all, short of 900,000 pounds, as our money is now reckoned; which is indeed a very large sum, and much beyond what those, who had never looked into these matters, could possibly have imagined. Yet the probability at least, if not the truth, of this computation, might be shewn in another way, that is, from the consideration of the immense sums that were consumed by this monarch in foreign wars and alliances, which it is impossible this nation could ever have furnished, if the balance of trade had fallen any thing short of what it appears to be from the foregoing computation.

That commerce was very much the object of King Edward's attention, and his parliaments, very fully appears from the many acts made within the compass of his reign for its regulation. It is indeed true, that several of these laws are contradictory; that what was established in one year was sometimes overturned in the next; that frequent alterations were made in the staple; that the customs were sometimes high, sometimes low; and that the standard of money was twice varied. But, notwithstanding all this, the former assertion will still remain unimpeached, since there can be nothing clearer, than that even these variations arose from the regard that was paid to commerce: and perhaps the alteration in the coin was made necessary from the conduct, in that particular, of our neighbours. We likewise find, that, towards the latter end of this king's reign, there were great frauds and impositions committed in obtaining licen-  
ses

ses<sup>u</sup> for the exportation of goods, and in other respects, of which complaints were made in parliament against the Lord Latimer, the king's chamberlain, and Richard Lyons of London, merchant, for which they were convicted and punished.

King Edward III. was the first of our princes who coined groffes or groats, so called from their being the groffest or greatest of all money, the silver penny having been till then the largest coin in use. The purity of the standard he never debased; but, in the twentieth year of his reign, he saw reason to make it lighter; so that, instead of twenty shillings, the pound of silver was raised to the value of twenty-two shillings and sixpence, and, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, the value of a pound of silver was raised to twenty-five shillings. The reader will observe, that the shilling was imaginary then, as the pound is still, or rather it was a denomination of money, and not a coin. He also first coined the noble, half-noble, and quarter-noble, in gold; for, before his time, none of our kings had stamped any gold. He likewise called in all clipped money, and prohibited base coin, which shews, that what he did in altering the weight of his coin was for the conveniency and benefit of his subjects, who, by the increase of their trade, stood in need both of gold coin and of larger pieces of silver, and not with any intention to enrich himself at their expence, though the contrary is asserted by an ancient historian, who charges William Eddington, bishop of Winchester, and lord-treasurer, with consulting the king's profit more than that of the kingdom, by advising him to coin groats that were not so heavy as they should be. There was also some variation in the value of gold in his time, a pound of that metal coined going sometimes for fifteen, then for little more than thirteen, afterwards for fourteen pounds of their money; but at length the king raised it again to its old price of fifteen pounds<sup>w</sup>, which, all things considered, is pretty

<sup>u</sup> An inquisitive reader may consult Barnes's history of this reign; but the records are still fuller and clearer. It would be of infinite service to the nation, if the facts they contain were digested into chronological order; and made public. This would effectually refute many gross mistakes universally believed, and disclose many new truths.

<sup>w</sup> As one shilling was nearly equal to three of ours, an ounce of gold, then worth twenty-five shillings, was in fact at three pounds fifteen of our money; so that the proportions between gold and silver have not altered very much since that time.

near the proportion that it now holds, only King Edward's gold was somewhat finer than our coin is at present.

In the reign of Richard II. we find a great many laws relating to trade; and it appears to have been a great controversy then, whether foreign merchants should, or should not, be allowed to vend their commodities freely in London and other corporations. The sense of the legislature, as appears from their laws, was in favour of the foreign merchants; but the clamour still continued, and parliaments were seldom held without petitions for the redress of this, which was called a grievance. It was also desired, that the staple of wool might be removed from Calais to some town in England; and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and chancellor of England, a nobleman esteemed to be very knowing in points of this kind, declared publicly in parliament, that the king's subsidy on wools yielded a thousand marks a-year more, when the staple was in England, than when it was fixed at Calais, which is a proof that the exportation was greater\*.

As the foreign wars in this reign were of little consequence, and prosecuted with no great vigour, so, whatever sums were levied upon the people, and in what manner soever they were dissipated by their profuse prince, yet this being all amongst themselves, and the balance of foreign trade continuing, and perhaps increasing, the wealth of the nation could not but be prodigiously augmented: to which some writers attribute the broils and disturbances of this reign, in which, if there be any truth, it must have been owing to the unequal distribution of property. This, indeed, is certain, that the commons complained loudly of oppression from the lords and from the lawyers, as on the other hand both the nobility and the commons were highly incensed against the clergy on account, as they alledged, of their haughtiness and avarice: but the churchmen suggested, that the luxury of the age was so great, that, notwithstanding their vast estates, the expences of the nobility exceeded their income, and was the principal cause that inclined them to form cabals, for alienating and dividing amongst themselves the revenues of the church.

\* The family of this chancellor had acquired an immense estate by trade; and other instances of a like kind might be given in these times.

As to the coinage in this reign, it remained in a great measure, at least, upon the same foot as in the former, and therefore there is no need of dwelling upon it: one thing, however, deserves to be insisted upon, which is this; the great luxury of these times had so visibly increased the importation of foreign commodities, that it was taken notice of in parliament; and in the last year of King Richard's reign a law passed, by which it was provided, that every merchant should bring into the Tower of London an ounce of foreign gold coin for every sack of wool exported, or pay thirteen shillings and fourpence for his default, and to give security for the performance of this, before he was allowed to export the wool into foreign parts. There was also a law made in this reign, allowing every person to make cloth of what length and breadth he would: so that in those days they thought it very practicable to encourage the clothing manufactory, without restraining the subject from transporting wool, and this upon the plain principle of doing nothing that might sink the price of this staple commodity, which brought in continually such vast supplies of bullion, and which it is likely they knew not how to obtain, in case the exportation of wool had been put under any severe restriction <sup>7</sup>.

These observations on a period of so great extent, in which it may be easily conceived, that matters of this nature must have suffered many changes and alterations, cannot but be acceptable, in as much as they greatly contribute to the illustration of the principal points with which our history is concerned; for naval force, and the sovereignty of the sea, being the result of extensive commerce, whatever contributes to explain the rise and progress of that must shew how these are to be kept, as well as demonstrate in what manner they have been obtained.

Within this period there happened, or at least there are said to have happened, some extraordinary discoveries, of which, therefore, we ought to speak. First then it is affirmed, that America was discovered by the Welch about the year 1170. The story is thus told, that on the death of Owen Gwyneth, dissensions arose among his sons; one of them, whose name was Madock, resolved to trust the safety of himself, and such as were

<sup>7</sup> It may deserve the consideration of an able statesman, whether some use might not be still made of this maxim of our ancestors.

with him, rather to the mercy of the seas than to the uncertain issue of a civil war; and therefore, embarking with his followers on board a few ships well victualled, he put to sea in search of new countries. Accordingly he sailed due west, till such time as he left Ireland to the north, and then continued his voyage till he came to a large, fruitful, and pleasant country. After some time spent therein he returned home, and reported the happy effects of his voyage, and the large possessions which every man might acquire who would go with him. He at length prevailed with as many of both sexes as filled ten ships; and with these he returned to his new plantation: but neither he, nor his people were heard of more<sup>2</sup>. It must be confessed, that there is nothing here which absolutely fixes this discovery to America; though it must likewise be owned, that the course before set down might very possibly carry him thither. The great point is, to know how far the fact may be depended upon: and in relation to this, I will venture to assure the reader, that there are authentic records in the British tongue as to this expedition of Madock's, wherever he went, prior to the discovery of America by Columbus; and that many probable arguments may be offered in support of this notion, that these Britons were the discoverers of that new world, is also true, though at present we have not opportunity to insist upon them.

Some reports there are concerning great discoveries in the north, made by a friar of Oxford, one Nicholas de Linna. Of this man the famous John Dee, who was both a great antiquary and a skilful mathematician, informs us, that in the year 1360, being the thirty-fourth of Edward III. he sailed, in company with several of his countrymen, to the northern islands, and there leaving his associates, he travelled alone, and drew up an exact description of all the northern countries, with their surrounding seas; which book he intitled, *Inventio Fortunata*; or, A Discovery of the northern parts, from the latitude of fifty-four degrees, to the pole: and presented it at his return

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 1. Meredith ap. Reece, a Cambrian bard, who died A. D. 1477, composed an ode in his native language, on this expedition, from which the particulars above-mentioned are taken; and this was prior to Columbus's discovery: so that fact could never have encouraged the framing of this fable, even supposing it so to be.

to King Edward. However, for the better settling these discoveries, he returned no less than five times into those northern regions. To render this odd story somewhat more probable, Mr. Dee remarks, that from the haven of Lynn, in Norfolk, of which this friar was both a native and an inhabitant, to Iceland, was not above a fortnight's sail, and in those days a common thing; as appears particularly by a charter granted to the town of Blakeney in Norfolk, by King Edward III. exempting the fishermen of that port from attending his service, on account of their trade to Iceland<sup>a</sup>. This is, in some measure, confirmed by the testimony of that famous geographer Gerard Mercator, who confesses that he borrowed his description of the northern countries from one who owned his having them from this friar of Oxford, whom he well describes, though he does not name him. Yet it must be acknowledged, that Leland speaks very largely of this Nicholas of Lynn, who, according to his account, was a Carmelite, and a great astrologer: but in all his eulogium, there is not a syllable concerning his travels, though he concludes with saying, that his works sufficiently praised him<sup>b</sup>. John Bale transcribes this account of Leland's exactly, but gives us a much more copious detail of the friar's writings; and yet, even in his list, we meet with nothing as to this *Inventio Fortunata*; though on the other hand we must allow, that Bale says he wrote other things which he had not seen<sup>c</sup>.

The discovery of the island of Madeira is likewise attributed to one Macham, an Englishman; which is thus reported by several of the Portuguese writers. They say that this man, having stolen a lady with whom he was in love, intended to have carried her into Spain; but being by a storm driven out to sea, after much tossing and danger of his life, was forced into this island, in which the harbour where he lay at anchor is to this time called Machico. On his going ashore with the lady and some of his servants, the ship's crew took the opportunity of sailing, and got safe into some Spanish port. In a very short time after, the lady, who was extremely sea-sick, and not a little fatigued by what she was forced to undergo on shore,

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 127.

<sup>b</sup> Commentar, de Script. Britan. vol. i.

p. 347.

<sup>c</sup> Scriptor. Britan. vol. i. p. 468.

died;

died; and her disconsolate lover, having first erected and consecrated a little chapel to the Holy Jesus, buried her therein. After paying this duty to the lady, whose love for him cost her the loss of life, Macham addressed himself to the contriving his escape, which he effected by hollowing a large tree, and making thereof a canoe; in which himself and those that were with him, passed over to the opposite shore of Africa; where, being taken prisoners by the Moors, they were sent by way of present to the king of Castile. This accident is by some placed in the year 1344; but by others, and I think with reason, somewhat later. It is remarkable that we are indebted for this account to foreigners, who can hardly be supposed any way prejudiced in our favour against themselves<sup>d</sup>.

We might add here some accounts of the expeditions made to Jerusalem, Barbary, and Prussia, by some famous Englishmen; as also the beginning of our commerce with the Hanse-towns; but as to the former, it would swell our work too much with things already mentioned by others; and, as to the latter, it may with equal propriety be reserved for the close of the next chapter, to which therefore we refer it.

<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. li. p. 1. from Antonio Galvano.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. VI.

The Naval History of England, during the reigns of Henry IV. Henry V. and Henry VI. of the house of Lancaster.

Containing the space of about 60 years.

**H**ENRY IV. called sometimes Henry of Bolingbroke, from the place of his birth, and sometimes Henry of Lancaster, from his father's dukedom, was crowned on the thirteenth of October 1399, and his title generally acknowledged. When he came over against King Richard, it was from France; and most of our historians affirm, that he received considerable assistance from thence; which, however, French writers deny\*. Certain it is, that after the death of his unfortunate predecessor, the duke of Orleans, then director of the public affairs in that kingdom during the lunacy of Charles VI. treated King Henry as a murderer and usurper, though he had been formerly his friend; yet, in all probability,

\* Polydor. Virgil. hist. lib. xxi. *Histoire de France*, par le P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 325.

this was rather out of policy than from any motive of justice, for all the use the French made of it was, to attempt upon the English possessions on the continent<sup>b</sup>. King Richard being born, and for some time bred at Bourdeaux, his countrymen the Gascons, discovered a strong resentment of his ill usage, and seemed disposed to revolt. To soothe this humour of theirs, the French assumed this appearance of indignation, in hopes that they would immediately have put themselves under their protection<sup>c</sup>. But Mezeray justly observes, that the advantages they drew from the English commerce, hindered them from hastily taking this step, and disposed them to receive the Lord Piercy for their governor, who was sent over with that title by King Henry<sup>d</sup>. Not long after, King Richard's young queen was sent back to France, with the whole of her fortune, and all her jewels; and thereupon the truce between the two nations was renewed for twenty-six years; which shews how little of reality there was in the concern expressed by the French court, for the cruel death of King Richard<sup>e</sup>.

In 1403 the king, who was then a widower, married Joan, the daughter of Charles king of Navarre, and very lately widow to John Montford, duke of Brittany, which proved the cause of great disasters to this kingdom: for the inhabitants of that duchy, conceiving an ill opinion of this marriage, and being powerful at sea, suddenly landed in the west, and burnt Plymouth, at a time when the king's hands were full, through the conspiracy of the earl of Northumberland, and other great lords<sup>f</sup>. This, however, did not remain long unrevenge'd; for the inhabitants of Plymouth having fitted out a squadron, under the command of William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow seas, he seized forty ships laden with iron, oil, soap, and wine, and then burnt the like number in their harbours, reducing the towns of Penmarch and St. Matthew, and wasting, with fire and sword, a great part of the coast of Brittany<sup>g</sup>. Admiral de Castel, who commanded the enemy's fleet, in the

<sup>b</sup> *Abregé de l'histoire de France, par Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 140.* <sup>c</sup> P. Daniel, tome v. p. 396. <sup>d</sup> *Abregé de l'histoire de France, tome iii.* <sup>e</sup> Froissart, cap. exix. P. Daniel, tome v. J. Rossi, antiquari Warwicensi, historia regum Angliæ, fol. 166. b. <sup>f</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 367, 369. W. Wyrcelster saugl, p. 482. Chron. Godscowien, p. 131, 132. <sup>g</sup> T. Walsing. Ypodigma Neustriz, p. 562. Stowe, p. 329. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 524.

mean time, attempted to land in the Isle of Wight; but failing of success there, he steered for Devonshire, where actually landing, he briskly attacked Dartmouth, but was defeated by the country militia, with the loss of four hundred men, and two hundred taken; among whom were himself, and two other persons of distinction: yet his squadron, and the Flemings, still infested the coast, took many ships, and to shew their inveterate hatred to the English nation, most inhumanly hanged all the seamen who fell into their hands<sup>b</sup>. In the mean time the French, without any regard to the treaty subsisting between the two crowns, invaded the duchy of Guyenne, and sent an army of twelve thousand men, with a fleet of a hundred and forty sail; to the assistance of Owen Glendour: these forces they safely debarked in Milford haven; but the Lord Berkley and Henry Pay, who commanded the squadron of the cinque-ports, attacked them in that port, where they took fourteen, and burnt fifteen of the French vessels, which so frightened those on board the rest, that soon after they fled home<sup>c</sup>.

About the same time, the earl of Kent sailed, with a considerable fleet, to the coast of Flanders, where he cruized for some time upon the enemy, the Flemings being then subject to a prince of the house of France; at last, entering the port of Bluy, they found four ships lying at anchor; took three Genoese merchant-men, of a very large size, at the entrance of the haven, though not without a gallant resistance; after which they searched all the ports on the Norman coast, and making descents into several places; burnt at least six and thirty towns; and then, with an immense booty, returned in triumph to Rye<sup>d</sup>. Some mariners, belonging to the port of Cley in Norfolk, sailing on the north coast in a stout bark, took, near Flamborough-head, a Scots ship, having on board Prince James, duke of Rothesay, and heir apparent to that crown, to which he afterwards succeeded by the name of James I. Him, with his attendants, an earl, and a bishop, they sent to King Henry at Windsor, who kept him there as a prisoner indeed; but, during

<sup>a</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 370. T. Otterbourne, p. 247, 248. Argentre; liv. 2. chap. v. <sup>i</sup> T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustrie, p. 566. Stowe, p. 333. Holingshed, vol. II. p. 531. <sup>k</sup> T. Otterbourne, p. 253, 254. Fabian, p.

382. Hall, fol. 24. Holingshed, vol. II. p. 528.

his captivity, used him in all respects as a prince. The Scots writers treat this as a plain breach of faith; but the French historians instruct us better: they acknowledge they had lately renewed their treaties with Scotland for the usual purpose of annoying England; and, in such times of public disturbance, this prince ought to have been furnished with letters of safe conduct, since he was going to France, an enemy's country, which every day infested the English coasts by their fleet<sup>1</sup>. In support of Owen Glendour, the Welch malecontent, the French court sent another squadron on the coast of Wales, of which only thirty arrived, the rest being taken by the English; and a short time after, the famous Henry Pay, admiral of the cinque ports, surprised the Rochelle fleet, consisting of 120 sail of merchantmen, richly laden, and took them all. These exploits, in vessels belonging to merchants, shew, that, beyond all contradiction, trade in those days was not altogether so inconsiderable a thing as by most of our modern writers we are taught to believe<sup>2</sup>.

The king in 1407 narrowly escaped the fate of the Scots prince. He had spent part of the summer at Leeds-castle in Kent; and, his affairs calling him into Essex, he ventured to sail from the port of Queenborough with only five ships: in his passage he was attacked by certain French privateers, who, after a very brisk engagement, took every vessel but that in which the king was, and carried them to their own coasts<sup>3</sup>. This taught that monarch, by experience, the necessity of keeping better fleets at sea; and therefore he ordered a very strong one to be fitted out the next year under the command of the earl of Kent, who effectually scoured the narrow seas, and, when he had cleared our own coasts, stood over to Brittany, where he boldly landed in the little island of Briehac, and there attacked a town of the same name, in which the privateers had taken shelter, took it by storm, and put them all to the sword: but in this ac-

<sup>1</sup> T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustriae, p. 566. J. Fordun. Scotichron. continuado, p. 1162. J. Major de gestis Scotorum, lib. v. fol. 125, 126. Hecker Boeth. hist. Scot. lib. xvi. p. 339. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 404, 420.

<sup>2</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 376. Stowe, p. 334. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 553.

<sup>3</sup> Hall, fol. 26. Grafton, p. 431. Stowe, p. 334.

tion received himself a wound, which proved mortal\*. In 1410 an English fleet of ten sail, under the command of Sir Robert Umfreville, went against the Scots, and, sailing up the Forth, spoiled the coasts on both sides, ravaging the country, burning all the ships in their harbours, and amongst the rest the largest they had, called the Grand Galliot in Blackness, carrying away fourteen ships, and such a vast quantity of corn, as reduced the price of that commodity, which was then very high in England; whence the admiral obtained the surname of Robert Mend-market<sup>p</sup>.

Whenever the French affairs were in a tolerable condition, they were constantly forming schemes to the prejudice of the English, which, generally speaking, were defeated by the breaking out of their own domestic troubles. King Henry, therefore, wisely held intelligence with both the factions in that kingdom, aiding sometimes the one, and sometimes the other. Thus he this year sent a considerable body of auxiliaries to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, with whom they entered Paris. The service they did made it so evident, that the king of England's assistance was the surest method of turning the balance in favour of any party in France; that the opposite faction, headed by the dukes of Berry and Orleans, sent their agents to London, who entered into a treaty with King Henry, by which they acknowledged his right to the duchy of Guyenne, and promised their homage to him for the lands and castles they held therein, and the king, on the other hand, undertook to send them a considerable succour, which he performed<sup>q</sup>. These troops embarked in the month of July, 1412, under the command of Thomas duke of Clarence, the king's son. It appears by our histories, that great expectations were raised by this expedition; insomuch that there was some talk of recovering France: but these notions quickly appeared to be very ill founded; for, upon the landing of the duke of Clarence with his troops in Normandy, they were informed that the duke of

\* F. Otterbourne, p. 264. Chron. Godstovian, p. 134. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 254. Hall, fol. 28.

<sup>p</sup> Hall, fol. 26. Stowe, p. 338.

Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 536.

<sup>q</sup> Rymer's fœdera, vol. viii. p. 738.

Dupleix, tome ii. p. 699. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 500, 501. T. Otterbourne, p. 268—270.

Orleans, and the rest of the princes to whose assistance they came, had made a treaty with the king and the duke of Burgundy; so that nothing was left for them but to go home again. The duke of Clarence, justly provoked by such usage, first ravaged Lower Normandy, and Anjou, and then, entering the duchy of Orleans, lived there at discretion, till such time as the duke came to an agreement of allowing 320,000 crowns of gold for the expences of their voyage, part of which he paid down, and sent his brother into England as a hostage for the rest. This treaty was particular with the duke of Orleans; for, as to the war with France, it still went on, and Sir John Pendergast, who commanded the fleet in the narrow seas, took a great many French ships laden with provision, which, says my author, got him little reputation with the nobles, but much love from the people, who by this means enjoyed plenty of French commodities at a very cheap rate. This admiral had, some years before, felt the severe effects of that envy which was borne him by the nobility; for having had the command of a squadron intended to scour the seas from pirates and privateers, which he worthily performed, yet, when he returned, a complaint was made that himself had taken such extraordinary rewards for his services, as rendered him little better than a pirate. Upon this he took sanctuary at Westminster, where for some time he lay in a tent in the church-porch; but at last he had justice done him: and now when his country required the service of a stout and able seaman, he was called again to command. Things being in this uncertain state, King Henry, worn out by continual labours, and not a little grieved by his late disappointments, deceased, as is generally said, of a leprosy, on the 20th of March, 1412, in the 46th year of his age, and the 14th of his reign. He was a monarch (even his enemies allow) of great courage and wisdom; and, if he did not promote trade and naval power so much as some of his predecessors, it ought rather to be ascribed

† P. Æmyle, p. 607. Gaguin, p. 194. Mezeray, tome iii. p. 181. Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 540. Hall, fol. 31, 32. ‡ T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Nestrix, p. 571. T. Otterbourne, p. 271. Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 530. § T. Walsingham, p. 382. Chron. Godstovian, p. 135. W. Wyrcester, annales, p. 452. Stowe, p. 344.

to the disorder of these times, than to any want either of will or capacity in the prince<sup>u</sup>.

HENRY V. from his birth-place styled Henry of Monmouth, succeeded his father, and, in the beginning of his reign, shewed a laudable inclination to do all that could be expected from him for his people's good<sup>v</sup>. It happened, that the wealth and state, as well as the pride and ambition of the clergy, had raised a strong spirit of resentment against them throughout the nation; to divert which it is generally believed, that the archbishop of Canterbury inspired the king with an eager desire of subduing France, to which it was no difficult matter to persuade him that he had a clear right. Indeed the condition that kingdom was in, might seem to invite such an attempt. The king was oftener out than in his senses: the whole nation was divided in two factions; the duke of Burgundy at the head of one, and the duke of Orleans at the other; two Dauphins died, one soon after the other, by poison; and the third was but a child. However, King Henry concealed his design for some time, and even treated of a marriage between himself and the Princess Catharine, daughter to King Charles VI. In 1415, the French King sent his ambassadors hither, with very advantageous proposals, who had their final audience of the king on July 6, when, if Father Daniel is to be believed, Henry would have been content to have concluded a truce for fifty years; but the archbishop of Bourges insisted absolutely on a definite peace, and so these negotiations were broken<sup>x</sup>. Some of our writers mention a strange story of the dauphin's provoking the king, by sending him a present of tennis-balls; which, however, is very improbable, considering the youth of that prince, and the known apprehension all France had of the English power. The French writers seem to give a better account of this matter: they tell us that the first flash of lightning before this dreadful storm, was an angry letter written to the French king, with this address: "To the most serene Prince Charles,

<sup>u</sup> P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 507.  
Henrici quinti Anglorum regis, cap. xiv.  
Chronicon Godstovian, p. 136.

<sup>v</sup> Thom. de Elmham, vita & gesta  
Tit. Liv. in vit. Henry V. p. 6.

<sup>x</sup> Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 536.

Tit. Liv. vit. Hen. v. p. 6.

"our cousin and adversary of France; Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c." This letter was dated July 28, from Southampton: and the French king returned an answer in the same angry style, dated the twenty-third of the next month; so that, thenceforward, the war, though not actually begun, was looked upon as declared on both sides<sup>1</sup>.

King Henry acted with greater caution, and with more military prudence than most of his predecessors. The design he had formed, was not that of ravaging the country, or seizing some of the provinces of France, but making an entire and absolute conquest of the whole realm; which he knew was not to be undertaken without a numerous army, a very great fleet, and these constantly supported by competent supplies of money. He therefore drew together six thousand men at arms, twenty-four thousand archers, the rest of his infantry completing the army to at least fifty thousand men. That these might be transported with the greater conveniency, he hired from Holland and Zealand abundance of large ships, which, with those belonging to his own subjects, rendezvoused in the month of August at Southampton, where the whole fleet appeared to consist of no less than sixteen hundred sail. As to supplies, his parliament being wrought, more especially by the arts of the clergy, into a high opinion of this expedition, furnished him liberally: so that with all the advantages he could desire, the king embarked his mighty army, which he landed safely in Normandy, without meeting with any resistance<sup>2</sup>. He was attended by his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his uncle the duke of York, and most of the nobility of England<sup>3</sup>. It is remarkable, that though the constable of France had a very numerous army, with which he might well have disputed the landing of the English, yet he chose to retire; for which conduct of his he was afterwards questioned in a court-martial: but he justified himself by producing his orders from

<sup>1</sup> Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 192. Thom. de Elmham, p. 29, 30. Fabian, p. 390. Hall, fol. 9. b. Grafton, p. 448, 449.

<sup>2</sup> T. Otterbourne, p. 276. W.

Wyrcester annal. p. 453. Chron. Godstovian, p. 136. T. Walsinghami Ypodigma Neustrix, p. 582.

<sup>3</sup> Thom. de Elmham, cap. xviii. Tit. Liv. p. 7. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxii. Speed, p. 630.

court, directing him not to hazard a battle on any terms whatever, but to leave the English, if they were so inclined, to waste their force in long marches, and tedious sieges. Would to God, says my author, this maxim had been as steadily pursued as it was wisely laid down<sup>b</sup>! The policy of France, therefore, is to cheat us whenever they make peace, and to destroy us when we break with them by means of a dilatory war; which though troublesome to them, becomes soon insupportable to us; and thus their cunning gives them advantages, which they never could derive from the force of their arms.

The first enterprize of importance undertaken by the king, was the siege of Harfleur, a sea-port town of great consequence at that juncture, well fortified, and in which the French had a numerous garrison. It was invested both by land and sea; and though it was defended with great resolution, it was at last taken for want of relief. The French, however, succeeded in their policy thus far, that by this siege the English army was exceedingly wasted; insomuch, that by the time the place was taken, one half of it was absolutely destroyed. On due consideration of this it was resolved, in a council of war, to leave a garrison of English at Harfleur, and to march through Picardy to Calais, with the rest of the army<sup>c</sup>. This passage appeared extremely dangerous, since the French army was by this time not only in the field, but also at their heels. The English forces, according to the French writers, consisted of two thousand men at arms, and eleven thousand archers. Our authors say, there were but nine thousand in the whole; whereas the French were at least three, if not five times their number. To prevent the needless effusion of blood, King Henry was contented to have made peace on very reasonable terms; but this was refused by the French, who flattered themselves, that they should be able to make him and all his army prisoners<sup>d</sup>. In consequence of this obstinacy of theirs, a decisive battle was fought on October 25, A. D. 1414, in the

<sup>b</sup> Histoire de France, tome v. p. 538.

<sup>c</sup> Thom. de Elmham, cap.

xxii. et seq. Tit. Liv. p. 11—15. T. Walsingham, p. 391, 392. Stowe, p. 348, 349. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 552. Speed, p. 631. <sup>d</sup> Tit. Liv. p. 15. Duplex, tom. ii. p. 712. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 293. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 540. Speed, p. 631.

plains of Agincourt, wherein the French were entirely defeated by the English, through the bravery of their troops, says Father Daniel, and the wise conduct of their officers<sup>c</sup>. There fell in the field seven princes of the blood, and five were made prisoners, the flower of the nobility of France, no less than eight thousand gentlemen, and about ten thousand common men; about fourteen thousand being taken prisoners. The English lost, as our writers alledge, about four, the French say sixteen hundred; and amongst them the duke of York and the earl of Oxford<sup>d</sup>. A French manuscript<sup>e</sup> of that time mentions a circumstance, no where else so particularly recorded, viz. that King Henry lost his baggage, even to his crown and jewels; a great body of peasants having forced the English camp, during the heat of the engagement. Father Daniel says, very judiciously, that nothing but arrogance, imprudence, and temerity, were visible in the conduct of the French; whereas the English behaved with the utmost coolness and address, as well as the most determined valour<sup>f</sup>. After this victory, the king continued his march to Calais, and in a short time passed into England with the chief of his prisoners: the next year the French had leisure to recover themselves a little, notwithstanding a new misfortune that befel them, little inferior to that of the loss of this battle; for the duke of Burgundy pushed his resentment so far, as to make a treaty with King Henry, and to acknowledge him for king of France; as appears by his letters and treaties, which are preserved in Mr. Rymer's most valuable collection<sup>g</sup>.

The first attempt of the French, for the repair of their late dishonour, was their besieging Harfleur by land and sea. In order to this, they made a treaty with the Genoese; who, in

<sup>c</sup> Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 541, 542. <sup>d</sup> Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxvii—xxix. Tit. Liv. v. p. 17—20. The Batayll of Agynk Corte, an ancient MS. in rhyme in the Cotton library. Vitellius, D. xii. 11. fol. 214. Mazeray, Stowe, &c.

<sup>e</sup> This MS. is of those times, and is in the library of the Abbe Baluze. It seems to be a kind of factum for the seigneur de Gaucourt, against the seigneur d'Etouteville. The former of these gentlemen was taken in Harfleur; and, to procure his liberty, traced out the effects belonging to the king, so that most of them were recovered.

<sup>f</sup> Histoire de France, tom. v. p. 546.

<sup>g</sup> Fœdera, vol. ix.

consideration of large subsidies, furnished them with a very considerable fleet, in which were many vessels of an extraordinary size: by the same prevailing argument, the French also drew considerable succours from the king of Castile; and having thus raised for the present a great maritime force, they attempted Southampton and the Isle of Wight, but without success; after which their fleet returned again to the siege, or rather blockade of Harfleur. The place was gallantly defended by the earl of Dorset, whom the king had appointed governor there; but at last he was brought to such straits, that without relief it was evident the town must have been lost. King Henry directed, therefore, an army of twenty thousand men to be drawn together; and having embarked them on board a fleet of four hundred sail, sent them under his brother John, duke of Bedford, to attack the French navy. This service he performed with courage and conduct; for having gained the advantage of the wind, he attacked the French with such vigour, that after a long and bloody dispute he entirely defeated them; taking or sinking five hundred sail, and amongst them three of those large ships which had been furnished by the Genoese, and which, by the French and their Italian allies, it was believed the English would not have had courage enough to engage. Not long after, the French army retired from before Harfleur, and the earl of Dorset with his garrison, which was now reinforced, made excursions through all Normandy\*. In 1417, the earl of Huntingdon being sent to sea with a strong squadron, met with the united fleets of France and Genoa, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength and size of their ships; taking the bastard of Bourbon, who was the French admiral, prisoner, with four large Genoese ships, and on board them a quarter's pay for the whole navy: so great in those days, and so well directed, too, was the English power at sea!†

There being now sufficient security for the safe landing of troops in France, the king, in the spring of the year, began to

\* Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxx. Tit. Liv. p. 25—31. T. Wa'singham, p. 394. S. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 719. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 196. P. Daniel, tome v. p. 551, 552.

† Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxvii. T. Otterbourne, p. 278. Stowe, p. 353. Holingsted, vol. ii. p. 558.

make mighty preparations for passing the sea, with such an army as might speedily and effectually decide the fate of this dispute, by giving him the possession of that country, as well as the title. As he was a more prudent undertaker in these matters than any of his predecessors, and bid infinitely fairer for both getting and keeping the French crown than they ever did, it will be proper to give a succinct detail of this grand expedition; the rather because it has a near connection with our subject, the dominion of the sea. His army consisted in part of troops in his own immediate pay, and in part of forces raised by his barons. Of the first there were 16,400 men; of the latter 9,127; and of this army about a fourth part was horse. To transport them from Dover, a navy was prepared of 1500 ships, of which two were very remarkable. They seem to have been both admirals, and were equally adorned with purple sails, embroidered with the arms of England and France: one was styled the King's Chamber, the other his Hall; from whence it plainly appears, that he affected to keep his court upon the sea, and to make no difference between his palace and his ships royal. They embarked on July 28, and landed in Normandy August 1<sup>m</sup>. As soon as the army was safely debarked, he dismissed the fleet, keeping only a few small vessels for transporting his artillery, which shewed, that he did not intend to return hastily, and before his business was half-finished, into England. Before the end of the year, he totally subdued Normandy and a great part of the adjacent countries. As fast as he reduced the great cities, he put garrisons into them: such of the French as submitted he received into his protection; but, where he became master of countries by force, he bestowed the lands in them, as he thought fit, for the encouragement of English adventurers; and, in the space of two years more, he by a slow and regular war reduced the greater part of France to his obedience, and at length forced the unfortunate monarch Charles VI. to beg a peace almost upon any terms<sup>a</sup>; a thing that none of his ancestors had been able to accomplish, and which this king chiefly performed by awing his enemies with fleets on their coasts, at the same time that he in-

<sup>m</sup> Thom. de Elmham, cap. xxxviii. Tit. Liv. p. 31—33. T. Otterbourne, p. 279. Fabian, p. 396. Hall, fol. 23. b. Grafton, p. 464. <sup>a</sup> P. Æmye, p. 617, 618. Gaguin, p. 200. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 735.

vaded their countries by land ; as appears in the larger histories of his life, by us often quoted, and in the English collections from them, published by Godwin in his history of the life and reign of this victorious king.

By this treaty, dated May 21, 1420, King Henry's title to the crown of France was acknowledged by general consent; and, on account of his espousing the Princess Catharine, daughter to Charles VI. it was stipulated, that he should be declared heir of France after the decease of King Charles, and, on account of his weakness and infirmity of mind, should govern the kingdom, during his life-time, with the title of Regent°. As for the dauphin, he was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown, and afterwards, on a civil prosecution, he was attainted and convicted for the murder of the duke of Burgundy (upon the precedent set in attainting King John), rendered incapable of all successions, particularly that of the kingdom of France, and was also adjudged to perpetual banishment<sup>p</sup>. The two kings, Henry and Charles, with their two queens and a splendid court, continued, for some time after these regulations were made, at Paris: from thence King Henry went into Normandy, where he held an assembly of the states; and then passing through Picardy to Calais, he came to Dover, with his new queen, on Feb. 2, 1421<sup>q</sup>. The intent of this journey is very truly stated by the French historians, who say, that it was purely to obtain a fresh supply of treasure and men, his wars having already exhausted all that before this time had been transported thither<sup>r</sup>: a circumstance worthy of attention!

As soon as the king's design was answered, and he had obtained, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the kingdom, a very large sum of money, he immediately recruited his army, and, having ordered a considerable fleet to be drawn together, passed over into France, leaving queen Catharine behind big with child. The Dauphin Charles had still a considerable party,

° Thom. de Elmham, cap. xc—xcii. Tit. Liv. p. 85. & seq. Mezeray, vol. iii. p. 209. Le Gendre, tom. iii. p. 628. Rymer's *foedera*, tom. ix. p. 394. Stowe, p. 360. Hollinghed, vol. ii. p. 573. Speed, p. 641. <sup>p</sup> See remarks

on this treaty, and on King Henry's causing coin to be struck, on which he is styled Rex Francorum. Histoire de France par Pere Daniel, tom. v. p. 481, 485. <sup>q</sup> Thom. de Elmham, cap. cviii. cix. Tit. Liv. p. 21. Chron. God-

stovian, p. 143.

<sup>r</sup> Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 211.

many strong towns, as well as some large provinces, under his obedience, and, during King Henry's stay in England, had acquired both power and reputation, by defeating a great part of the English army, killing the duke of Clarence, and several other persons of great distinction, on the spot; which moved King Henry at his return to use his utmost diligence in the prosecution of the war, that the kingdom might be intirely reduced, and the dauphin compelled to withdraw for his personal safety into Italy<sup>1</sup>. While he was thus employed, the queen, who remained at Windsor, brought him a son, and, as soon as she was able to travel, followed him into France, where she had an interview with her father at Paris, in which city both courts continued for some time: but the king, ever vigilant and active, in the month of June took the field in order to raise the siege of Cosne on the Loire, before which the dauphin lay. In this expedition he harassed himself so much, that he found a great alteration in his health, which hitherto had been, apparently at least, almost unprejudiced by his fatigues. Through his want of rest, and still continuing an assiduous application to business, an inflammatory fever followed, which proved fatal to him at Vincennes, the French writers say, on the twenty-eighth, our authors, on the last of August, 1422<sup>2</sup>. He enjoyed his senses to the very last, and died with as much glory as he lived, employing his last breath in giving such directions as were necessary for the safety of both his kingdoms; and experience shewed, that if his rules had been strictly and steadily pursued, his family might have been as much indebted for the preservation of France to his wisdom, as they were for the possession thereof to his courage and conduct. He was indisputably one of the best and greatest, as well as bravest princes that ever sat on the English throne, and would in all probability have provided effectually for the peace and prosperity of his English subjects, if he had lived to finish his wars. As it was, he performed a great deal in so short a reign as nine years and a half, considering also,

<sup>1</sup> Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxvii. & seq. Tit. Liv. p. 92. T. Walsingham, p. 404. P. Æmyle, p. 618. Gaguin, p. 201. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 213. P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 593, 594.

<sup>2</sup> T. Walsingham, p. 407. Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxvii. Tit. Liv. p. 95. W. Worcester. annal. p. 455. Duplex, tom. ii. p. 754. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 214. Stowe, p. 352. Speed, p. 648.

that he was but in the thirty-fourth year of his age when he died.

It may be supposed, that the dominion of the sea was fully maintained under so enterprising a prince, and one who was so remarkably jealous of his rights; I say, this might have been well supposed, though there had been no express evidence of it; which, however, is far from being wanting. He took occasion to have his title and authority in this respect mentioned in the preambles to acts of parliament<sup>u</sup>; he maintained strong squadrons at sea and on the coasts, humbled all the maritime powers of Europe in his time on account of the succours they gave the French, and thereby drew great advantages to his subjects, especially from the trade of Flanders, which, by a close alliance with the duke of Burgundy, he in a manner absolutely secured to them. Yet, for all this, the nation was excessively distressed, as well through the interruption of foreign commerce, as by the immense taxes levied upon them for the support of his wars; infomuch that, in the eighth year of his reign, his chancellor bewailed to him in parliament the feebleness and poverty of the people, as himself expressed it, and besought him to apply the only remedy which could preserve them from ruin, a speedy peace, and putting a stop to his expences, which the king promised; and indeed, he could not but be sensible of the truth of what the chancellor said, since he had been obliged to pawn his own imperial crown of gold to Henry, bishop of Winchester, for what in these days would be thought a very inconsiderable sum of money<sup>w</sup>. All this he did to obtain his French dominions, which, in his son's time, the wisest men in England thought more expedient to lose than keep, time and experience having always justified this fundamental maxim of English policy, that the subjects wealth can have no other source than trade, and the majesty of the crown no better support than a firm trust in the people's love, and in consequence of their extensive commerce, a constant as well as a superior power at sea. This is the voice of nature in making our country an island, the dictates of sound reason, which shews, that all force is lessened by an unnecessary extension, and the lesson taught us not only by our his-

<sup>u</sup> Schlen's more clausum, lib. ii. cap. xxiii.  
<sup>w</sup> Sir Robert Cotton's answers to reasons for foreign wars, p. 59.

<sup>w</sup> Sir Robert Cotton's an-

tory in general, but by the occurrences under every reign: the reader, therefore, must not be surpris'd to find me frequently inculcating what ought always to be remembered, and what at every turn, notwithstanding, we are, alas! but too, too apt to forget.

HENRY VI, from the place of his birth, styled Henry of Windsor, succeeded his father before he was a year old, under the tuition of his uncles, all men of great experience and abilities \*. Of these, Humphrey duke of Gloucester was protector of England, Thomas duke of Exeter had the custody of the king's person, and John duke of Bedford was regent of France. It was not long before Henry became king of France as well as of England; for the French king Charles VI. dying on October 21, 1422, he was proclaimed at Paris, though the French immediately owned the dauphin, who was now called Charles VII. †. In the beginning of his reign, things went better than could well have been expected under an infant prince; for Humphrey duke of Gloucester took care to supply his brother in France both with money and men; and the duke of Bedford on his side, taking all imaginable methods to preserve the friendship of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, maintained himself by their assistance in the possession of all the dominions which were left to his son by King Henry V. and, if the same union had continued, must have constantly preserved them; for the French king, Charles, was never strong enough to have dealt with such confederates: but it was not long before this harmony was dissolv'd. The duke of Gloucester, who was protector of England, took Jaqueline, duchess of Hainault, from her husband the duke of Brabant, married her, and, in her right, pretended to large dominions in the Low Countries, which he sought to recover by the help of an English fleet and army. These measures disgust'd the duke of Burgundy, who was extremely concerned for what had happened to his cousin the duke of Brabant, and, resenting his ill usage and dishonour, became thenceforward disaffected to the English, and shortly after totally

\* Thom. de Elmham, cap. cxxix. Tit. Liv. p. 95. Chron. Godstow'an. p. 145. T. Walsingham, p. 407. † Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 756. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 215. Le Gendre, tom. iv. p. 1. Stowe, p. 363. Speed, p. 651.

deserted them<sup>2</sup>. On November 6, 1429, King Henry was crowned king in England; and in the latter end of 1430, he was crowned king of France at Paris, where he remained for two years: yet, during that space, his affairs rather declined than amended; and after his departure, and the death of his uncle, the wife and brave duke of Bedford, which happened in 1435, they fell into a rapid decay, so that they grew daily worse and worse<sup>3</sup>.

In the succeeding year the duke of York was named regent of France: but, being hated by many of the great men in England, he was so disappointed in the supplies which he should have carried over into that kingdom, that, before his arrival, Paris fell into the hands of the French. The duke of Burgundy also, in the month of July, laid siege to the town of Calais with very great forces, which obliged the Lord Protector to think of relieving it from England: accordingly he raised a potent army, which he embarked on board a fleet of 500 sail, and, landing near Calais, marched directly to fight the enemy. The Flemings, however, raised the siege precipitately, and retired into their own territories, whither the regent pursued them with his army; and, after living in the country at discretion for some time, he returned again into England<sup>b</sup>. Towards the latter end of the year 1437, the earl of Warwick was sent regent into France, in the room of the duke of York, and, which is very remarkable, was shipped and unshipped seven times, before he made his voyage: he dying shortly after, the duke of York was sent again in his place, where, notwithstanding these supplies, the English affairs continually declined; so that in 1445 a peace was concluded, and King Henry was content, on very mean conditions, to marry a French princess, whose name was Margaret, the daughter of the duke of Anjou, much to the displeasure of the nation, and which was attended with the worst consequences imaginable. A lingering war, and an insidious peace, had deprived the English of all their conquests in France, except Calais, and a very few other places; and, though the nation was sensi-

<sup>2</sup> Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 784, 785. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 236, 237. Le Grand, tom. iv. p. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Chron. Godstovian, p. 145. W. Wyrcester. annal. p. 455—457. Cooper's chronicle, p. 258, 259.

<sup>b</sup> P. Æmyle, p. 624, 625. Gaguin, p. 217, 218. Dupleix, tom. ii. p. 810—812. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiii. p. 619, 620.

ble of the mighty expence which attended the keeping them, yet they saw with grief the loss of cities and provinces purchased, and so dearly! with the blood and the treasure also of their ancestors<sup>c</sup>.

The French were not content with this; but, having still in view the reduction of the English power, they meditated, even in a time of peace, a descent upon this kingdom, which they afterwards executed. As this is a matter chiefly respecting the naval history of England, I think myself not only at liberty, but even obliged, to set it in the clearest light. The reigning French king, Charles VII. was without question one of the wisest men, and one of the ablest princes of his age: he saw with terror the English power at sea, and with shame his own incapacity to dispute therewith. In order to remedy this, he made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Christiern I. king of Denmark, by virtue of which that prince was obliged to furnish him, on certain conditions, with at least forty good ships, and between six and seven thousand men, to be employed against England: yet, by another article in this treaty, this, for which alone it was made, was entirely defeated. The French king had engaged, that the then king of Scots should give satisfaction to the Danes, with whom he had long had a difference; and, not being able to bring this to bear, the Danes refused to furnish any auxiliaries. In the mean time the queen of England, like a true French woman, had entered into a secret negotiation with the king of Scots; and, finding that he was like to be too hard pressed by the English, she thought a French invasion might at once serve her purposes, and save her friends. With this view she applied herself to her relations in France, who easily prevailed upon the court to enter into this measure. A fleet accordingly was fitted out in Normandy, and in the month of August 1557, they made a descent on the coast of Kent, and debarked 1800 men about two leagues from Sandwich, to which place they had orders to march by land, while the fleet attacked it by sea. We have a very circumstantial relation of this whole affair in Father Daniel's history, and indeed I think a more distinct account than any I have met with of the like nature in our historians. He owns, however, that the English, notwithstanding

<sup>c</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 59. Stowe, p. 393. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 624. Speed, p. 661.

their

their being surpris'd, defended themselves with incomparable valour, and that, though the town was burnt and pillaged at last, yet it cost a great deal of blood, which might perhaps balance the booty acquired by it. The reflection he makes upon it is a little partial. "Thus," says he, "a prince, whom the English " thirty years before called in contempt king of Bourges, was " now powerful enough to insult them in their own island, and " to menace their country with the same mischiefs which they " had heretofore brought upon France <sup>d</sup>." As if there had been no difference between surprising the town of Sandwich, that was quitted the next day, and the gaining possession of Paris, and keeping it for many years. However, his zeal for his country may well excuse a greater error than this.

The French made also some other attempts upon the coast, and the Scots entered and plundered the borders <sup>e</sup>: but these accidents, far from producing the effects which the queen and her partizans expected, served only to heighten that general disaffection which now began to discover itself, and from whence it was but too visible, that the councils of this French queen would undo the pious, innocent, well-meaning prince her husband. The favourers of the house of York had with infinite pains cultivated an interest with the sea-faring people, and amongst the inhabitants of Ireland. The former they persuaded that all attention to the coasts was neglected, and into the latter they infused the strongest resentment of their present oppressions and apprehensions of final destruction. The famous earl of Warwick, the then great support of the house of York, had procured himself to be made admiral; and to shew his diligence in that office, and his concern for the English honour, caused several squadrons to put to sea, to the officers of which he gave such instructions as he thought proper. One of these squadrons, on Trinity Sunday 1458, fell in with the Spanish fleet, who treating them as enemies, they quickly and warmly returned their hostilities, and after a long and sharp dispute took six of their ships, laden with iron and other merchandize, and either sunk or drove on shore twenty-six more <sup>f</sup>. This exploit many of our histori-

<sup>d</sup> P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 292. Fabian, p. 462. Hall, fol. 88. a. Grafton, p. 630. <sup>e</sup> Duplex, tome ii. Buchanan, lib. xi. Hall, fol. 69. b. <sup>f</sup> Fabian, p. 464. Stowe, p. 404. Speed, p. 668.

ans confound with that which follows, and which was subsequent thereto in point of time. Though we cannot exactly fix its date, yet by a certain circumstance, it unquestionably appears they were distinct enterprizes, the former being performed only by ships of the earl of Warwick, whereas the latter was by him achieved in person<sup>c</sup>.

This great nobleman had, by authority of parliament, been appointed captain of Calais; but the queen having, with much artifice and flattery, drawn him to court, thought to have prevented his going back to his charge, by procuring him to be suddenly murdered. An attempt of this sort was actually made in the palace, from which the earl narrowly escaped, and flying immediately to a little vessel he had in the river, he therein transported himself to Calais, where he had a very strong squadron of stout ships. With fourteen sail of these, he shortly after put to sea, in order to scour the coasts, and to hinder the queen from receiving any succours from France, as also to aid, if occasion should so require, the duke of York and his party. It so fell out, that, sailing through the channel, he met with five very large ships, richly laden: three of these were Genoese, and two Spanish: he attacked them, though they were exceedingly well provided both with men and ammunition, as appeared by their defending themselves two days; at length, however, they were beaten, two escaping by flight, and the other three falling into his hands were carried into Calais, where their cargoes, valued at upwards of ten thousand pounds, were converted into money to the great profit of the inhabitants of that place. In this engagement the earl lost about fifty men, and the enemy near a thousand<sup>d</sup>.

Thenceforward there were scarce any measures kept; the duke of York retiring into Ireland, and many of the principal nobility to Calais, where the earl of Warwick still kept a great fleet, and had besides such an interest in all the sea-faring people of England, that the king found it impossible to make use even of the little naval power that remained, against this formidable lord. The queen, however, sent down the Lord Rivers

<sup>c</sup> Compare the accounts given by Mr. Burchet and Echard with that of Rapis, and with the relation of the succeeding story in Holingthed.

<sup>d</sup> Stowe, p. 404. Holingthed, vol. ii. p. 649. Speed, p. 668.

to Sandwich, with directions to equip as strong a squadron as he possibly could, in order to deprive the earl of Warwick of his government of Calais: but when these ships were almost ready, the earl sent Sir John Dinham, an officer of his, who surprised this squadron in port, and not only carried away all their ships, but also their commander, Richard Lord Rivers, and Anthony Woodville his son, who remained long prisoners at Calais<sup>1</sup>. After this, one Sir Baldwin Fulford undertook to burn the earl's fleet in the haven of Calais, which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterprize. At last, the duke of Exeter being made admiral, and having information that the earl of Warwick was sailed with his fleet into Ireland, stood to sea with the royal navy to intercept him; but when the earl of Warwick's fleet appeared, the sailors on board the king's shewed so much coldness, that it was not judged safe to fight: and the earl of Warwick, on the other hand, being tender of the lives of his countrymen, and unwilling to destroy any of the king's fleet, passed by without molesting them. But he did not afterwards shew the same moderation, when, on an invitation from the Kentish men, he resolved to make a descent in their country: for Sir Simon Mountford, being then warden of the cinqueports, and lying with a very strong squadron at Sandwich, to oppose his landing, he attacked, defeated, and destroyed the greatest part of them; and amongst the rest Sir Simon himself perished<sup>2</sup>. After this, little remarkable happened, in naval affairs, during the remainder of this long, but unfortunate reign, which ended strangely; for, after the duke of York had been defeated and killed in battle, his son Edward, earl of March, by the assistance of the earl of Warwick, made himself master of the city of London, where, by the general consent of the nation, he was acknowledged for their lawful prince, and King Henry deposed, after holding, though very unsteadily, the English crown near thirty-nine years<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fabian, p. 465—467. Hall, fol. 91. Grafton, p. 635, 639. <sup>2</sup> Stowe, p. 407. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 652. Speed, 669. <sup>3</sup> Hall, fol. 101. b. Grafton, p. 656, 657. Cooper's chronicle. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiii.

LET us now proceed, as we did at the close of the last chapter, to some commercial observations on events that happened within this period. Upon the great revolution in the government, made by deposing King Richard, and setting up his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, the parliament desired that the new king would resume whatever had been profusely thrown away, either in the dotage of Edward III. or by King Richard II. in the wantonness of his youth, and this with a view that the king might be the better able to live upon his own, without having recourse continually to impositions upon his subjects. This good as well as reasonable advice, however, had not such an effect as was expected; for Henry IV. received frequent supplies from parliament, and in the eighth year of his reign, such a tax was imposed, as to prevent the knowledge of it, or rather of the manner of raising it from coming to posterity; the house of commons desired, that after the accounts of such as had received it were once examined, they should be destroyed, that what they had been moved to by their zeal for once, might not pass into a precedent for succeeding times. The great exportation of wool, upon which, from time to time, he had considerable subsidies given him, must have made a very large addition to his revenue; and in this respect, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, he very much favoured the Italians, allowing them to export wool, paying no higher a tax than his own subjects.

The coin in his time received no alteration whatever; but in the second year of his reign, he was obliged to prohibit a kind of base coin, which had gained a currency through his dominions, to the great prejudice of his subjects. These were brought from abroad, chiefly on board the Genoese galleys, and were from thence called Galley-halfpence. About two years afterwards, he directed new money to be coined, but precisely after the old standard, in respect as well to fineness as weight.

After all the care and pains used to settle the revenue in the former reign, by which, no doubt, it was much improved, King Henry V. found his income but very limited, even with the assistance of his customs, the revenue of Wales and Cornwall, and the casual profits arising to the crown: for in the third year of his reign, it did not amount to quite fifty-seven thousand pounds *per annum*; and therefore to augment this, up-

on the petition of the commons, he took ten thousand pounds a-year out of the pensions that were then subsisting.

All the vast supplies that he received for carrying on the war with France, were swallowed up in that war: and the absence of the king with the principal nobility, the frequent embargoes upon shipping, and the gradual declension of commerce, brought the nation lower, and made the people poorer than they had been at any time within the remembrance of persons living in that age. He made very few laws relating to trade, which I do not mention at all to his discredit, but only to shew that commerce was then much sunk: for when it was brisk and lively, petitions to parliament were frequent, and these were commonly attended to, and were of course followed with statutes; and when any of these, as it very often happened from very different causes, were found inconvenient, they were by new laws repealed.

This monarch found it necessary, in the ninth year of his reign, to raise the value of silver from two shillings and a penny, to two shillings and sixpence per ounce; but it does not appear that he debased the coin: on the contrary, he prohibited the currency of fuskins and doitkins, which had been brought in by foreigners. This king, after his victory at Agincourt, and peace with France, ordered a silver coin to be struck, with this style or inscription, *Rex Anglia, regens Et heres Francie; i. e.* King of England, regent and heir of France. A gold coin, called a *salus* or salute, of the alloy of sterling, value twenty-two shillings, with the angel saluting the Virgin Mary on one side, the one holding the arms of England, and the other the arms of France, with the king's titles, and *Christus vincit, Christus signat, Christus imperat*, on the reverse. But in the next reign, this silver coin, which was called a blanch, or white money, to distinguish it from the *salus*, or yellow money coined at the same time in France, being found not to be so fine as it ought to have been; that is, not of the alloy of sterling; was also prohibited by order of the parliament in 1423.

The reign of Henry VI. was a continued series of profusion and mismanagement: so that when he had sat upon the throne twenty-eight years, his ordinary revenue was sunk to five thousand pounds *per annum*, and he owed at that time three hundred

dred seventy-two thousand pounds. This occasioned a resumption at the request of the commons, and the same remedy for the same causes was repeated over and over again, but without any great effect. He mortgaged the customs of London and Southampton, to the Cardinal of Winchester, and engaged by an indenture for bettering his security, to turn the trade chiefly to those ports. In the thirty-first year of his reign, he seized all the tin at Southampton, and sold it for his own use; he granted licences for foreign merchants to transport wool, notwithstanding the statutes; he raised the price of silver to three shillings and three halfpence an ounce; but it does not appear that he debased the coin, unless the making of brass money in Ireland can be so called, which he certainly did.

It appears from our records, that while the house of Lancaster possessed the throne, extraordinary favour was shewn to the Hanse-towns, the inhabitants of which had great privileges granted to them here, and were thereby enabled to engross, or, as they styled it, to manage a good part of our trade<sup>m</sup>: the rest was in a manner absorbed by Florentines, and other Italians<sup>n</sup>; which was partly owing to the necessities of Henry V. during his French wars, and partly also to the weak administration under his son, especially in the latter part of his reign, when, through the influence of the queen, the interest of foreigners, a fit interest for an intriguing busy woman to support, was constantly promoted. This occasioned frequent tumults in the city of London, and was one great cause of that strange revolution in favour of the house of York, who, as we before observed, made their court to the people, by shewing a strong aversion to strangers, and by cherishing the seamen, of whom little care had been taken in this last reign. How things instantly changed after King Henry's deposition, and how the English resumed again the sovereignty of the sea, will be shewn in the next chapter, from foreign writers as well as our own.

<sup>m</sup> Molloy de jure maritimo, p. 341.

<sup>n</sup> Fabian, p. 459. Hall, fol. 87. b. Grafton, Stowe, and the rest of our old historians; who discourse very copiously on this subject.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. VII.

The Naval History of England, during the reigns of Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard III. of the house of York.

Containing the space of about 25 years.

**E**DWARD IV. son to Richard duke of York, and by his grandmother heir to Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward III. and consequently prior in title to the line of Lancaster, whose ancestor was John of Gaunt, fourth son to the same King Edward; assumed the crown on March 4, 1460-61, being then about twenty years of age\*. He was compelled to fight for his crown, before he had well put it on: and though in the battle of Towton, which was fought on Palm-Sunday after his accession, he totally defeated King Henry, who was constrained to fly into Scotland;

\* W. Wyrcester, annal. p. 489. Hall, fol. 101. b. See the claim of Richard duke of York, in his speech to the House of Lords, in Hall, fol. 95. Grafton, p. 658.

yet his queen, passing over into France, procured their assistance, under the command of the famous Peter de Brese, who in the former reign had taken Sandwich: but, through the affection which all the inhabitants of the sea-coast bore to the house of York, she was disappointed in her purpose, and forced, after entering Tinnmouth bay, to put again to sea, and retire that way into Scotland <sup>b</sup>. About this time the earl of Kent, who was abroad with a stout navy, scoured all the coast; and, landing in Bretagne with ten thousand men, took and burnt the town of Conquet, ravaged the island of Rhe, and carried off a great booty <sup>c</sup>.

This early care of the sea, shews the temper and genius of this prince, and how fit he was to sway the English sceptre: yet he treated his predecessor Henry but indifferently; causing him to be brought prisoner to the Tower, and there kept very strictly, though he was of a blameless life, and generally revered as a kind of saint by the people <sup>d</sup>. The defection of the earl of Warwick, whose power had greatly contributed to gain him the crown, was very near taking it from Edward again; yet whence that defection grew is not easily known. I must confess this is not properly my business; but inasmuch as the great power of this earl of Warwick sprung from his being admiral and captain of Calais; it may not be amiss to remark the errors that are crept into almost all our histories concerning him; the rather because the matter is new, and not only affects our own, but some also of the most accurate among foreign historians.

The story we are told is, that the earl of Warwick was sent into France to treat of a marriage between King Edward and the Lady Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France; and that while he was absent on this embassy, the king married the Lady Grey, daughter to the Lord Rivers by Jaqueline, duchess of Bedford <sup>e</sup>. But Mr. Hearne has published some memoirs of this reign, written by a person who not only lived therein, but

<sup>b</sup> Fabian, p. 473, 493. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 666. Speed, p. 676.

<sup>c</sup> Grafton, p. 659. Stowe, p. 416. Rapin questions this fact, because not taken notice of by the French historians; which seems no just exception, while Bretagne was subject to its own duke.

<sup>d</sup> Stowe, and all our abbey chronicles.

<sup>e</sup> Polyd. Virgil. lib. xxiv.

was also well acquainted with the king, and the principal persons in his court <sup>f</sup>. He vouches the thing to be quite otherwise; and that this story was devised in after times to hide the truth. According to him the earl of Warwick had not been in France before the king's marriage, which was on the first of May 1463; but four years afterwards, viz. in 1467, he was sent to treat with King Lewis, with whom he began to hold privately some intelligence for the restoring King Henry, to whose party the French had always been inclined <sup>g</sup>. Indeed this seems to be the truth, and accords much better with facts and dates than the other story; since it is not easy to conceive, how a man of the earl of Warwick's violent temper, should dissemble his resentment so many years together <sup>h</sup>.

The true cause, therefore, of his quitting the king, was his immeasurable ambition, and the apprehensions he was under, that the new queen's kindred would supplant him and his friends; and this notwithstanding the great offices of which he was possessed, and which, as my author says, brought him twenty thousand marks *per annum* <sup>i</sup>. The means he used to distress the king was, drawing off his brother the duke of Clarence, whom he married to his own daughter, and then retired with him to Calais. On this occasion, the fleet stuck to the earl against the king, having been long under his command. This circumstance enabled him to return speedily into England, where he and his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, soon raised a powerful army, and marching to Warwick surprised the king's forces, beat them and took him prisoner <sup>k</sup>.

Edward, however, escaped shortly after, and drove the earl and duke to such distresses, that they were forced to join their party to that of the deposed King Henry; and even this helped them very little: for, after several disputes, in which the king had the better, the duke retired into France, and the earl went on board his fleet, with which he sailed to Calais; and being there refused entrance, put into several harbours in Normandy, where he met with all the favour and assistance he could desire,

<sup>f</sup> Printed at the end of Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, 8vo. Oxford, 1729.

<sup>g</sup> Anonymous chronicle, just mentioned, p. 297—299.    <sup>h</sup> 1497.    <sup>i</sup> Ibid.

p. 300.

<sup>k</sup> Memoires de Philip de Comines, liv. iii. chap. iv. P. Dancic, tom. vi. p. 414. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiv. Stowe, p. 422.

from

from the French king<sup>1</sup>. While an army was providing to be, by the earl of Warwick, transported into England, part of his fleet cruized upon the Flemings, and took many of their ships, because the Duke of Burgundy, their sovereign, sided with King Edward, whose sister he had married. The duke, to revenge this ill usage, drew together a great fleet; and therewith sailing to the mouth of the Seine, blocked up the earl of Warwick's ships in their harbour. Towards the beginning of the month of September 1471, the French king furnished the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, and Queen Margaret, all now of one party, with great succours, not only of men, but of ships, which enabled them to force their passage: so that, landing on the thirteenth of September, some at Plymouth, others at Dartmouth, they quickly drew together so great a strength, and withal brought so many of the king's court to desert him, that Edward, fearing his person might be betrayed, fled with such of his friends as he could best trust, to Lynn in Norfolk; and in getting thither ran very great hazards<sup>m</sup>. There, on the third of October, he embarked on board an English ship, and his friends on board two Dutch hulks, intending to have passed over into Flanders; but some ships, belonging to the Hanse-towns, attacked him; nor was it without great difficulty that his small squadron got clear, and at last landed him safe in Zealand. His queen, whom he left big with child, and in the utmost distress, took shelter in the sanctuary at Westminster, where she brought forth her eldest son, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V<sup>n</sup>.

As soon as the king's flight was known, Henry VI. was released from his imprisonment, and again seated on the throne; Edward proclaimed an usurper, and many of his favourites put to death as traitors; his own brother, the duke of Clarence, concurring in all these measures; for which the crown was entailed upon him and his heirs, in case the male-line of King Henry should fail<sup>o</sup>. Edward, however, still kept up his spirits,

<sup>1</sup> Philip de Comines, liv. iii. chap. v. Dupleix, tom. iii. p. 62, 63. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 314. Holingshed, vol. ii. pl. 674. <sup>m</sup> Fabian, p. 500. Hall, fol. 17—19. Speed, p. 681. Philip de Comines, tom. i. p. 154. <sup>n</sup> Grafton, p. 688, 690. Stowe, p. 422. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 267. <sup>o</sup> Fabian, p. 502. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 677. Speed, p. 681.

and though he found himself disappointed in the only friend to whom he trusted, his brother-in-law, Charles duke of Burgundy, who durst not provoke both England and France by openly assisting him; yet he resolved to venture, with the small train he had about him, and in a few ships which were lent him, to return into his own country<sup>p</sup>. This was certainly acting like an English king; who ought rather to die in the field asserting his right, than disgrace himself and his subjects, by living long as an exile in foreign parts.

His whole force consisted but in four ships of war, and fourteen transports, on board of which were embarked about two thousand men<sup>q</sup>. He intended to have landed in Norfolk, but a storm prevented him, and obliged him, after some days toasting at sea, to run with a small squadron into the port of Ravenspur in Yorkshire, from whence he marched directly towards York, declaring, at this time, as the first monarch of the Lancastrian line had done in the like case, that he sought no more than his inheritance as duke of York, and that he was content King Henry should wear the crown: but, as soon as he found himself at the head of a considerable army, he laid aside this pretence, resumed his royal title, and in the famous battle of Barnet<sup>r</sup>, defeated and killed the potent and ambitious earl of Warwick, who from his success acquired the surname of Make King<sup>s</sup>. Shortly after he defeated Queen Margaret, and her son the prince of Wales, at Tewksbury<sup>t</sup>, where the latter lost his life<sup>u</sup>.

In the mean time the fleet was still in very bad hands. The Bastard Fauconbridge, who commanded under the earl of Warwick, held it in the name of King Henry, but in reality to his own use. His first project was, the taking and plundering of the city of London in the king's absence; in order to which, he brought his ships into the mouth of the river Thames, and landed himself with seventeen thousand men, with whom he

<sup>p</sup> Philip de Comines, tom. i. p. 163. P. Æmyle, p. 666. Habington's hist. of Edw. IV. in Kennet, vol. i. p. 447.

<sup>q</sup> Hall, fol. 24. b. Stowe,

p. 412. Gaguin, lib. x. p. 260, 261.

<sup>r</sup> April 14, 1471.

<sup>s</sup> Fabian,

p. 503, 504. Hall, fol. 28, 29. Grafton, p. 703—705. Polydor. Virgil hist. lib. xxiv.

<sup>t</sup> May 4, 1471.

<sup>u</sup> Stowe, p. 424. Halinghed,

vol. ii. p. 668. Speed, p. 654. Habington, p. 453.

boldly attacked the place, and was as gallantly received; the citizens defending themselves with such resolution, that he was forced to retreat with great loss <sup>w</sup>. Soon after he gave up the fleet, and submitted himself to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral; which, honour, however, he did not long enjoy; for entering into some new intrigues, he was detected, and lost very deservedly his head <sup>z</sup>.

King Edward had no sooner settled affairs at home, and restored the peace and naval power of England, than he thought of revenging himself on the French for the trouble they had given him; for which a fair occasion offered, by the breaking out of a war between Lewis XI. and Charles duke of Burgundy <sup>y</sup>. To the assistance of the latter he passed over with a mighty army, attended by a fleet of five hundred sail, with which, in the month of July 1475, he entered the road of Calais, where he debarked his forces. This sufficiently shews the great maritime strength of England in these times; when the king, after such an unsettled state, and so many revolutions as had lately happened, was able in a year's space to undertake such an expedition as this, and that too with so great a force <sup>z</sup>.

When he came to take the field, however, he did not find that assistance from his allies which he expected; and therefore, though at the beginning, he pretended to no less than the entire conquest of France, yet, on King Lewis's desiring to treat of peace, he was content to enter into a negotiation, which ended much to his satisfaction; and, all things considered, to the honour of the English nation; for the French king gave very large sums by way of present to the English soldiers; and discovered, by various other acts, such a terror at the English name, as might serve instead of many victories <sup>a</sup>. This peace is generally styled the peace of Amiens, from the place where it was treated; and the curious reader may find it at large in Rymer's collection <sup>b</sup>,

<sup>w</sup> This man's name was Thomas Nevil, son to Lord Fauconbridge, created by this King Edward IV. earl of Kent. Hall, fol. 33. Speed, p. 685. <sup>x</sup> Stowe, p. 424. <sup>y</sup> Philip de Comines, liv. iv. chap. v. P. Æmyle, p. 669. Gauguin, lib. x. p. 267.

<sup>z</sup> Fabian, p. 508. Grafton, p. 719. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 267. b. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiv. <sup>a</sup> Dupleix, tom. iii. p. 87. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 327. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 461—463. <sup>b</sup> Foerdera, tom. xii. p. 17.

as well as some remarkable circumstances relating thereto, in Philip de Comines, and in the most authentic of the French writers<sup>c</sup>.

In consequence of this treaty, the king received an annual pension from France, of fifty thousand crowns, which he looked upon, not without reason, as a kind of tribute, and applied a great part of it to the repair of his navy, for which he always shewed a great concern; and by keeping squadrons continually at sea, held the timorous Lewis XI. king of France, in continual terrors; who, to secure his own quiet, distributed annually vast sums amongst the privy council of England<sup>d</sup>. A war with Scotland gave the king an opportunity of displaying his force, by sending a great army, under the command of his brother the duke of Gloucester<sup>e</sup>, into that country, and a powerful fleet upon its coasts, which so terrified the Scots, that they obliged their prince to accept of such proposals as were made to him<sup>f</sup>. After the coming back again of the duke of Gloucester, the king's affairs began to take a less fortunate turn. He had created great troubles at home, by removing his brother, the duke of Clarence, not without strong suspicions of injustice<sup>g</sup>. He had crossed the humour of the nation, in refusing succour to the Flemings, who were the natural allies of the English, and from whom they annually gained large sums by the balance of trade. Add to all this, that it became every day more and more apparent, that the French king never intended to perform the most essential points of the last peace, particularly that relating to the marriage of the Dauphin with the princess Elizabeth, which perplexed the king exceedingly, and at last determined him to break with this perfidious monarch.

In this war he resolved to rely chiefly on his own strength at sea, and not at all on the promises of his allies, by whom himself and his predecessors had been so often deceived, and of which he had a recent example in the conduct of the Emperor

<sup>c</sup> Philip de Comines, liv. iv. Gaguin, lib. x. Mescray, tom. iii. p. 327, 328.

<sup>d</sup> Fabian, p. 509. Hall, fol. 46, 47. Grafton, Holingshed.

<sup>e</sup> A. D. 1432.

<sup>f</sup> Stowe, p. 432. Speed, p. 689. Lessiz de rebus

gestis Scotorum, lib. viii. p. 321, 322. Buchanan, lib. xii. p. 399, 400. <sup>g</sup> Hall, fol. 50. b. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 703. Habington, p. 475.

Maximilian,

Maximilian, who, notwithstanding the king had lately sent a squadron of stout ships under Sir John Middleton to his assistance, had not only made a peace, but entered into a close union with France, which highly provoked the king<sup>a</sup>. The pains King Edward took in disposing all things for a French war, and especially in drawing together a numerous fleet, was so highly agreeable to his people, that they seemed heartily inclined to bear the expence which such an expedition must have brought upon them. The care, however, of so important an enterprize, joined to his unusual fatigue in providing every thing for undertaking it, threw that monarch into a sudden illness, when his fleet and army were almost ready, which brought him unexpectedly to his end on the ninth of April 1483, after he had reigned somewhat more than twenty-two, and had lived very little above forty-one years<sup>b</sup>. The French writers will have it, that he died of chagrin at the dauphin's marriage, because, from the treaty of Amiens, he had always styled his eldest daughter Elisabeth, dauphiness<sup>c</sup>: but Mezeray, very honestly owns, that his death was a great deliverance to France, and freed her from the terror of beholding once again an English army, under a victorious king, at the gates of Paris<sup>d</sup>.

He was, though too much addicted to his pleasures, a very wise, as well as a very fortunate prince; had true notions of naval power, and of the consequences of an extensive commerce. The former he maintained throughout his whole reign, and the latter he encouraged, as much as his domestic troubles gave him leave to do. He made several treaties with foreign powers, Denmark, Burgundy, the Hanse-towns, very serviceable to the merchants, and one with Henry king of Castile, A. D. 1466, and another in A. D. 1467, which proved very beneficial to his people. He reformed many abuses that had crept in during the civil wars. He prevailed on the several companies to be at the expence of rebuilding London-wall; and the emulation of finish-

<sup>a</sup> Grafton, p. 743. Stowe, p. 431. Speed, p. 689. *Corps diplomatique du droit des gens*, tom. iii. p. xi. p. 100. Rapin, vol. i. p. 625. <sup>i</sup> Hall, fol. 89—91. Grafton, p. 755. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 268. b. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxiv. <sup>b</sup> Duplex; tom. iii. p. 130. P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 551. 552. Le Gendre, tom. iv. p. 106, 107. <sup>c</sup> *Abrégé de l'histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 346. <sup>d</sup>

ing the parts assigned them, in the speediest and strongest manner, caused the whole to be very quickly finished. At this time Bishopsgate was sumptuously rebuilt by the Esterlings. Indeed his principal maxim was maintaining a good correspondence with the city of London, to which he constantly adhered, and of which he found the good effects in his adversity, as well as prosperity, as is well observed by Philip de Comines<sup>m</sup>, who attributes to this his restoration, after the potent earl of Warwick had driven him out of his dominions; and one of the last acts of his life was an extraordinary compliment to that city, of which we have a long account in our old chronicles<sup>n</sup>. In one thing he was singularly happy, that he died in full possession of the hearts and affections of his subjects.

EDWARD V. succeeded, or rather seemed to succeed, his father; for he never had any thing more than the shadow of royalty; and even this did not continue above the space of ten weeks, through the ambition of his uncle Richard duke of Gloucester. My subject does not lead me to say much of this matter, which, I must own, appears to me one of the darkest parts of our history; for though I am far from thinking that Buck in his panegyric, rather than history of King Richard, hath written all things according to truth, yet I must own, that I do not believe he errs more on one hand, than Sir Thomas Moore, in his history of Edward V. on the other: which history, however, has been the ground-work of all succeeding stories.

Thus much of certainty, undoubtedly, there is, that, immediately after the death of Edward IV. Richard duke of Gloucester assumed the office of protector, and caused the young prince to be proclaimed; after which, on various pretences, he cut off several great persons, who were the principal friends of his deceased brother's queen; and, having thus paved the way for his own promotion, he next infused into the people's minds a bad opinion of the late monarch's administration, and some doubts as to the legitimacy of his children, which, by the help of the duke of Buckingham's management of the lord-mayor and citizens of London, was improved into a popular demand, that the young

<sup>m</sup> *Memoires*, tom. i. lib. iii. chap. 7.  
<sup>n</sup> p. 757. *Holingshead*, vol. ii. p. 705.

<sup>n</sup> *Fabian*, p. 512. *Grafton*,

prince should be laid aside, and Richard, instead of protector, declared king; which at first he refused, but was quickly prevailed upon to change his mind, and accept \*.

RICHARD III. was proclaimed the twenty-second of June 1483, and crowned upon the sixth of July following, together with Anne his queen, and his title effectually confirmed by a parliament called in January following<sup>p</sup>. This act is perhaps the best drawn piece, considering the design it was to cover, that is extant in any language; and many of our modern historians might have avoided the gross mistakes into which they have fallen about this prince, if they had carefully considered it. But Sir Thomas Moore's rhetoric had so much warmed them, that, generally speaking, they confound the duke of Clarence's treason with the duke of Gloucester's pretensions, which, though they might be as bad, yet certainly they were not the same<sup>q</sup>. Clarence, in framing his title to the crown, was obliged to set aside that of his elder brother King Edward, which put him upon alledging, that the king was not in reality the son of Richard duke of York<sup>r</sup>: but as Richard duke of Gloucester was under no necessity of doing this, so he was much too wise a man to attack his mother's honour without cause.

We find, therefore, nothing of this in the before-mentioned act of parliament, but a title of quite another kind. The right of King Edward is clearly acknowledged, but his marriage with Queen Elisabeth is declared to be null, not, as Sir Thomas Moore says, because of the king's marriage before God to Lady Elisabeth Lucy, a matter which had been long before cleared up, but, in respect to a pre-contract, or rather marriage, between the king and Lady Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury, which was proved by a bishop<sup>s</sup>, in consequence of which all his posterity were illegitimate. Then again, as to the

\* Stowe, Holingshed, Speed. Sir Thomas Moore is transcribed in these three histories; and as for Buck's laboured apology, it is to be met with in the first volume of the complete history of England by Bishop Kennet.

<sup>p</sup> Fabian, p. 516. Hall, fol. 1. Cotton's abridgment of the records, p. 709. <sup>q</sup> Compare Buck's history with the rest, and consider the authorities produced on both sides.

<sup>r</sup> See the grounds of the duke of Clarence's attainder in Stowe, p. 430. <sup>s</sup> Philippe de Comines, liv. vi. chap. 9. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 546.

posterity of the duke of Clarence, which were still in Richard's way, they were set aside on account of their father's attainder, which could not have been alledged, if Richard had questioned King Edward's right. The case then, in few words, stood thus: the crown of England had been entailed by parliament on the posterity of the duke of York in the reign of King Henry VI.: this duke left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard: Edward, by virtue of that entail, claimed and enjoyed the crown, but (as this act says) left no lawful issue; George, in the lifetime of his brother Edward, had been attainted of treason, by which his family became incapable of succeeding; and therefore Richard, duke of Gloucester, was called to the throne, as the next heir in the parliamentary entail<sup>1</sup>.

An indifferent title he had at best; but this did not hinder his making a good king, I mean in a political sense; for he made wise laws, governed the people gently, and took all imaginable care to promote trade, and to preserve the superiority of the sea. In all probability, these were the effects of his refined policy for the strengthening of himself and his family; but be that as it will, the nation was undoubtedly the better for it: yet all his wisdom did not preserve him, because he suffered himself to be deceived by appearances, and to quit the prudent care which, at the beginning of his reign, he had taken for the guard of the English coasts at that very juncture when it became most necessary: and as this is a point of great consequence to the subject I am upon, it will be necessary to enter into a distinct detail of the earl of Richmond's expedition, which, as it is taken from foreign historians, will, I hope, prove both agreeable and instructive to the reader.

We have already shewn, how the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster began by Henry IV.'s assuming the crown on the deposition of King Richard II. Henry, earl of Richmond, was by his mother's side, held a descendant of the house of Lancaster, and had been, in the battle of Tewksbury, with Queen Margaret and prince Edward: after that signal defeat he retired into Bretagne, where he was well received by Francis II. then duke thereof, and protected throughout the reign of Edward IV.

<sup>1</sup> See this act at large in Speed, p. 711.

notwithstanding all the intrigues of that crafty prince to get him into his hands <sup>u</sup>. Richard III. sent his agents to the duke, promising vast sums, if he would deliver up Earl Henry; but to no purpose; which arose from this secret reason: there were great factions at that time in Bretagne, the duke being entirely governed by his minister, a man of low birth, though of strong parts, and high spirit, whose name was Peter Landois; which induced the nobility to confederate themselves against him. This statesman, having good intelligence in England, knew perfectly the scheme that was set on foot for placing Earl Henry on the throne, and uniting the two houses of York and Lancaster by marrying the said earl to the Princess Elisabeth, eldest daughter to Edward IV. He likewise knew, that the duke of Buckingham, and some other very great persons, were engaged in that design, which he resolved, therefore, to promote, not doubting but that, when Henry should be once seated on the English throne, he would speedily enable the duke his master to quell his rebellious barons.

As soon, therefore, as he was informed that the duke of Buckingham's designs were ripe for execution, he furnished the earl of Richmond with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board which were embarked about 5000 men <sup>v</sup>; but King Richard, having early intelligence of the duke of Buckingham's project, and of his negotiations with the earl of Richmond, took effectual care to disappoint both. The duke's forces he defeated by surprize, made himself master of his person, and beheaded him <sup>x</sup>. As to the earl's landing, he prevented that likewise by keeping a strong squadron at sea, and guards on all the coasts; so that when the earl with his little fleet approached the Welch shore, he saw it was impracticable to land, and therefore bore away to Dieppe, where he safely arrived; and from thence went by land into Bretagne <sup>y</sup>. Thus we see of what consequence such precautions are in times of danger, and how very possible it is for an English

<sup>u</sup> Hall, fol. 33. b. Grafton, p. 712, 713, 737. Philippe de Comines, liv. vi. chap. 9. Argentre, liv. xii.

<sup>v</sup> Hall, fol. 16. b. Speed, p. 720. Argentre, histoire de Bretagne, liv. xii. Dupleix, tom. iii. p. 148.

<sup>x</sup> Grafton, p. 824—826. Stowe, p. 465. Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxv.

<sup>y</sup> Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 745. Argentre, ubi supra. Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 357. P. Daniel, tom. vi. p. 601.

prince to hinder invaders from setting foot in his dominions : but if his measures, on this occasion, demonstrated the wisdom of King Richard, his subsequent behaviour was of a quite different kind ; for immediately upon the earl's retreat he dismissed his forces, laid up and unrigged his fleet, as if, after escaping so great a danger, he meant to invite a greater ; at least so it proved, and might have been easily foreseen. But let us now return to the earl of Richmond.

He found things on his coming back much altered in the court of Bretagne ; for events will ever change the measures of those who suffer their councils to be governed by expectations of profit, rather than regard to principle. Peter Landois, who had been his warmest friend, was now become his bitterest enemy ; for perceiving that the earl's designs were frustrated, the Duke of Buckingham dead, the countess of Richmond confined, and England quietly submitting to Richard, he suddenly changed his politics ; and since he could not reduce the confederate lords by the help of an English king of his own making, he resolved to have recourse to an English king then reigning, and therefore entered into a treaty with Richard, for putting the earl of Richmond into his hands<sup>2</sup>. But doctor Richard Morton, bishop of Ely, a firm friend to the house of Lancaster, then in exile in Flanders, having discovered this design, gave timely notice of it to the earl of Richmond, advising him to fly immediately into France, which he did, and yet very narrowly escaped, a troop of horse, sent to retake him, missing him but an hour.

He was well received by the French king, Charles VIII. who promised him his protection and assistance : nor had he been long at this court, before the earl of Oxford, who was a prisoner at Calais, prevailed upon the governor of that strong place to embrace his interest, and to go with him into France in order to concert measures for a new invasion of England<sup>3</sup>. Some of the French historians say positively, that King Charles furnished Henry of Richmond with four thousand men : Father Daniel says, they were choice

<sup>2</sup> Hall, fol. 21, 22. Grafton, p. 834. Rapin, vol. i. p. 643. Argentre, liv. xii. <sup>3</sup> Stowe, p. 467. Speed, p. 721. P. Æmyle, p. 682. Gagnin. Chalon *histoire de France*, tome ii. p. 220.

troops<sup>b</sup>; but our English writers speak of no more than two thousand; nay, and insist, that these were hired with money, which the earl borrowed<sup>c</sup>. However it was, with this insignificant force, embarked on board a very scurvy fleet, the earl ventured to put to sea, on the first of August 1485, from the port of Havre de Grace, and landed at Milford-haven on the 8th of the same month. He was quickly joined by great bodies of the Welch, and passing the Severn at Shrewsbury, met with many of his English friends, and then marched directly into Leicestershire, where he knew King Richard lay with his army<sup>d</sup>. Upon this followed a decisive battle, fought near the town of Bosworth, on the twenty-second of August, wherein King Richard, fighting gallantly, was slain with his sword in his hand, after a short reign of two years and two months, wherein he shewed himself a better king than most of our historians are willing to represent him. An exemplary instance of this was, his suffering his nephew Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son and heir to his brother, George duke of Clarence, to live quietly and freely in Yorkshire, though one of the first acts of his successor was, to shut up this unhappy youth in the Tower, where he was afterwards beheaded, for no greater crime than desiring freedom.

In the reign of these monarchs of the house of York, there were no grievous taxes drawn from the subject: when Edward IV. wanted money, he had recourse to an expedient, which, whatever it might be in law, was certainly not amiss in politics, of sending for persons in easy circumstances, and having opened to them his occasions for money, and his reasons for supposing they could supply him, desired they would give what they pleased; by which he raised money without aid of parliament, by a new kind of prerogative; styling such a voluntary contribution *BENEVOLENCE*. As he was a debonair prince, this method, odd as it was, brought him in very considerable supplies. Amongst others that in this manner he once summoned, was a

<sup>b</sup> Philip de Comines, indeed, very modestly acknowledges this aid to have consisted but in three thousand Normans, and those the very refuse of the people, liv. vi. chap. ix. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 602. <sup>c</sup> Hall, fol. 27. a. Stowe, p. 468. Speed, p. 722. <sup>d</sup> Fabian, fol. 519. Grafton, p. 849, 850. Holinghed, vol. ii. p. 759.

gentlewoman of London, esteemed rich in those times, to whom having stated his case in a free and familiar manner, he asked her what she would give him? "My liege," answered she, "for the sake of that sweet and comely face, you shall have twenty pounds." The king being extremely well pleased with this testimony of her good-will, gave her a kiss; which royal favour procured him another twenty pounds. He is likewise said to have made use of the personal affections of his subjects, in borrowing considerable sums; which, however, was attended with no small dislike, and was therefore laid aside by one of his successors.

We are told by Stowe, in his chronicle, that this monarch sought some private advantage in the alterations which he directed to be made in the coin; but it is very justly observed by Bishop Nicholson, that this imputation upon his government is ill founded. It is indeed very certain, that this king directed, that all the bullion received for staple commodities at Calais should be coined in the mint there: but then, as appears by the indentures, it was of the same weight and fineness with his predecessors. Another great antiquary, I mean Sir Robert Cotton, says much in praise of King Edward, for restoring the state of our coin, which had been greatly injured in the preceding reign; and, for saying this, he is censured by Bishop Fleetwood, who shews, that the money coined by Edward IV. was not either better or worse than that of Henry VI. But, notwithstanding this is certainly very true, yet the former observation might be true likewise.

We have seen, that in the reign of King Henry, there was great indulgence shewn to strangers, and more especially to Italians; and we have likewise seen, that it was by these people that great sums of base money were brought into and circulated through the kingdom: and as there is no doubt that this was publicly prohibited, and effectually restrained by Edward IV. so we may very reasonably conclude, that for this, and for the coining great sums, as well in silver as in gold, of due weight and fineness, by which the occasion and necessity of using these adulterated coins was taken away, he afforded just ground for Sir Robert Cotton's remark. In his reign, the Lord Hastings was appointed master of the king's mints in England, Ireland, and France; and he coined largely in the several mints of all the three kingdoms. Sir John Davis assures us, that it was

Edward

Edward IV. who first introduced a difference between the English and the Irish coin, so that the former was worth a fourth part more than the latter. Upon whatever motives he did this, and whether the doing it was laudable, or otherwise, we dare not decide; but, however, there is no doubt at all, that the custom was pursued by his successors; so that in succeeding times an Irish shilling was worth no more than ninepence in England, and the same proportion held in all their other coins.

In the short reign of King Richard III. there was but one parliament called, and but one tax granted, which was a tenth upon the clergy. At the same time the king, of his own accord, gave life, as one of our antiquaries expresses it, to another law, by which the subject was for ever freed from **BENEVOLENCES**, which is said to have flowed from an evil intention in that prince, to captivate the minds of the people, by this extraordinary shew of self-denial. It is very possible it might be so, but perhaps it would be very difficult to find any evidence to prove it. It is a dangerous thing to put bad constructions upon such actions as are visibly good, either in kings or in private men. If this monarch was really guilty of one half of the crimes with which some of our historians have been pleased to charge him, there was no need of misrepresenting what had the appearance of right in his conduct, in order to render him a monster. All that I incline to add farther upon this subject is, that such as are determined to believe the worst of him must be contented with what is said in our chronicles, public histories, and memoirs: for as to the statute-books and records, they bear no testimonies of his being either an oppressor or a tyrant; yet I readily allow, what vindicates his public, cannot be extended to justify his private character, because both history and experience sufficiently teach us, that a very bad man may be a very good king; but then it is necessary that he should reign long, in order to be so esteemed.

As to the history of our trade during this period, it is better preserved than in any other, because, perhaps, it now began to grow more considerable. A great variety of laws we have relating thereto, and a long charter preserved in Hakluyt, whereby King Edward IV. grants large privileges to the English merchants settled in the Netherlands. Some of our historians, it is true, blame that prince for suffering certain sheep, out of Herefordshire,

fordshire, to be transported into Spain; whence they would have us believe, arose that plenty of fine wool, for which that country hath been since renowned. But this perhaps is in some degree vanity in us, since nothing is more certain than that the Spanish wool was, long before, in some request; so that, in the thirty-first year of Henry II. the weavers of London had it granted to them, upon their petition, that wherever they could discover cloth entirely fabricated of Spanish wool, or even with a mixture of Spanish wool, they were authorised to carry it before the Mayor of London, who was to cause it to be burnt<sup>e</sup>. At this time, however, the prevailing notion was here, that without our wool the best cloths could not be made; and indeed, if there had been no excellence in their fleece, a few of our sheep had been no fit present for one king to make, or the other to receive.

The history I mention is contained in a little treatise, preserved in Hakluyt<sup>f</sup>, intitled, *De politia conservativa maris*, written in verse, and, as it seems from his preface, never before printed, though written copies were pretty common. We know not by whom, or exactly when, it was composed, and yet we may come pretty near the time, for it is said, in the close, to have been examined and approved by the wise baron of Hungerford; which nobleman lost his head at Salisbury, in 1466, being the sixth of Edward IV<sup>g</sup>: consequently this book must have been written some time before, probably about the beginning of that king's reign. There is a particular title to every chapter; that to the general introduction runs thus:

"Here beginneth the prologue of the proceſſe of the libel of  
 "ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting all ENGLAND to keep the  
 "SEA, and namely the NARROWE SEA: shewing what profite  
 "commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to  
 "ENGLAND, and to all ENGLISHMEN."

In this introduction the author shews both the utility and the necessity of England's preserving the dominion of the sea; and tells us, that the Emperor Sigismund, who came over hither in 1416, and went into France with Henry V. advised him to keep the two towns of Dover and Calais, as carefully as he would

<sup>e</sup> Hall's chronicle in the reign of Edward IV. fol. vii. a. edit. 1550. Grafton, p. 608.      <sup>f</sup> Collection of voyages, vol. i. p. 187.      <sup>g</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 419.

his two eyes. The author next explains to us the device on our nobles, a gold coin first struck in 18th of Edward III. introducing his remarks thus :

“ For foure things our NOBLE sheweth unto me,  
 “ King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea.”

In his first chapter this writer gives us a very clear and exact account of the commodities of Spain and Flanders, and of the commerce between those countries; wherein he remarks, that neither country could live without the other; that the Spanish wool cannot be wrought by the Flemings, without a mixture of English; and, besides this, that, from their situations, the trade between these two countries must be altogether precarious, if both were not at peace with England. This is the author's main point, and he urges it very sensibly. The Low Countries were then, what the United Provinces were in the last century, viz. the centre of the commerce of Europe: and therefore while Calais, as well as Dover, was in our hands, that commerce could not be carried on but by our permission, which was expressed by King Edward's gold noble.

The second chapter treats of the commodities and trade of Portugal; wherein he observes, that the inhabitants of Portugal were always our friends, and that a very advantageous trade had ever subsisted between the two nations, the stream of which, he complains, began now to be turned into Flanders. He speaks of the commerce, and of the piracies carried on by the inhabitants of the duchy of Bretagne; and exclaims grievously at the outrages they were wont to commit on the English coasts, particularly on the maritime towns of Norfolk, and then tells us a remarkable story of what happened in the time of Edward III. The merchants, he says, represented to that prince, that notwithstanding the peace between him and the duke of Bretagne, the privateers of that duchy took their vessels; of which the king, by his ambassadors, complained to the duke, who, in answer, said, that these privateers belonged to the ports of St. Michael and St. Malo, which, though in his dominions, he could not say were under his obedience, being inhabited by a sort of people who would do what they pleased: upon which the king directed Dartmouth, Plymouth and Fowey,

to be fortified, and gave the inhabitants leave to fit out privateers, to cruize upon the coasts of Bretagne. This expedient soon answered his purpose, by bringing the subjects of the duke into such distress, that he was glad to undertake for the future good behaviour of his two lawless towns, that he might be rid of the troublesome visitants which daily distressed his coasts from our three.

The commodities of Scotland, hides, felts and wool, and her commerce with Flanders, make the subject of the fourth chapter. He shews that the Scots wool was then in the same, that is, in as low esteem as the Spanish, and unfit to be wrought without a mixture of English; for the truth of which he appeals to the knowledge and experience of our manufacturers and merchants; adding, they well knew in what school he was taught these secrets. He further observes, that household-stuff, haberdasher's wares, and all utensils of husbandry, even to cart-wheels and wheel-barrows, were by the Scots ships carried home, in return for their staple commodities: from whence he infers, that England, being possessed of the narrow seas, and a superior naval force, may at all times awe Spain and Scotland; by the interruption of that commerce, without which they could not subsist.

In the fifth he treats of the trade of Prussia, Germany, and the Hanse-towns, and of the inland countries depending upon them. The commodities and trade of Genoa employ the sixth; whence it appears, that at this time they carried on the trade of Africa, and the Indies; that is to say, imported Indian and African commodities here; and, in return, exported wool and woollen commodities, and all this in certain very large ships, in those days called carracks. The trade of Venice and Florence follows next, to which the author seems no great friend, as supposing that the balance thereon was greatly in their favour, and that the things bought of them were mere instruments of luxury. Much pains is taken in this chapter to shew the advantages that foreigners had in trade over English natives, and what frauds were committed by the Italian bankers, and by the factors of that nation employed here.

The trade of Flanders takes up the eighth chapter: wherein great complaints are made of the insolence of ships belonging

to the Hanse-towns, and of the folly of English merchants lending their names to cover foreigners goods imported hither. In the ninth we see a copious and exact account of the commodities and commerce of Ireland, except that the author speaks confidently of gold and silver being found there, which time hath not verified. Towards the conclusion there is a project of the then earl of Ormond, suggesting, that if one year's expence in the maintenance of French wars were employed in the reduction of Ireland, it would answer the purpose effectually, and produce a very considerable profit annually to the English nation. Yet this, as the writer complains, was slighted, from views of private profit, to the great detriment of the public.

The old trade carried on to Iceland from Scarborough, and of late years from Bristol to the same place, is described in the tenth chapter; at the close of which, the author discourses of the importance of Calais. In the eleventh chapter he descants on the naval power of King Edgar, and the mighty fleets of King Edward III. and Henry V. who, he says, built larger and stronger ships than any of their predecessors. The twelfth and last chapter is a concise recapitulation of the principal matters spoken to before, with a pathetic exhortation to English statesmen, thoroughly to consider the importance of these points, and especially the great one of maintaining our power or sovereignty at sea, on which, he says, the peace, plenty, and prosperity of this island essentially depend.

One cannot help wondering, on the perusal of this piece, that no pains has ever been taken to make it more useful, by republishing it, either in modern verse, or as it now stands, with notes, since it is evidently written with equal science and spirit; so that it is not easy to say, whether it gives us a better idea of the author's head or heart. Besides, it is a full proof that trade was then a very extensive and important concern, which will appear more clearly to the reader, if he considers the different value of money then and now.

It likewise shews, that the reasons and grounds of our naval dominion were then as thoroughly understood, and as clearly and plainly asserted, as ever they have been since; which is the reason that Mr. Selden cites this book as a remarkable

authority, both in point of argument and antiquity<sup>b</sup>. But we are now coming into brighter times, wherein that spirit of commerce, which this author so earnestly wished for, began really to appear; and when there seemed to be a contest between private men, and those in the administration, who should serve the public most; a spirit to which we owe our present correspondence with all parts of the world, our potent and stately fleet, and, above all, our numerous plantations, the chief support of our maritime strength, as well as the most considerable branch of our trade still remaining.

<sup>b</sup> *Mare Clausum*, lib. ii. c. xxv.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. VIII.

The Naval History of England, under the reign of  
Henry VII. including the memoirs of such eminent  
seamen as flourished in his time.

**H**ENRY VII. was crowned king on the field of battle, the diadem of King Richard being found among the spoils<sup>a</sup>. By what title he held the regal dignity, is difficult to determine. In his own days he would not suffer it to be drawn into question; and posterity have not much considered it since<sup>b</sup>. As to descent, he could scarce be accounted of the royal family; for his father was of Wales, his mother

<sup>a</sup> It was placed upon his head by Sir William Stanley, afterwards Lord Chamberlain of his household, and brother of Thomas Lord Stanley, created by this monarch earl of Derby, in regard to the near relation in which he stood to the king; being married to his Majesty's mother, Hall, fol. 34. Grafton, p. 852. Stowe, p. 470. Holinghed, vol. ii. p. 760, 779. Dugdale's Baronsage, vol. ii. p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> See what the celebrated Lord Bacon hath thought fit to deliver upon this head in his admirable history of this prince in his works, vol. ii. p. 268—272. edit. 1753.

of the house of Beaufort, descended indeed of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; but so as to be legitimate only by an act of parliament, with an express exception in that very act, as to the crown<sup>c</sup>. By conquest he could not be king; for no people conquer themselves; and his army at Bosworth were Englishmen, as well as King Richard's.

His clearest, and therefore his best title then must be marriage, which he had not till some time after: for though he was solemnly crowned on the thirtieth of October, yet he did not marry the princess Elizabeth till the eighteenth of January 1486<sup>d</sup>. He was generally esteemed the wisest monarch of his time, and was without all doubt an accomplished prince; to which the difficulties he went through in his youth, must have contributed not a little; for he was an exile before he was a man, and at the head of his party by that time he was at years of discretion. He had great obstacles to surmount, even after his accession to the throne; for the common people were generally fond of the house of York, and the duchess of Burgundy took care to furnish them with variety of pretenders of that line: yet such was the care King Henry took of his coasts, and so wisely did he provide for the security of the sea, that his enemies could scarce ever set foot directly in this kingdom; which was the reason that Simnel went first to Ireland, and Perkin Warbeck into Scotland, where having procured assistance, he thence invaded England<sup>e</sup>.

Another strain of his policy was, his keeping up a martial spirit among his own subjects, at the expence of his neighbours; repaying thereby the French in their own coin. Thus he privately assisted the duke of Bretagne with a considerable body of troops, under the command of the Lord Woodville, uncle to the queen; and when the French king expostulated on this head, he excused himself by saying; that Lord transported forces into Bretagne without his consent or permission<sup>f</sup>. Soon

<sup>c</sup> T. Walsingham. hist. Angl. p. 353. Cotton's abridgment of the records, p. 363. Tyrell's history of England, vol. iii. p. 959. Speed, p. 717. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. iii. p. 123, 237.

<sup>d</sup> Fabian, p. 527. Speed,

p. 729. Cooper, fol. 269. b.

<sup>e</sup> Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin; but, above all, Lord Bacon's history of his reign, and his finished character of Henry VII.

<sup>f</sup> A. D. 1488.

after he openly assisted the Britons against the French, because he saw that these expeditions were pleasing to his own people, and served his purposes at the same time. On the same principles he threatened an open rupture with France, for which he provided a very formidable army, and a numerous fleet; and yet his real view was not so much attacking the French king, as drawing aids from his own parliament; which on this expectation, and upon this only they were inclined to give. He transported, however, his forces to Calais, took the field, and having terrified the French, made such a peace as satisfied him, and so returned home; keeping however his squadrons at sea: for though he loved peace, yet it was his fixed maxim, that he might keep it, to be in constant readiness for war; which was the reason that during his reign, the marine was in better condition than under any of his predecessors. The cares of government took up his whole time, and left no room either for thoughts or expences of pleasure<sup>s</sup>.

The French historians say, that of all our English kings, this wise monarch was best inclined to them, and most observant of his treaties; which they ascribe to his gratitude for the success afforded him in France, when he came over against King Richard<sup>b</sup>. I will not deny that some truth there may be in this; and yet I am inclined to believe, that the chief motive which so strongly bound him to affect peace abroad, was the almost continual intestine divisions among his subjects at home, which might have created him even more uneasiness than they did, in case the malcontents had been supported by so powerful a prince as the French king.

Besides, it was the policy of Henry VII. to divert the spirits of his subjects from war to trade, which he both understood and encouraged. His long residence in Bretagne had given him an opportunity of acquiring a much greater skill in maritime affairs than most of his predecessors; and this was so well known, that eminent seamen, even in foreign countries, frequently on that account, addressed themselves to him for his favour and protection. Amongst the rest, the famous Christopher Colum-

<sup>s</sup> Hall, fol. 12—18. Grafton, Stowe, Rymer's *Fœdera*, tome xii. p. 497.

<sup>b</sup> Gaguin, lib. xi. P. Daniel, tome vii. p. 19. Du Tillet, *Recueil des Traites*, Godetroy *Supplement au Memoires de Philip de Comines*, chap. vii.

bus, who rendered his name immortal by the discovery of America, and who sent his brother Bartholomew hither, in order to have prosecuted that glorious expedition for the benefit of this nation; nor was it any fault in this wise king that he did not; though some modern writers, not only without, but against all authority, assert that King Henry rejected his proposals. I shall here give a concise account of that affair of which I shall have occasion to speak again in the memoirs of John Cabot; who, though he did not undertake to make discoveries till after the return of Columbus, yet saw the continent of the new world earlier than he; as will be fully proved in its proper place.

Experience shews us, that there are certain seasons remarkably favourable to particular arts. This age of which we are speaking, had been so to navigation, which then prospered exceedingly under different states, but principally under the Portuguese: they had discovered, or rather were discovering, a new route to the East Indies, by going entirely round the great continent of Africa, which, from the consequences even of those endeavours, rendered them so much richer, and more powerful than their neighbours, that, by an emulation natural amongst great men, the thoughts of all the active wits in Europe were turned towards undertakings of this kind<sup>1</sup>.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, by birth a Genoese, but of what family is very uncertain, and I think very immaterial, had a head excellently turned for such enterprizes: by nature he was sagacious, penetrating, and resolute; he derived from education such knowledge, as enabled him to make the best use of his experience; and his ardent passion for the science of navigation had inspired him, from his early youth, with a desire of engaging in distant and dangerous voyages. Abundance of lucky circumstances concurred in giving him still greater advantages than any of his contemporaries; but, as to the story of his having the first hint of an undiscovered continent in the west, from the papers of an old pilot who died in his house, while he resided in the island of Madeira, I entirely agree with

<sup>1</sup> See this matter largely discussed in a book published some years ago, intitled, *A complete history of Spanish America*.

Sir William Monson<sup>k</sup>, that it is mere calumny; and for this reason, that if Columbus had really received any such information, he would scarce have embraced some opinions which exposed his projects to many plausible objections, and which, nevertheless, he retained to the last. It is by no means clear, though we have a life of him written by his son, and collected partly from his own writings, when he first entertained thoughts of finding out countries hitherto undiscovered. It seems, however, to have been pretty early in his life; because it appears, from notes of his own, that he had undertaken several voyages with a view of fixing, from the lights of experience, his speculative notions on this subject.

When he had thoroughly methodized his scheme, and rendered it, as he thought, probable and practicable, he first propounded it to the state of Genoa in the year 1482; but it was not accepted, because they were then engaged in such an extensive commerce, as they scarce knew how to manage, and were therefore afraid of launching out into new projects. Columbus offered it next to the king of Portugal, who was much too wise a prince not to discern the benefits which might arise from such a discovery, or the strength of those reasons which were urged by Columbus, to shew that the design was feasible: he therefore appointed commissioners to treat with him about this undertaking, who dealt with that worthy man very basely: for having, as they thought, drawn out of him his whole secret, they advised the king, while they entertained Columbus with objections, to fit out a ship, which, under colour of going to the Cape de Verd islands, might attempt the execution of what he had proposed: but the issue of this contrivance was as unlucky, as that in itself was dishonourable. For the fraud coming to the ears of Columbus, he was so disgusted thereby, that he determined to quit Portugal, and to seek protection in some more generous court<sup>l</sup>.

It was towards the close of the year 1484, that he came to a resolution of going himself into Spain; and it was the next year, that after meeting with some difficulties there, he sent his

<sup>k</sup> Naval Tracts, p. 403.

<sup>l</sup> See the life of Christopher Columbus, by his son, in Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. ii. p. 557, 688.

brother

brother Bartholomew into England, where Henry VII. had but just ascended the throne. A man could scarce be more unfortunate than Bartholomew Columbus was in this voyage. He was first taken by pirates, who stripped him to the skin, and obliged him for some time to earn a sorry living, by labouring at the oar. When he had made his escape from them, he found means to get into England, and to come to London; but in so poor a condition, and so worn by a lingering ague, that he wanted both opportunity and spirits to pursue the design he came about<sup>m</sup>.

As soon as he had recovered a little, he applied himself to the making maps and globes, and discovering thereby a more than ordinary skill in cosmography, he came to be known: so that at last he brought his design to bear, and was actually introduced to the king; to whom, on the thirteenth day of February 1488, he presented a map of the world of his own projecting, and afterwards entered into a negotiation on the behalf of his brother. The king liked the scheme so well, that they came sooner to an agreement than Christopher had brought things to a point in Spain; though, by a new series of cross accidents, Bartholomew was not able to carry any accounts of this to his brother, before he had actually discovered the American islands in the service, and for the benefit of the crown of Spain<sup>n</sup>, which he did in 1492.

As we have these facts from the son of don Christopher Columbus, and the nephew of Bartholomew, who published his father's life in Spain; I think the authority cannot be doubted, according to all the rules of evidence laid down, either by lawyers or critics. Add to this, that the map made by Bartholomew Columbus was actually in being in the reign of queen Elizabeth; which is such a corroborative proof, as puts the matter out of dispute<sup>o</sup>; and shews that we have at least as good a title as the Spaniards, from our agreement with the first discoverer of a passage to this new world. If they plead the success of their expedition, we may alledge our prior contract;

<sup>m</sup> Lord Bacon's history of Henry VII. vol. ii. p. 336.

<sup>n</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 2, 3. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. book ii. p. 9. Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 3.

<sup>o</sup> See the life of Christopher Columbus, as before cited, p. 575.

and if this should fail us, and their title be approved, we have then, as I hinted before, a better title than they (even according to their own method of arguing), to the continent of America, in regard to which, our success in discovering was prior to theirs.

I know, as was hinted before, certain writers have made some coarse and bitter reflections upon King Henry for his dilatoriness in this matter, by which they think we have suffered so much : but, when all things are more maturely weighed, perhaps we shall meet with no just grounds for these censures : for first, it does not appear that the king delayed this affair at all, though it be true, that Bartholomew Columbus spent a long time in negotiating it ; and the reason was, because the king had then many arduous affairs upon his hands, such as the attempt of Perkin Warbeck, an expedition into Scotland, his breach with France, and voyage thither, all which fell out within that space : and, secondly, it does not seem so manifest, as these people imagine, that we are really such mighty sufferers by the Spaniards having the start of us in this expedition ; for which many reasons might be offered ; but there is one so obvious, and withal so clear and so conclusive, that it seems to supersede the rest. Spain, at the time she undertook this discovery, was one of the greatest maritime powers in Europe, though since her possession of the Indies, she is become one of the most inconsiderable.

But it may be said, that, if we had first seized and settled these countries, we should have acted otherwise : yet this is not only a bare supposition, but at the same time a very improbable one. The heat of the climate, the luxuriance of the soil, the profit of mines, &c. would have affected us, or indeed any other people, as much as it did them : so that, upon the whole, we have but little reason either to blame King Henry's conduct, or to repine at that of Providence. The Spaniards have purchased Mexico and Peru too dearly, at the expence of their naval power : we are really richer in virtue of our northern colonies, which have so prodigiously increased our industry, our commerce, and our shipping.

The great care the king had of maritime affairs induced him to make, in the eleventh year of his reign, a treaty with the king of Denmark, whereby he secured to his subjects, and particularly

to the inhabitants of Bristol, the trade to Iceland, which they long before enjoyed, but in which they had of late suffered some disturbance. By the stipulations in this league it was agreed, that the English were to furnish the inhabitants of that island with all kinds of provision, with coarse cloth and other commodities, without let or hindrance from the king of Denmark. This was a special privilege granted to no other nation, and, it is very probable, would not have been granted to us, if the Danish commerce had not been in a declining state, of which we have an authentic account in the work of a very ancient writer. The care of these affairs brought to the king's notice that celebrated Venetian Sir John Cabot, who in his service first discovered the continent of America, and that country which is now called Newfoundland<sup>p</sup>: of him, therefore, we will give a more particular account at the close of this reign.

While this Sir John Cabot was thus employed in the prosecution of the expedition before-mentioned, Bartholomew Columbus had passed from Spain to the West Indies, where he acquainted his brother with the disposition of the English court, and the reason there was to apprehend, that it would not be long before other adventurers would endeavour to interfere in his discoveries<sup>q</sup>. This quickened the admiral; and, on his returning into Spain, he gave such hints to that court and ministry, as induced them to take all imaginable pains to secure the great seamen of every nation in their service, which in some respect, answered their purpose, since Magellan who discovered the passage into the South seas, which has been of such infinite service to the Spaniards, was by this policy detached from his duty to his king and country for the sake of pay; and this was likewise the case of Sebastian Cabot and others<sup>r</sup>. In so short a time as four years after John Cabot's first voyage, we find, that King Henry granted his letters-patent to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, and others, for settling colonies in new-discovered countries; which grant bears date the ninth of De-

<sup>p</sup> Fœd. Dan. xi. Hen. VII. art. iv. quod in tabulælegationis M, DC, II. etiam habemus. Rymer's fœdera, tom. xix. p. 381. Seldeni mare clausum, lib. ii. cap. 32.

<sup>q</sup> Herrera's general history of the West Indies, vol. i. p. 136—139. <sup>r</sup> Herrera, Hackluyt, Purchas. Sir William Monson's naval tra-

ember 1502<sup>s</sup>, and is another proof of this monarch's assiduity in promoting commerce: he never, indeed, suffered any opportunity of that sort to escape him.

Philip of Austria, who succeeded to the kingdom of Castile, sailed from the Low Countries into Spain, together with his queen, in 1506; but, meeting unhappily with a storm, they were driven on the English coast, and, being exceedingly fatigued, they would, contrary to the advice of the wisest persons about them, land at Weymouth; of which the king having notice, he sent, under colour of respect, the earl of Arundel, with 300 horse, to attend them, who brought the royal guests from thence by torch-light, and conducted them to his own house<sup>t</sup>. Some months they were detained by the extraordinary civilities paid them; and after their departure it appeared, how great use a wise prince may make even of the slightest accidents. In this short space the king did a great deal for himself, and not a little for his subjects: he prevailed upon King Philip to put into his hands Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nearly related by his mother to the royal line<sup>u</sup>, and he likewise concluded a very advantageous treaty of commerce between the crowns of England and Castile<sup>v</sup>, which proved afterwards of great importance.

As to the remaining part of his reign, it was spent in peace, and in cares of a nature which by no means recommend them to our notice, farther than as the mention of them may prove admonitory to other princes. He had all his days been of a very frugal disposition, and had also shewn a singular dexterity in the art of filling his coffers; but in the latter part of his life this grew upon him to a very great degree: and as covetous princes never want fit instruments, so this king found in Empson and Dudley two such as scarce ever had their fellows. They put him upon such severe and unreasonable extensions of penal laws, as made him rich as a man, but poor as a prince, since, by wringing out their wealth, he effectually lost the hearts of his subjects.

<sup>s</sup> Rymer's *fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 37.      <sup>t</sup> Hall, fol. 57. b.    Grafton, p. 943.    Polydor. Virgil. lib. xxvi. p. 776.    Mariæz historia de rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xxviii. cap. xvi. p. 592.    Petri Martyris epistol. lib. xix. epist. 296, 300.    <sup>u</sup> Stowe, p. 484.    Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 793.    Lord Bacon's history of this reign, vol. ii. p. 350.    Ferrera's hist. de Espan. p. xii. § 16.    <sup>v</sup> Rymer's *fœdera*, vol. xiii. p. 142.

Another misfortune was, that these grievances fell upon the most eminent traders in those times.

Thus Sir William Capel an opulent citizen, who had been mayor of London, suffered many years persecution and a long imprisonment, besides great losses. Out of Thomas Knefworth, at the expiration of his mayoralty, with his two sheriffs, the king and his ministers squeezed 1400 pounds. Christopher Hawes an eminent mercer, and alderman of London, broke his heart through vexation, and Sir Lawrence Ailmer a great merchant, and who had been mayor, remained a prisoner in the Tower, till he was delivered in the next reign <sup>2</sup>. These acts would have appeared flagrant oppressions in any other prince; but Henry made many wise laws for the public good; and such laws interfering sometimes with the methods men had been in a habit of practising for private profit, he took always advantage of the highest offenders, as yielding most to his coffers, and, from the terror of their punishment, impressing universal obedience; for, in most of his prosecutions, the welfare of the state was the apparent object, and the due execution of the laws the invariable pretence. He was, therefore, the laws being made by parliament, a rigid prince, but, acting ever by law, escaped the odium of being a tyrant.

Yet in some things the king shewed a magnificent spirit, particularly in building that noble chapel at Westminster, which bears his name, and which cost him 14,000 pounds. About the like sum he laid out in the construction of a new ship, called THE GREAT HARRY <sup>3</sup>, and which, properly speaking, was the first ship of the royal navy: for though he, as well as other princes, hired many ships, exclusive of those furnished by the ports, when he had occasion to transport forces abroad, yet he seems to have been the only king who thought of avoiding this inconveniency, by raising such a naval force as might be, at all

<sup>2</sup> Fabian, p. 530, 536. Hall, fol. 57. a. fol. 59. b. Grafton, p. 942, 946. Stowe, p. 485. Speed, p. 750. Lord Bacon in his history, p. 352. <sup>3</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 484. This famous vessel was burned by accident at Woolwich in the evening of the twenty-eight of August 1553. Holingshead's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1290. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 22.

times, sufficient for the service of the state <sup>a</sup>; a design worthy of his wisdom to project, and of being in some degree perfected under the more fortunate reign of his son.

As to the concern which this prudent monarch shewed for trade, some hints of it have been already given; and to these, upon the review of our work, a few farther instances may be added. In the year 1487 the archbishop of Canterbury, who was also lord high chancellor of England, opened the parliament with a speech, in which, amongst other things, he told them, that the king recommended, to their serious consideration, trade and manufactures <sup>a</sup>. Accordingly several wise laws were made in that respect; and, in the treaties that were concluded with foreign princes, he was remarkably careful to make such provisions as turned highly to the benefit of the nation <sup>b</sup>. There is the less wonder to be made at this, because the king himself was not only very well acquainted with the advantages arising from foreign traffic speculatively as a statesman, but knew them experimentally likewise, being a very extensive trader himself, and that in more ways than one <sup>c</sup>.

As he found it requisite for him to have a certain number of ships of his own, so, when these were not employed, or likely to be employed, he was content to let them out to merchants for hire. He was very ready, on the same principle, to assist with considerable sums of money such as undertook any new trade, or set up any new manufacture, provided he had a share in the profit proportionable to the risk he run. He also sold licenses for dealing in prohibited commodities either by importing or exporting; for the managing of which extraordinary and new-devised branches of his revenue <sup>d</sup>, his principal instrument

<sup>a</sup> The king foresaw an increase of commerce would make larger vessels necessary, and therefore began to build, and let out such to hire for the advantage of, and by way of example to, his subjects. An instance of royal attention that merits reflection!

<sup>b</sup> This was the famous Cardinal Morton. Godwin de Præsul. Angliæ commentar. Cantab. 1743, fol. p. 131. Bacon's history of Henry VII. p. 289. Parliamentary history, vol. ii. p. 417—419. <sup>c</sup> Rymcr's fœdera, tom. xii. p. 374, 378, 389, 571, 701.

<sup>d</sup> In this, as in building large ships, he was willing to shew his subjects the way.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Richard Empson's book of accompts had been seen by Lord Bacon; that between the king and Dudley, both of them most exactly kept, came into the hands of Sir R. Cotton.

was Edmund Dudley, Esq; a man of quick parts, and whose genius was wonderfully extensive. He was nobly descended; a lawyer, no doubt, and a serjeant at law; but no judge, as some of our historians make him. He was of the king's privy council, and speaker of the House of Commons in this king's last parliament; which shews his general interest was great, as well as his power. He suffered, in the next reign, as the king's adviser and instrument, which was hard, for the king governed by his own lights, and saw not with others eyes. Ministers he had, and very able ministers too, who served him well; and he never disgraced them; but still they were his ministers, and not his masters.

Whatever distaste might be taken to some of these practices, it is very certain that the king ingratiated himself by others, and that till within the four last years of his reign, he was very popular in London; to which, perhaps, it might not a little contribute, that he not only accepted the freedom of the merchant-tailors company, but dined also publicly in their hall; wearing the dress, taking the seat, and doing the honours of the table, as if he had been their master<sup>c</sup>. This condescension was acceptable to numbers: and the laws he passed from time to time, for promoting manufactures, encouraging manufacturers, giving ease to mechanics, prohibiting the importation of foreign goods for luxury, exciting merchants of all nations to frequent England, and purchase its commodities with his complaisance and fair language, abated the sense of his strictness in other respects. Besides, it was his manner to intermix smiles with his severities, and to reward oftener, and with more alacrity, than he punished. Thus he knighted many of the citizens in the field, received them kindly at court, and communicated all good news to them with much familiarity and confidence.

In respect to the taxes imposed in his reign, they were not very large or burdensome. It is true, that having repealed the laws of his predecessor, he thought himself at liberty to demand an aid of his subjects, by way of BENEVOLENCE; for which he assigned this reason, that it would be a means of ex-

<sup>c</sup> Speed, p. 736. From the records in the company's hall.

empting the poorer sort of people from feeling the weight of a burden they were least able to bear. It is not at all improbable, that he was induced to take this step from that experience he learned in the beginning of his reign, that nothing so soon disposed the populace to insurrections, as the levying new taxes, how moderate soever<sup>1</sup>. But his new method, likewise, had its inconveniencies, though he was far enough from pushing it to a degree of oppression; since the money which was raised under this title in the whole city of London, did not amount to quite ten thousand pounds.

In one thing he shewed his mercantile principle extremely. He demanded a loan of the city of London for a certain time, and with some difficulty obtained six thousand pounds; but paying it very exactly, when he had occasion for a greater sum, it was raised with ease; and this, too, being punctually paid, he there rested his credit, reserving the confidence he had established for any real necessity that might require it, the former loans being rather out of policy than for relief<sup>2</sup>. The wealth of the nation certainly increased extremely during his pacific reign: it was the large estates of the merchants that exposed them to be pillaged by his instruments of iniquity; and as for the nobility, he was not without some reason jealous of their great power, and their great fortunes. When he seized upon Sir William Stanley's effects, who was younger brother only to the Earl of Derby, he found they amounted to forty thousand marks in ready money and jewels, besides an estate in land of three thousand pounds a-year.

At the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the infant Catharine, all who assisted at it were most magnificently dressed; Sir Thomas Brandon, an officer of the king's household, wearing a gold chain of the value of fifteen hundred pounds: yet the fortune he gave the princess Margaret, his daughter, when she married the king of Scots, was no more than thirty thousand nobles, or ten thousand pounds: and the

<sup>1</sup> His colour was, that by this means the tax was set by affection upon substance; while those in mean condition, of which themselves were left to judge, were exempted from the burden.

<sup>2</sup> Some authors say, that, on his first application, he could borrow but three thousand pounds.

allowance stipulated for the Lady Anne, his wife's sister, when she married Lord Thomas Howard, did not much exceed one hundred and twenty pounds a-year<sup>b</sup>.

He was the first of our monarchs who coined shillings; and they were very large and fair, there being but forty in a pound weight of silver. His coin in general, both gold and silver, was of due weight and fineness; but when he made his expedition to Bologne, he either coined, or tolerated a base kind of money, called dandiprats<sup>c</sup>, which perhaps was a right piece of policy; but it proved a bad precedent, and afforded his son a colour for sinking the value of his money, beyond all example.

The treasure left by this prince in his coffers, at the time of his decease, not only exceeded what had ever been amassed by his predecessors, but surpassed beyond comparison what any of his successors have ever seen in their exchequers: for the Lord Chief Justice Coke tells us, it amounted to five millions three hundred thousand pounds, most in foreign coin, and too much of it acquired by methods unworthy of a king, and more especially so wise a king as he was<sup>d</sup>. The judicious and curious Lord Bacon, who wrote this monarch's life with much care, and had great opportunities of being informed, reduces this sum to much less: for he says, there was a tradition of his leaving eighteen hundred thousand pounds hid in secret places, under his own lock and key, in his palace at Richmond, where he deceased; and this he accounts, and very justly, to be (for those times especially) a vast wealth<sup>e</sup>. But we can settle this point with more certainty, and on still better authority. The great and accurate antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton asserts, he left behind him four millions and a half in bullion, exclusive of wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture. These sums are not set down in figures, from which mistakes often arise, but in words at length: and as Sir Robert affirms nothing without a voucher; so, in respect to this, he has given the best that could

<sup>b</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 483. where many particulars may be found of a like nature.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Robert Cotton's discourse of foreign wars, p. 53. *Nummi Britannici historia*, p. 47. Fleetwood's *Chron. Preciosum*, p. 47.

<sup>d</sup> Fourth institute, chap. xxv. where he cites the close roll, anno 3 H. VIII.

<sup>e</sup> *Life*

of Henry VII. in the second volume of his works, p. 353.

be desired, viz. the book of accompts kept between the king and Mr. Dudley<sup>m</sup>. It is possible this wide difference may be, with probability, reconciled, by supposing eight hundred thousand pounds to stand on Sir Richard Empson's account, as Sir Robert Cotton speaks only of Mr. Dudley; and then the sum will agree with the record cited by Sir Edward Coke. The fixing this fact is very material; as it shews how much more wealthy the nation then was, than it has been ever esteemed to be.

Our historians tell us, that King Henry intended to have made a thorough change in his measures, and to have relieved his people from all the grievances of which they complained, when he was taken off by death on the twenty-second of April 1509, in the twenty-third year of his reign<sup>n</sup>. He was allowed, by his contemporaries, to have been one of the wisest princes of the age in which he lived<sup>o</sup>; and his memory hath been commended to the reverence of posterity, by the inimitable pen of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon; who, in doing justice to this king's abilities, has shewn his own; as by freely censuring his errors, he has set a noble example to English historians, to be more solicitous about truth, than the reputation of themselves as writers, or the glory of those whose actions they record. An example which succeeding ages have rendered the more difficult to follow, since, as corruption increases, it not only enervates the will, but also both weakens and misleads the judgment; whence, as good histories become rare, they become consequently more valuable.

<sup>m</sup> Answer to the reasons for foreign wars, p. 53. See also Dr. Davensant's grants and resumptions, p. 250.      <sup>n</sup> Hall, fol. 60, b. Grafton, p. 947.

948. Sowe, Holingshed, Speed, Lord Bacon in his history of this prince, p. 353.      <sup>o</sup> Thuan. hist. lib. i. G. F. Biendi hist. delle Guerre Civili d'Inghilterra.

Johan. Major de gestis Scotorum, lib. vi. P. d'Orleans hist. de Revol. de Angleterre, tome ii. p. 343. Marfollier histoire de Henri VII. dit le sage ou le Salomon d'Angleterre, Par. 12° 2. vol. P. Daniel histoire de France, tome vii. p. 183, 184.

## HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

## SIR JOHN CABOT.

THE Venetians, throughout this whole century, and indeed for some ages before, were by far the most general traders in Europe; and had their factories in most of the northern kingdoms and states, for the better managing their affairs. In England, especially, many of them settled, at London and Bristol particularly; and in this last place dwelt John Gabota, Gabot, or as our writers usually call him, John Cabot, of whom we are to speak. He had been long in England, since his son Sebastian, who was born at Bristol, was old enough to accompany him in his first voyage<sup>9</sup>: he was it seems a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished seaman, or a general trader; and having heard much of Columbus's expedition, he addressed himself to the king, with proposals for making like discoveries, in case he met with due encouragement.

His offer was readily accepted; and the king by letters patent, dated March the fifth, in the eleventh year of his reign, granted to him, by the name of John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, leave to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them, with many privileges; reserving only to himself one fifth part of the

<sup>9</sup> Libel of English polity in keeping the narrow sea, chap. vii—ix. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 442, 443. P. Charlevoix *histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tome i. p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Petri Martyris ab Angleria de novo Orbe, Dec. iii. lib. vi. Lopez de Gomara *historia general de las Indias*, lib. ii. c. iv. *Navigazioni et Viaggi raccolti da M. Gio. Batt. Ramusio*, tome iii. in premio.

great profits: and with this single restraint, that the ships they fitted out should be obliged to return to the port of Bristol<sup>r</sup>. Though these letters patent were granted in 1495, yet it was the next year before they proceeded to set out any ships; and then John Cabot had a permission from the king, to take six English ships in any haven of the realm, of the burden of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as should be willing to go with him<sup>s</sup>.

In consequence of this license, the king at his own expence caused a ship to be equipped at Bristol: to this the merchants of that city and of London added three or four small vessels, freighted with proper commodities, which fleet sailed in the spring of the year 1497<sup>t</sup>. Our old chronicle-writers, particularly Fabian<sup>u</sup>, tell us of a very rich island which John Cabot promised to discover; but in this they seem to mistake the matter, for want of thoroughly understanding the subject of which they were writing. John Cabot was too wise a man to pretend to know, before he saw it, what country he should discover, whether island or continent; but what he proposed was, to find a north-west passage to the Indies; so that he appears to have reasoned in the same manner that Columbus did, who imagined that, as the Portuguese by sailing east, came to the west coast of the Indies; so he by sailing west, might reach their opposite shore. This, with his discovering the island of Baccaloes, or Newfoundland, was certainly the source of this story.

John Cabot having his son Sebastian with him, sailed happily on their north-west course, till the twenty-fourth of June 1497, about five in the morning, when they first discovered land, which John Cabot for that reason called *Prima Vista*, that is, first seen. Another island, less than the first, he styled the island of St. John, because it was found on the feast of St. John Baptist. He afterwards sailed down to Cape Florida, and then returned with a good cargo and three savages on board, into England, where, it seems, he was knighted for this exploit: since on the map of his discoveries, drawn by his son Seba-

<sup>r</sup> Rymer's *foedera*, tome xii. p. 595. Hakluyt's collection of voyages, tome iii. p. 4.

<sup>s</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Fabian's chronicle, as hereafter cited.

<sup>u</sup> *Ibid.* Stowe.

ftian, and cut by Clement Adams, which hung in the privy gallery at Whitehall, there was this infcription under the author's picture; Effigies Seb. Caboti, Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis, Aurati, &c.<sup>w</sup>.

This was a very important discovery; fince, in truth, it was the firft time the continent of America had been feen; Columbus being unacquainted therewith till his laft voyage, which was the year following, when he coafted along a part of the ifthmus of Darien. It is fomewhat ftrange, that our Englifh writers have delivered thefe matters fo confufedly, efpecially fuch as lived under the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James I. and confequently in and near the time of his fon; yet, fo inaccurate are their relations, that fome have been induced from thence to doubt, whether John Cabot made any discoveries at all<sup>z</sup>. The reverend Mr. Samuel Purchas, to whole labours the world is fo much indebted, discovers a good deal of diftafte that America fhould be fo called, from Americus Vefputius; and afferts, that it ought rather to be called Cabotiana, or Sebastianiana: becaufe, fays he, Sebastian Cabot difcovered more of it than Americus, or Columbus himfelf<sup>y</sup>. In Stowe<sup>z</sup>, and Speed<sup>a</sup>, we find this very difcovery afcribed wholly to Sebastian without any mention of his father; and yet in Fabian's chronicle, who lived in thofe days, we have thefe two remarkable paffages:

“ In the thirteenth year of King Henry VII. (by means of  
“ one John Cabot a Venetian, which made himfelf very ex-  
“ pert and cunning in the knowledge of the circuit of the  
“ world, and iflands of the fame, as by a fea-card, and other  
“ demonstrations reasonable, he fhewed), the king caufed to  
“ man and victual a fhip at Bristol, to fearch for an ifland,  
“ which he faid he knew well was rich, and replenifhed with  
“ great commodities; which fhip, thus manned and victualled  
“ at the king's coft, diverfe merchants of London ventured  
“ in her fmall ftocks, being in her as chief patron the faid  
“ Venetian. And in the company of the faid fhip, failed alfo out

<sup>w</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 6. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 461, 807.

<sup>z</sup> Leland's naval hiftory, vol. i. p. 86.

<sup>y</sup> Pilgrimage, p. 602.

<sup>a</sup> Annals, p. 480.

<sup>b</sup> Chronicle, p. 744.

“ of Bristol three or four small ships, freighted with slight and  
 “ gross merchandizes, as coarse cloth, caps, laces, points, and  
 “ other trifles; and so departed from Bristol in the beginning  
 “ of May, of whom in this mayor’s time returned no tid-  
 “ ings.”

Under the fourteenth year of the same king’s reign, he tells  
 us, “ There were brought unto him,” *i. e.* Henry VII. “ three  
 “ men taken in the new-found island; these, says he, were  
 “ clothed in beasts skins, and did eat raw flesh, and spake such  
 “ speech that no man could understand them, and in their  
 “ demeanor like brute-beasts, whom the king kept a time after,  
 “ of the which, about two years after, I saw two apparelled  
 “ after the manner of Englishmen in Westminster palace,  
 “ which at that time I could not discern from Englishmen, till  
 “ I was learned what they were; but as for speech, I heard none  
 “ of them utter one word.”

Thus it appears, from the best authority that can be desired,  
 that of a contemporary writer, this discovery was made by Sir  
 John Cabot, the father of Sebastian; and indeed so much we  
 might have gathered, if we had wanted this authority: for  
 Sebastian Cabot being, as we shall see hereafter, alive in 1557,  
 it is plain, that at the time this voyage was made, he could not  
 be above twenty years old; when, though he might accompany  
 his father, yet certainly he was too young to undertake such  
 an expedition himself<sup>b</sup>. It is probable that John Cabot died  
 in England; but when or where is uncertain, at least for any  
 thing I have read.

There is, indeed, another account of this affair, which sup-  
 poses, that Sir John Cabot, with his son Sebastian, failed for  
 the discovery of a north-west passage before this expedition, by  
 the royal authority, and that in this voyage they had sight of  
 the island which was afterwards called New-found-land. To  
 this opinion I should also incline, if it could be clearly recon-  
 ciled to the authorities which have been produced, and consi-

<sup>b</sup> This detail has been collected from Mr. Thorne of Bristol’s letter to Dr.  
 Leigh, which Mr. Thorne was the son of the merchant of Bristol, who, in con-  
 junction with Mr. Eliot, fitted out the Cabots: as also from Sebastian Cabot’s  
 own accounts, and from the remarks of Hakluyt, Eden, and Purchas.

dered with the greatest attention. At all events, whichever be the true account, this man, Sir John Cabot, was the original discoverer; of which honour he ought not to be despoiled, even by his son, of whom we shall also give some memoirs in their proper place. At present, we will conclude with remarking, that the offer of Christopher Columbus, the favour shewn to his brother Bartholomew, and the encouragement given to Sir John Cabot and his family, do the highest honour to the memory of Henry VII: and fix the revival of our commercial spirit to his reign.

LIVES

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S;  
INCLUDING 4 NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y,

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C H A P. IX.

The Naval History of the reign of Henry VIII. including the Memoirs of such eminent sea-officers as flourished therein.

**T**HERE never was, in any period, a prince who ascended the English throne, of whom his subjects formed greater hopes, than those that were entertained of Henry VIII. at his accession. He was then about eighteen years old, of strong natural parts, heightened by an excellent education: and though he afterwards discovered a good deal of obstinacy in his temper, yet in the dawn of his reign, he shewed himself very inclinable to listen to good advice; and his father left him as able counsellors as perhaps any monarch ever had about him. His first acts were conformable to his subjects hopes; he delivered such as his father unjustly kept in confinement, and, in their stead, Empson, Dudley, and their creatures, were imprisoned\*. Yet

\* Fabian, p. 538. Hall, fol. 1. Grafton, p. 951. Stowe, p. 487. Hellingshed, vol. ii. p. 799. Cooper. Godwin's annals, p. 1—5. Life of this prince by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the complete history of England, vol. ii. Sp. Burnet in his history of the Reformation, vol. i. and the rest of our celebrated historians.

even these were not destroyed, as some have suggested, by a hasty and rigorous prosecution, but were left to the ordinary course, and after that, as they deserved, to the due severity of the law, their great knowledge in which they had so flagrantly abused to the ruin of others<sup>b</sup>. Dudley, during his confinement in the Tower, composed a very extraordinary book, intitled *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, wherein he shewed a prodigious capacity as a statesman, and from which (though for aught I know it was never published) many pestiferous schemes have taken their rise, his family having held the reins of government there for near half a century. In other respects the king shewed himself a very gracious prince, having a like sense of his own dignity, and of his duty towards his people.

In the year 1511 the king of Arragon and Castile demanded assistance against the Moors; whereupon King Henry, who was desirous of maintaining to the utmost the glory of the English nation, sent him 1500 archers under the command of Sir Thomas Darcy, with whom went abundance of gentlemen, of the best families of the kingdom, volunteers. They sailed from Plymouth, escorted by a squadron of four royal ships, and landed happily on the first of June in the south of Spain: but the politic king, who wanted nothing more than their appearance to bring his enemies to terms, instead of employing, dismissed them with a few presents, and so they returned into England, without encountering any other hazards than those of the sea<sup>c</sup>. The same year the king sent a like aid to the duchess of Burgundy under the command of Sir Edward Poyning, which met with better success; for, after having answered effectually the ends for which they were sent, they returned with small loss, and much honour, to their native country<sup>d</sup>.

Notwithstanding what had so lately happened in Spain, the artful Ferdinand, by the assistance of the Pope, who cajoled

<sup>b</sup> See a very sensible and pathetic speech of Sir Richard Empson to the lords of the council, on his being called before them on April 23, 1509, in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's life of Henry VIII. p. 3. not wrote for him by that nobleman, as some imagine, the substance of it having long before appeared in our old chronicles, such as Grafton, p. 95a. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 803. See this case at large in Anderson's reports, p. i. p. 152—158. <sup>c</sup> Hall, fol. 11. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 808. Ferret's hist. de Epsan. p. xii. § 16. <sup>d</sup> Grafton's chronicle, p. 958. Stow, p. 488. Cooper, fol. 294.

King Henry with fair words and fine promises, drew him to make war in France, in hopes of recovering the dominions of his ancestors. With this view, King Henry was persuaded to send a numerous army, under the command of the marquis of Dorset, by sea into Biscay, in order to penetrate that way into the duchy of Guyenne : this expedition had worse consequences than the former, Ferdinand never intending that these troops should act against the French, but, by their remaining for some time in his country, sought an opportunity of over-running Navarre, to which he had no title, while the French, awed by the English army, durst not move to its assistance. But, during the time he made this conquest, sickness destroyed numbers of the English, so that shortly after they were constrained to return<sup>c</sup>. In August, the same year, there happened a bloody engagement between the English and French fleets, of which we shall give the reader hereafter a distinct account; and the Sovereign, the largest ship in the English navy, being burnt therein, the king built another of still greater burden, called Henry Grace de Dieu<sup>f</sup>. In the month of March 1513, another royal fleet put to sea, which engaging the French on the twenty-fifth of April, the admiral was killed; which loss was soon repaired, and the French driven to take shelter in their ports<sup>g</sup>. In August the king went in person with a great army into France, where he made some conquests, while his admiral spoiled the French coasts, as he also did the next year; so that the French king was glad to obtain peace; upon the conclusion of which he married Mary, who was sister to our King Henry, but did not long outlive his marriage<sup>h</sup>.

Francis I. succeeded him, between whom and the Emperor Maximilian King Henry kept as even as he could, sometimes assisting the emperor, and sometimes seeming to favour the French king, who prevailed on him in 1520, to pass over to Calais, in order to have an interview with him; and it followed according-

<sup>c</sup> Gabriel Chappuy *histoire du royaume de Navarre*, p. 620. *Marianæ historia de rebus Hispaniæ*, lib. xxx. p. 583. Hall, fol. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Grafton, p. 970. Stowe, p. 490. Herbert. <sup>g</sup> Hall, fol. 23. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 816. Godwin's annals, p. 12.

<sup>h</sup> H. Velleii in Gaguini appendix, p. 321—323. Duplex, tom. iii. p. 262—265. Rymer's *fœdera*, tom. xiii. p. 413—423. Grafton. Stowe, p. 495, 496.

ly, between the towns of Ardres and Guines. Our historians give us long descriptions of the pomp and splendour which accompanied this meeting; but a short passage in a French writer seems to me better worth transcribing than any thing they have said. He tells us, that at this interview King Henry caused an English archer to be embroidered on his tent, with this sentence under him; *Cui adhaereo praest; i. e.* "He shall prevail, with whom I side;" which, says the judicious historian, was not only his motto, but his practice, as long as he lived<sup>1</sup>. In 1522 there arose new differences between this monarch and the French king, which were not a little heightened by the coming of the Emperor Charles V. who paid great court to Henry, and persuaded him to send over a numerous army into France, which he did shortly after under the command of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who wrought the French infinite mischief, without doing his country much good. During this war, the emperor's fleet acted in conjunction with the English, whereby the French were driven to great distress, and the Scots, being engaged in their interest, suffered also very severely: but when the king evidently saw, that by his assistance the Emperor Charles was become too powerful, and affected to manage all the affairs of Europe at his will, he wisely withdrew his auxiliaries, and pursued such a conduct as seemed most likely to restore the balance of power<sup>2</sup>.

In 1526 a peace was concluded with the French king upon very advantageous terms, and soon after Cardinal Wolsey went over into France, and had a conference with that prince. Thenceforward the king's thoughts were much taken up with his domestic affairs, and with alterations in religion; so that, except some disputes with Scotland, wherein their king received such a check as broke his heart<sup>3</sup>, there happened nothing material till the year 1544, when King Henry joined once more with the emperor against the French; whereupon Sir John Wallop was sent into France, and a considerable force marched into Scotland under the earl of Hertford, Sir John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, wasting the coasts in the mean time with a great

<sup>1</sup> Abregé de l'histoire de France par Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 494.

Merbert, Godwin, Duplex.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, Grafton, p. 1143. Corps diplomatique, tom. iv. p. i. p. 458. Buchanan, lib. xiv. p. 475, 476.

fleet.

**fleet**<sup>m</sup>. In the midst of the summer, the duke of Suffolk entered the French dominions with a great army, and laid siege to Bologne, which was also blocked up at sea by the admiral Viscount Lisle, who, after the place was taken, was constituted governor thereof, the king and his forces passing from thence into England<sup>n</sup>. The next year the French fleet made several attempts on the English coast with indifferent success; to revenge which, the Viscount Lisle landed in Normandy, and burnt all the adjacent country<sup>o</sup>.

In 1546 the French made an unsuccessful attempt upon Bologne, the earl of Hertford, and Viscount Lisle, having obliged them either to come to a battle, or to raise the siege: they chose the latter; and after some other attempts at sea, which were unsuccessful, a peace ensued, which lasted as long as the king lived<sup>p</sup>, he deceasing in the night of the twenty-eighth of January following<sup>q</sup>, 1546-47, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign<sup>r</sup>, exceedingly regreted by the bulk of his subjects, many of whom celebrated his praises afterwards in their learned writings; such as our famous antiquary John Leland, Sir Richard Morison, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Becon in his preface to his Policy of war, Udal in his preface to Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament, and many others. Neither are foreigners wanting in paying a proper tribute of respect to the memory of this prince, a few of whom we shall remark at the bottom of the page<sup>s</sup>.

The principal events only of this monarch's administration, and those, too, but very succinctly, have been touched here, to avoid repeating again the same things, in the memoirs of those eminent sea-officers who flourished in his reign; but before we come to these, it may not be amiss to speak somewhat as to the merit of this prince, in having a special and very commendable regard to the grandeur, security and prosperity of his domi-

<sup>m</sup> Stowe, p. 585. Speed, p. 782. *Lecti de rebus gestis Scotorum*, lib. x. p. 472.    <sup>n</sup> Hall, fol. 258. b. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 964. Godwin's annals, p. 190.

<sup>o</sup> Dupleix, tom. iii. Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 633. Grafton, p. 2276. <sup>p</sup> *Commentaires de Montluc*, tom. i. p. 237. *Memoires du Bellay*, liv. x. Hall, fol. 260. *Corps diplomatique*, tom. iv. p. ii. p. 305.    <sup>q</sup> Hall, fol. 263. Grafton, p. 2282. Stowe, p. 593. Speed, p. 784. Godwin, p. 207. Burnet in his history of the reformation, vol. ii. p. 350.

<sup>r</sup> Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 977.    <sup>s</sup> Thuan. hist. lib. iii. § 2. Du Chesne, hist. Angl. liv. xix. P. Jovius in elog. l. vi.

tions; his attention to merchants, discoverers, and others, who aimed at public utility, in different manners; as also, to make some short remarks upon those acts of his government, for which he has been both generally and severely censured, What I shall offer on these heads, I have collected, by a diligent perusal of the statutes passed in, and the public acts of his time, which are still remaining; charters of cities, towns, and corporations; the solemn assertions of intelligent contemporary writers, and other authentic evidences on which the reader may depend in regard to the facts.

It was to this great monarch we owed the deliverance of this realm, from the temporal as well as spiritual dominion of the papal see, which, at this time, drew half a million *per annum* from hence. He added the titles of Defender of the Faith, and King of Ireland, to the crown, which he made supreme in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Scotland he humbled to the dust, and built the strong citadel of Carlisle, to keep the Scots in awe. Other kings had possessed Wales; he reduced it into order, civilized the people, and with the appellation gave them all the privileges of English subjects. He improved on the act which his father obtained, for giving a sanction to the Star-chamber, by causing its decrees to be inserted into statutes. He, by authority of parliament, framed a court of wards, and a court of augmentations. He reduced into a consistent regularity almost every branch of our domestic policy. By an act of parliament the pay and punishment of soldiers was settled, which in effect was the first act against mutiny and desertion. By his prerogative, and at his own expence, he laid the foundation, and settled the constitution of the present royal navy. But, notwithstanding these additional forces, he kept up a martial spirit amongst, by putting arms into the hands of all his subjects, exacting also the legal services of the sea-towns and cinque-ports. He was at great pains to repress the humour of preferring grazing to tillage, which spread as well as continued that depopulation, by which it was introduced. He took care that provisions should be both plentiful and cheap. He made laws for the planting and preservation of timber. He caused so much of Hounslow heath as belonged to him to be leased and improved. Several good laws were made in his time for procuring

ring and maintaining a breed of sound, well sized, and serviceable horses. The poor had a legal maintenance assigned them. Power was given to magistrates to set idle people to work, and vagabonds, especially gypsies, were severely punished. Most of the defects, which were many, in respect to laws against murder, were removed. The manner of proceeding against pirates was settled. For the common benefit of the subject, the making and the maintaining highways and bridges was adjusted by statute. Watermen were regulated; deeds of bargain and sale were directed to be enrolled; the security of property was enlarged by the acts respecting wills and testaments; usury was restrained, and legal interest fixed at ten *per cent.*, which, though a high rate to us, was far below what the Jews in former, and the Italians in these times exacted.

The laws made in his time, for the facilitating and support of inland navigation, clearly demonstrate, that the importance of large rivers began to be understood, and esteemed more than during the civil wars, when public welfare gave way to private interest. The Thames, the Ouse, the Exe, the rivers of Southampton, the Severn, &c. were freed from wears, and other obstructions: on the same principle an act passed for rendering the river of Canterbury deeper, in order to its becoming navigable. The illegal tolls, and other oppressive duties on the Severn, were suppressed, that the great communication, by that noble river, might be as free as possible. The making of cables, and other hempen manufactures, which had been the principal stay of Bridport in Dorsetshire, was secured to that place, by statute. More than one law was passed to prevent the harbours in Devonshire and Cornwall from being injured and choaked up by the stream-works of the tin-mines. An act was also passed in favour of the port of Scarborough; and with regard to Dover, the haven being in a manner spoiled, the king expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds, out of his own coffers, in building a new pier, and other necessary works. Some favours he likewise granted, out of consideration to their harbour, unto the inhabitants of Pool. But not to dwell upon a subject that might employ a volume, let us barely mention his founding the two royal yards of Woolwich and Deptford, the cradles of Britain's naval power; and his founding at the latter  
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his noble marine guild, or fraternity of the Trinity, denominated from thence of Deptford strand. These were manifest proofs of his acquaintance with, and attention to, the real and essential interests of his subjects. It may indeed be said, that many of these, being acts of the legislature, ought not therefore to be ascribed singly to this prince; which, in regard to any other reign, would be a good objection. But though, in such matters, parliaments in other times did what they pleased, almost without the king, yet Henry did what he pleased with, and parliament studied to please him. Other histories will shew, and very truly too, what evils flowed from this source. It is my felicity to have no concern, but to prove, that some good things came likewise through this channel, which is certainly a point of justice to do, if I had abilities to perform it.

He was likewise very solicitous in providing for the security of his dominions, that whatever share he thought fit to take in the affairs of the continent, his crown might be at all times safe, and the public tranquillity in no danger. His militia and his navy were always ready for service; but to give them leisure to arrive he covered all his havens with fortresses. Guines, for the protection of Calais, he rendered impregnable, and made Bullogne strong enough to resist all the force of France. He constructed a strong castle, on the isle of Portland, and built another at Hurst, to guard Southampton and the adjacent coasts, the two forts called Cowes for the guard of the Isle of Wight; Camber castle to defend Winchelsea and Rye, as South-sea castle was erected to secure Portsmouth, Sandgate, Walmer, Deal, and Sandown castles, were all raised by him to preserve the cinque-ports; as was that of Queenborough to cover the other side of Kent. Nor did he overlook or neglect the more distant parts of this island, as the strong and costly castles of Pendennis and St. Maws in Cornwall clearly witness. We may think the less of these fortifications, by seeing most of them sinking into ruins, being suffered, through neglect, to moulder and decay; but they were once works of wonder, for all that, cost Henry immense sums, and in his own days were both useful and honourable, whatever, through a change of circumstances, they may be now. He was magnificent in his palaces, such as Bridewell and Whitehall, here in his capital; Beaulieu in Essex,  
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Noneſuch in Surry, Chelsea and Hampton-court in Middleſex, Dartford and Greenwich in Kent, and Windſor caſtle in Berks, which he much improved. Theſe buildings were expensive, encouraged artiſts, gave employment to multitudes, and, by the king's example, ſpread a ſpirit of this ſort over all England, as Leland, and other contemporary writers remark, and praiſe him for it exceedingly; and of what paſſed in their own times, we cannot be ſo good judges as they, in reſpect to the ſafety thoſe fortiſſes procured, or the good effects which the king's taſte in building and other polite arts produced.

Though dreaded by his clergy, and little beloved by the old nobility, Henry was revered by the gentry, whom he employed and advanced, and had the affections of the commons, to whom he was kind. He made laws for regulating meaſures, for improving the woollen and worſted manufactures, and for preventing frauds in pewter, by which exportation was prevented. He was an enemy to monopolies, and to the oppreſſion of incorporated companies, whom he reſtrained from making bye-laws, but with the aſſent of the chief juſtices. He cauſed the fees of apprentices, at being bound and made free, to be fixed by a ſtatute; and alſo declared bonds taken by maſters from their apprentices, that when they had ſerved their times, they would not ſet up their reſpective crafts, to be void. In reſpect to foreigners exerciſing trades, of which, in thoſe days, there were in London many thouſands, which occaſioned much heart-burning, many tumults, and one great inſurrection; he directed a ſtriſt inquiry in the Star-chamber, and then converted the decree made there into a law, by authority of parliament. As this has been liable to miſinterpretation, as a meaſure deſtructive to induſtry, it may be proper to ſet it in a true light. Theſe ſtrangers took no Engliſh apprentices or ſervants, they underſold by debaſing wares, they did not bear a ſhare in taxes or public ſervices, they affected to live in communities, and to hold meetings for ſupporting their intereſts againſt the natives; and when they were grown rich by theſe and ſuch like arts, they went home with their wealth, and left their nephews or ſervants here, in poſſeſſion of their trades. All the hardſhips put upon them by the king's law was, to ſet them on a level, in all theſe reſpects, with his own ſubjects. He was alſo a lover of  
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learned men, and an encourager of learned professions. He founded the royal college of physicians, granted them extensive privileges by charter, which was supported by a statute; and he, in like manner, exempted surgeons from being on juries, or serving offices, as being, in its consequences, detrimental to society. He invited over Hans Holbein, and other ingenious foreigners, rewarded them liberally, and encouraged all new inventions, of which, if we had room, we could give a considerable catalogue, that were introduced under his auspice, or at least during his reign; which, having lasted almost thirty-eight years, must have brought in manners, as we shall see it actually did, that had a very strong effect upon the fortune and condition of the nation.

Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, in the year 1527, addressed himself to the king by a letter, wherein he represented what great advantages the emperor and the king of Portugal drew from their colonies, and, in a very pathetic strain, exhorted him to undertake discoveries towards the north, concerning which he gave many hints, supported by very plausible reasons<sup>c</sup>. The king understanding that this gentleman had great experience, as well as a very penetrating judgment, yielded to his request, and ordered two ships to be well manned and victualled for this expedition, of which Mr. Thorne himself had the direction. The issue, however, of this voyage, is very uncertainly recorded: all we know of it is, that one of the ships employed therein was lost, and that the other returned home without discovering any north-west passage, though certainly no care or pains were wanting in such as were concerned. Mr. Thorne, the principal undertaker, lived to be afterwards mayor of Bristol, and dying in a good old age, with a very fair reputation, lies buried in the Temple church<sup>d</sup>.

In 1530 Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, *Knt.* and himself esteemed one of

<sup>c</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 212.    <sup>d</sup> Hall, fol. 158. b. Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII. in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 85. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 129, 212. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 806—809. Weever's funeral monuments, p. 443. Though Fuller in his worthies, under Bristol, p. 36. speaking of the great beneficence of this truly eminent and worthy person, intimates, that he lies buried in St. Christopher's, near the Exchange, London.

the ablest seamen of his time, fitted out a stout tall ship, says my author, at his own expence, called the *Paul of Plymouth*, of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons; in which he made three voyages to the coast of *Brasil*, touching also on the coast of *Guinea*, where he traded in slaves, gold, and elephants teeth, opening thereby the channel of that rich and extensive commerce, which has been since carried on in those parts<sup>w</sup>.

Less successful, though undertaken with greater hopes, was the famous voyage of *Mr. Hore of London*, a worthy merchant, and one of the most remarkable men of his time. His person was tall and graceful; his knowledge solid and extensive, his behaviour insinuating and polite; all which is necessary to be observed; since, by his discourses on the honour and profit of discoveries in *North America*, he inspired no less than thirty gentlemen, of family and fortune, with a desire of sharing in the fatigues of his intended voyage<sup>x</sup>. They equipped two ships, one called the *Trinity*, of one hundred and forty tons, commanded by *Mr. Hore*, the other the *Minion*, of less burden; and on board these there embarked, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

They sailed from *Gravesend* on the thirtieth of *April, 1536*, and, without any remarkable accident, arrived on the coasts of *Newfoundland*, where, while they were intent on discoveries, they were reduced to such distress for want of food, that some of them when on shore killed and ate their companions. At last, when they were on the point of being all starved, a French ship arrived; well furnished with provisions, of which they made themselves masters, and returned therein to *England*, but in such a miserable condition, though they were not out above seven months, that *Sir William Butts* and his lady did not know their own son, who was one of the company, but by an extraordinary wart on his knee. Some months after arrived the Frenchmen whom they had spoiled, and made a great clamour at court about the wrongs they had received; into which *King Henry* having made a strict inquiry, he was so much moved at the miseries these brave men had suffered, that he generously repaid the French to their satisfaction out of the treasury, and promoted several of those who returned from this disastrous voyage;

<sup>w</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 700.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 704.

amongst the rest Mr. Armigal Wade, who was many years after clerk of the council to himself and his son Edward VI.<sup>7</sup> One thing more I must remark before I quit this subject, and that is, that the reverend Mr. Hakluyt, from whom we have these particulars, rode two hundred miles, in order to take them from the mouth of Mr. Butts, the only surviving person of those who had made this voyage<sup>8</sup>.

The English commerce, during the reign of this prince, extended itself very much, especially towards the new-discovered lands in the north, to which by degrees a regular trade was fixed; and in the Levant encouraged by the great intercourse between the king and the two maritime states of Italy, Venice, and Genoa. In proof of this I will give the title of a patent granted by this monarch to a Genoese, to execute the office of a consul of the English nation in the isle of Chio, the original of which is still preserved in the library of the society for propagating Christian knowledge. It runs thus: "*Exemplar: literarum pat. Henrici regis octavi, in quibus concessit Benedicto Justiniani mercatori genuensi, officium sive locum magistri protectoris, sive consulis; infra insulam sive civitatem de Scio. Teste rege apud Chelschith, quinto die Octobris reg. xxiii.*"

It seems; indeed, to have been the king's maxim, as may be gathered from the state papers of his reign which have reached our times, to have made use of all his foreign negotiations for the furtherance of trade, to which his agents Ley and Pace, the former employed in Spain, and the latter to Venice and the Swiss cantons, had a strong inclination. As to Pace, he had formed a plan for enlarging our foreign trade into the Turkish dominions, which was hindered from coming to the king's notice by the arts of Cardinal Wolsey; who first decried him as a madman, and then by his ill usage made him really such<sup>9</sup>.

After doing, as indeed it was our duty to do, justice to this monarch's intentions, which, with respect to foreign affairs, were always what they ought to be; that is, he meant to preserve the independency of the sovereigns of Europe, and make himself the umpire of their differences; we must next, in justice to our sub-

<sup>7</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. i. in the appendix. Herbert, Burnet, Wood's Athen. Oxoniensis; vol. i. col. 29.

ject, say somewhat of the consequences that attended his interfering so much as he did with the affairs of the continent, and of the high price he paid for that reputation which he attained. But, previous to this, let it be observed, that such as have censured him for changing sides, as the history of his reign plainly shews he did, are in the wrong to ascribe it to the inconstancy of his temper, since, as that learned antiquary Sir Robert Cotton<sup>b</sup> truly observes, it ought rather to be placed to the account of his allies,

When the Emperor Maximilian entered into a league with this monarch, he promised to assist in person, to recover for him the crown of France, and to repel the tyrannical king who then wore that crown; he promised him likewise the duchy of Milan to him and his heirs-male, to be held as a fief of the empire; and, as if this had not been enough, he likewise assured him the reversion of the imperial crown, and the Roman empire. But, when he had served his turn, he left King Henry to serve himself how he could. Yet this usage did not hinder him from entering into a confederacy with Charles V. who fed him with the hopes, that, when by their joint support, the constable of Bourbon should be put into possession of the kingdom of France, he should do homage for it to King Henry, yet afterwards, through his assistance, their affairs being in a prosperous condition, and the French king in the greatest distress, when Mr. Pacc, the king of England's ambassador, desired farther assurances, they were plainly refused; so that, to break with such allies as these, ought not to draw any imputation upon his character.

The times in which he lived, and the temper of those princes with whom he had to deal, may furnish some excuse for his conduct; and perhaps the secret engagements of his ministers, by the means of pensions or promises from foreign powers, might, if they could be thoroughly exposed, justify the king still farther, by proving, that he was misled in those measures, which induced him to take such steps for maintaining his interest and grandeur abroad, as deeply distressed and impoverished his subjects here at home.

<sup>b</sup> In his discourse of foreign war, London, 1690, 8vo. p. 90.

That immense treasure his father left behind him was quickly consumed in the great expeditions he undertook, in the transporting vast armies to the continent, the maintaining them in the field, and in garrisons, and the high subsidies granted to his allies, while he was fighting all the time in other men's quarrels, and got little or nothing, at least that was worth keeping, for himself. When all that mass of money was gone, he demanded and received such assistance from his parliament as none of his predecessors had obtained. To all this they added that prodigious grant of the estates of all the religious houses in this realm, which at that time amounted to 150,000 pounds *per annum*, and which were vested in the crown for ever. Besides these legal impositions, this king acquired no small sum by methods which had no better support than the stretch of his prerogative; to mention only a few:

In the fourteenth year of his reign, he had a loan of ten *per cent.* out of the personal estate of such of his subjects as were worth from twenty to 300 pounds, and twenty marks from such as were worth more. This, indeed, was only borrowed, and they had privy seals for their money; but the parliament kindly interposed four years after, and released his Majesty from the obligation of paying so much as a farthing of those debts. Neither must it be forgot, that, in collecting this loan, the value of every man's estate was put upon his oath; so that every subject was in jeopardy either of poverty or perjury.

In the seventeenth year of his reign he had another great loan, in which an oath of secrecy was administered to the commissioners, and they were empowered to tender the like oath to such as came before them: though this was styled an amicable grant, yet the commissioners, to quicken men in their offers, threatened them with imprisonment of their persons, and confiscation of their estates. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he demanded and received a loan of eightpence in the pound of such persons as were worth from forty shillings to twenty pounds, and one shilling in the pound from such as were worth more. By which it appears, that as he fell early into necessity, notwithstanding the rich exchequer that he came to, so he was not long out of necessity, after that prodigious accession to the royal revenue made by the confiscation, before-mentioned, of the abbey-lands.

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The worst of all was, that, when he found himself pressed for money, he took the most detrimental way of raising it, which was that of practising upon his coin. It may, however, seem doubtful, whether the alteration he made in the first year of his reign was with this view. He did, indeed, coin forty-five shillings out of a pound of silver, by which he raised that metal to three shillings and ninepence an ounce; but, as the standard was not altered, it is not at all improbable that the motives, upon which he made this alteration, might be honourable enough. But, in the latter end of his reign, his conduct in this respect became inexcusable, because highly detrimental to his people.

The first stroke of this bad policy was in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he not only divided the pound into forty-eight shillings, by which, if the coin had remained in its former purity, silver would have been raised to four shillings an ounce, but added also two ounces of base metal in the pound, instead of eighteen pennyweight, which raised it ninepence halfpenny an ounce more. Not contented with this, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he coined money that was but half silver; and though some of the chronicles of those times say, that by this he raised it to four shillings an ounce, yet in fact he brought it up to eight shillings. In the next year he gave the finishing stroke, by coining money that had but four ounces of silver in the pound weight; so that silver was then at twelve shillings an ounce; the consequence of which was, that, after his death, his shilling fell to ninepence, and afterwards to sixpence; that is, people would take them for no more.

It is to be observed, that the greatest part of this money was coined into testons, which, though they were never called shillings, yet passed in his time for twelvecence: they are said to have been of brass covered with silver; and these were the pieces that fell first to ninepence, and then to sixpence; and a piece of that value being found very convenient in change, they were coined of good silver at that rate in succeeding times, and from hence came the word tester. He made likewise some alterations in his gold coins; all which was occasioned by his foreign wars, and other expensive measures, which forced him upon these methods, unknown to any of his royal predecessors even in the times of their greatest necessities.

It is inconceivable what strange, as well as what bad effects this debasement of the coin produced, and which, as the common people for want of discernment were unable to ascribe to its proper cause, they were led from thence into a variety of errors, which naturally rendered them desirous of very improper measures, which they vainly hoped would prove remedies. All things of a sudden grew extravagantly dear; as indeed, how should it be otherwise? for, let a prince be ever so powerful, he cannot change the nature, or even the value of things, nor will his debasing his coin sink the worth of the commodities or manufactures that are to be purchased with it.

At first such alterations will create great confusion, which cannot but be detrimental to private property, yet by degrees men will be taught to set up their natural against the regal prerogative, and when they find money of less value than it should be, they will insist upon having more money. But, notwithstanding experience points them to this remedy in their private dealings, yet, as all men are buyers as well as sellers, it is easy to perceive, that, in such a situation of things, a general clamour will arise about the dearth of necessary commodities, which may be, as it then was, attributed to false causes, which occasioned not only ineffectual remedies to be applied, but such as were also injurious, heightening old, and being also productive of fresh inconveniencies.

To this may be ascribed many of the complaints that are to be met with in the historians of those times, and many of the laws too, that were founded on popular conceit, and which, though they were enacted to give public satisfaction, were repealed again in succeeding reigns, when they were felt to be public grievances. If, as the Roman poet observes, there is a pleasure in beholding storms and tempests when we are safe, and out of their reach, there is certainly much greater satisfaction in contemplating the political foul weather of former times, which we are not only exempt from feeling, but which our present happy constitution secures us from any apprehension that we or our posterity shall ever feel. But this satisfaction may be still heightened, by a rational reflection upon what passed in those times, on the connection between mistakes in policy, the mischiefs created

created by them, and the misconstructions that were sometimes put on these by those who suffered them.

It is the power of making these remarks, and of setting things even of the nicest nature in their true light, that is one of the greatest advantages attending freedom. In times past, no doubt, there might be many who had heads clear enough to make these, or perhaps better reflections, but they were obliged to conceal them, because reasons of state would have made that a crime, which was commendable in itself, but which, notwithstanding that, will never be commended but amongst a free people. The measures that we have censured and exposed were certainly marks of the power, the excessive power of the prince by whom they were taken, and who, it is very probable, did not foresee the consequences that would attend them: they served some immediate purpose; and he who is urged by an ambitious will, when he is possessed of absolute power, will seldom look farther. But those who live under milder princes, and in better times, will discern from such histories the dangers to which a people must be always exposed, who want the safeguard of a legal constitution, which may defend them from having those privileges, bestowed upon them by God, torn from them at the will of one of their fellow-creatures.

But it is time to pass from these matters to the glorious seamen, to whose memories we have undertaken to do right, and of whom several flourished in this martial reign, that are but very slightly mentioned in those histories where we might reasonably have expected the best accounts of them. As far as the narrowness of our limits will permit, we will endeavour to supply that defect here, beginning with

SIR EDWARD HOWARD, Lord High Admiral of England, and Knight of the most noble order of the GARTER.

**I**F the advantage of an illustrious descent adds, as we commonly suppose it does, to the reputation of great achievements, then the memory of this very gallant and worthy man will have a double right to our respect. He was a second son  
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of the most noble house of Norfolk, and derived, from the example of his father, those qualities which most adorn the highest titles, untainted loyalty, and invincible courage. He began early to testify his inclination to the sea-service, since we find him employed in the Flanders expedition in 1492; when King Henry VII. thought fit to assist the duke of Burgundy against his rebellious subjects. As we purposely omitted an account of that expedition in his reign, let us, as was our intention then, insert it here.

The Flemings, naturally a brave people, and fond of freedom, grew uneasy under the yoke of the house of Austria; and under the command of the Baron de Ravenstein, began to throw it off. In order to this, they seized the town and harbour of Sluys, from whence they fitted out abundance of vessels, of pretty considerable force, and, under colour of pursuing their enemies, took and plundered vessels of all nations, without distinction; and as the English trade to Flanders was then very extensive, their ships suffered at least as much as any other; which was the true reason why King Henry, upon the first application of the duke of Burgundy, sent a squadron of twelve sail, under the command of Sir Edward Poynings, with whom went out Sir Edward Howard, then a very young man, to learn the art of war. The duke of Saxony, in consequence of his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, marched with an army into Flanders, and besieged Sluys by land; and Sir Edward Poynings thereupon blocked it up with his fleet by sea.

The port was defended by two strong castles, which the Flemings, who had nothing to trust to but force, defended with unparalleled obstinacy; insomuch, that though Poynings attacked them constantly every day; for twenty days successively, yet he made no great impression; till at last, through accident, the bridge of boats, by which the communication between the castles was preserved took fire: whereupon the besieged were glad to surrender their city to the duke of Saxony, and their port and castles to the English<sup>c</sup>. In this expedition Sir Edward was made a knight, for his extraordinary bravery, of which he

<sup>c</sup> Hall, fol. 17, 22. b. Polyd. Vir. p. 384. Lord Bacon's history of Henry VII. vol. ii. p. 304, 305.

gave frequent instances during that long reign; and so thoroughly established his reputation, that King Henry VIII. on his accession, made choice of him for his standard-bearer<sup>d</sup>, which in those days was considered not only as a mark of particular favour, but as a testimony also of the highest confidence and greatest respect.

In the fourth year of the same reign, he was created Lord High Admiral of England<sup>e</sup>; and in that station convoyed the marquis of Dorset into Spain, of whose expedition we have already spoken; as also of the manner in which it ended. The Lord Admiral, after the landing of the forces, put to sea again, and arriving on the coasts of Bretagne, landed some of his men about Conquet and Brest; who ravaged the country, and burnt several of the little towns. This roused the French, who began immediately to fit out a great fleet, in order to drive, if possible, the English from their coasts: and as this armament was very extraordinary, King Henry sent a squadron of five and twenty tall ships, which he caused to be fitted out under his own eye, at Portsmouth, to the assistance of the admiral<sup>f</sup>. Among these were two capital ships: one called the Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet, master of the horse to the king; and the other, which was the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk. When these vessels had joined the admiral, his fleet consisted of no less than forty-five sail, with which he immediately resolved to attack the enemy, who were by this time ready to come out of the harbour of Brest<sup>g</sup>. Authors differ much as to their number, though they agree pretty well as to the name of the admiral, whom they call Primauguet; yet it seems they agree in a mistake: for the historians of Bretagne assure us, they have no such name in that province; and that, undoubtedly, it ought to be Porfmoguer<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Pat. i. H. VIII. p. 2. m. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Pat. iv. H. VIII. p. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Hall,

fol. 27. Holingshed, vol. II. p. 815. Herbert, p. 11.

<sup>g</sup> Histoire de

France, par P. Daniel, tome vii. p. 313.

<sup>h</sup> We have this from the last cited author, who certainly judges right: for from the Sieur Porfmoguer, our old chronicles took Sir Pierce Morgan, which is the name they have thought fit to bestow on the French admiral; as the reader may see in Hall, fol. 22. 2. and Grafton, p. 970.

Whatever his name was, or whatever the force of his fleet might be, which our writers say consisted of thirty-nine, and the French only of twenty sail, he was certainly a very brave man. The ship he commanded was called the *Cordelier*, which was so large, as to be able to carry twelve hundred fighting men, exclusive of mariners. At this time there were nine hundred on board: and encouraged by their gallant officer, they did their duty bravely. Sir Thomas Knevet, in the *Regent*, which was a much less ship, attacked and boarded them. The action lasted for some time with equal vigour on both sides: at last, both admirals took fire, and burnt together, wherein were lost the two commanders, and upwards of sixteen hundred valiant men<sup>1</sup>. It seems this accident struck both fleets with amazement; so that they separated without fighting, each claiming the victory, to which probably, neither had a very good title.

In the beginning of the next April, the admiral put to sea again, with a fleet of forty-two men of war<sup>2</sup>, besides small vessels, and forced the French into the harbour of Brest<sup>3</sup>, where they fortified themselves, in order to wait the arrival of a squadron of gallies from the Mediterranean. Sir Edward Howard having considered their posture, resolved, since it was impossible to attack them, to burn the country round about; which he accordingly performed, in spite of all the care they could take to prevent it: and yet the French lay still under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks lashed together, which they proposed to have set on fire, in case the English attempted to force them to a battle<sup>4</sup>. While the admiral was thus employed, he had intelligence that Mr. Pregent, with the six gallies from the Mediterranean, were arrived on the coast, and had taken shelter in the bay of Conquet. This accident induced him to change his measures; so that he now resolved first to destroy the gallies, if possible, and then to return to the fleet. Upon his advancing to reconnoitre Pregent's squadron, he found them at anchor between two rocks,

<sup>1</sup> Godwin's *annals*, p. 10. H. Velleii in *Gagdini* appendix, p. 318, 319.

*Dupleix*, tome iii. p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Grafton, p. 971. Stowe, p. 491. Cooper, fol. 275.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. 1512.

<sup>4</sup> Hall, fol. 22. b. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 816. Rapin, vol. i. p. 721.

on each of which stood a strong fort; and, which was like to give him still more trouble, they lay so far up in the bay, that he could bring none of his ships of force to engage them. The only method, therefore, of which he could think, was to put the bravest of his sailors on board two galleys, which were in his fleet, and with these to venture in, and try what might be done against all six<sup>a</sup>.

This being resolved on, he went himself, attended by Sir Thomas Cheyne, and Sir John Wallop on board one of them; and sent Lord Ferrers, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Sidney on board the other; and having a brisk gale of wind, sailed directly into the bay; where, with his own galley, he attacked the French admiral. As soon as they were grappled, Sir Edward Howard, followed by seventeen of the bravest of his sailors, boarded the enemy, and were very gallantly received; but it so happened; that in the midst of the engagement the galleys sheered asunder; and the French, taking that advantage, forced all the English upon their decks overboard, except one seaman, from whom they quickly learned, that the admiral was of that number<sup>o</sup>. Lord Ferrers, in the other galley, did all that was possible for a very brave man to do; but having spent all his shot, and perceiving, as he thought, the admiral retire, he likewise made the best of his way out of the harbour<sup>p</sup>.

We have, in a certain noble writer's accurate history, some very singular circumstances relating to this unlucky adventure. He says, that Sir Edward Howard having considered the posture of the French fleet in the haven of Brest, and the consequences which would attend either defeating or burning it, gave notice thereof to the king, inviting him to be present at so glorious an action; desiring rather that the king should have

<sup>a</sup> Herbert, p. 13. *Memoires du Bellay*, liv. i. *Dupleix*, tome iii. Losing his life thus unhappily, as observed by Mr. Anstis, before he could have notice that his master had honoured him with his order. *Register of the garter*, vol. ii. p. 275.

<sup>o</sup> Godwin, Stowe, Speed. Father Daniel says, he died of a wound he received in the former engagement, which is a plain mistake.

<sup>p</sup> This Lord was Sir Walter Devereux, knight of the garter, ancestor of the old earls of Essex, and of the present viscounts of Hereford.

the honour of destroying the French naval force than himself; a loyal, generous proposition; supposing the honour, not the danger, too great for a subject; and measuring (no doubt very justly) his master's courage by his own; the only standard men of his rank and temper of mind ever use.

But his letter being laid before the council, they were altogether of another opinion; conceiving it was much too great a hazard for his Majesty to expose his person in such an enterprise; and therefore they wrote sharply to the admiral, commanding him not to send excuses, but do his duty. This, as it well might, piqued him to the utmost, and as it was his avowed maxim, That a seaman never did good, who was not resolute to a degree of madness, so he took a sudden resolution of acting in the manner he did. When he found his galley slide away, and saw the danger to which he was exposed, he took his chain of gold nobles which hung about his neck, and his great gold whistle, the ensign of his office, and threw them into the sea, to prevent the enemy from possessing the spoils of an English admiral. Thus fell the great Sir Edward Howard, on the twenty-fifth of April 1513, a sacrifice to his too quick sense of honour in the service, and yet to the manifest and acknowledged detriment of his country: for his death so dejected the spirits of his sailors, that the fleet was obliged to return home; which, had he lived, would not have happened.

There never certainly was a braver man of his, or consequently of any family, than this Sir Edward Howard; and yet we are assured, that he was very far from being either a mere soldier, or a mere seaman, though so eminent in both characters: but he was what it became an English gentleman of so high quality to be; an able statesman, a faithful counsellor, and a free speaker. He was ready at all times to hazard his life and fortune in his country's quarrels; and yet he was against her quarrelling on every slight occasion, or against her interests. He particularly dissuaded a breach with the Flemings, for these wise and strong reasons: that such a war was prejudicial to commerce abroad; that it diminished the customs, while it increased the public expences; that it served the French, by con-

\* Lord Herbert's life and reign of Henry VIII. A. D. 1513.

straining the inhabitants of Flanders to deal with them against their will; and that it tended to the prejudice of our manufactures, by interrupting our intercourse with those by whom they were principally improved<sup>†</sup>.

Thus qualified, we need not wonder he attained such high honours, though he died in the flower of his age. Henry gratified his ardour with titles, and such like rewards; making him Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain, for life; and causing him to be chosen knight of the garter<sup>‡</sup>: believing that he should thereby command, as indeed he did, not only the utmost service Sir Edward could do, but also all the force and interest of his potent family: which, however, that prince ill requited, as we shall see in the next life. This Sir Edward Howard married Alice, widow to Sir William Parker, Knt. and daughter of William Lovel, Lord Morley; by whom he had no issue<sup>§</sup>. He was, as soon as the news of his unfortunate death reached the ears of his royal master, succeeded in his high office by his elder brother

SIR THOMAS HOWARD, afterwards earl of Surrey, and duke of Norfolk, &c.

**I**F we spoke first of the younger brother, it was in respect to his dignity, and to its date; for though the junior son, he was the elder admiral: in point of merit they were equal. Thomas earl of Surrey, restored afterwards to the title of duke of Norfolk, treasurer to Henry VIII. and the father of both these brave men, spared not either himself, or his sons, when the service of the crown and his country required it. In the third year of this king's reign, a Scots seaman, Sir Andrew Breton, or Barton, with two stout vessels, one named the Lion,

<sup>†</sup> Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 241.

<sup>‡</sup> Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 713. The king of Scots, in a letter to King Henry VIII. May 24, 1513. speaks thus: "And surely, dearest brother, we think more loss is to you of the late Admiral, who deceased to his great honour, than the advantage might have been in winning all the French gal-  
"lies."

<sup>§</sup> Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 2. 17. MS. in my possession.

the other Jenny Perwin, ranged on the English coasts, and interrupted all navigation. His pretence was, letters of reprisals granted him against the Portuguese, by James III. late king of Scots (whom his rebellious subjects murdered); and under colour of this, he took ships of all nations, alledging they had Portuguese goods on board<sup>u</sup>. On complaint of these grievances to the privy-council of England, the father of our admiral, then earl of Surrey, said, "The narrow seas should not be so infested, while he had estate enough to furnish a ship, or a son capable of commanding it<sup>w</sup>."

Upon this, two ships were immediately fitted out by the two brothers, as I conceive at their own, or at their father's expence<sup>x</sup>: and my reason for it is, because had they gone with the king's commission, they would probably have had a squadron. Besides, they needed no commission; for pirates being *hostes humani generis*, enemies to mankind, every man is at liberty to act against them; and on this very principle King Henry justified this action<sup>y</sup>. Indeed most of our historians overturn these arguments, by styling Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, and saying his brother served under him on this occasion. The latter may be true, on account of Sir Edward's experience; but as to the former it is plainly erroneous; as appears by the date of his patent in the succeeding year<sup>z</sup>. On the whole, I think it most likely, this was a private expedition, with the knowledge and consent of the king, but not by his special commission, or immediate authority; as will quickly appear by still stronger testimony.

The Lords having been some days at sea, were separated by a storm, which gave Sir Thomas Howard an opportunity of coming up with Sir Andrew Barton in the *Lion*, whom he immediately engaged<sup>a</sup>. The fight was long and doubtful; for Barton, who was an experienced seaman, and who had under him a determined crew, made a most desperate defence; himself cheering them with a boatswain's whistle to his last breath.

<sup>u</sup> Hall, fol. 15. *Lescl de rebz gestis Scotorum*, lib. viii. p. 355. Buchanan, lib. xiii. p. 424, 425.

<sup>w</sup> Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 143.

<sup>x</sup> Grafton, p. 960.

Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 811.

<sup>y</sup> See his answer to the

Scots king's remonstrances.

<sup>z</sup> 4 Henry VII. p. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Godwin's

scots, p. 8. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 276. b.

The loss of their captain was the only thing that could induce them to submit, which at last they did; and were received to quarter and fair usage<sup>b</sup>. In the mean time Sir Edward fought, and took the consort of the *Lion*, which was likewise a strong vessel, and exceedingly well manned. Both these ships, with as many men as were left alive, being in number one hundred and fifty, they brought, the second of August 1511, into the river Thames as trophies of their victory. The men were sent to the archbishop of York's palace, now called Whitehall; where for some time they remained prisoners, but afterwards were dismissed, and sent into Scotland<sup>c</sup>.

King James IV. who then governed the Scots, exceedingly resented this action, and instantly sent ambassadors to Henry, to demand satisfaction; on which the king gave this memorable answer: "That punishing pirates was never held a breach of "peace among princes." King James, however, remained still dissatisfied; and from that time to his unfortunate death, was never thoroughly reconciled to the king or English nation. I reserved this remarkable event for the life of Sir Thomas, because the ship of Sir Andrew Barton became his prize, and I thought it by no means proper to repeat the story in both lives: as to Sir Edward's being made admiral, in preference to his elder brother, it must have arisen from his greater acquaintance with naval affairs, or from the family's desiring to have the eldest son always at hand, to assist his father, who, besides his many high employments of lord-treasurer, earl-marshal, and lieutenant of the north, had the jealousy of the potent Cardinal Wolsey to contend with<sup>c</sup>.

Sir Thomas Howard accompanied the marquis of Dorset in his expedition against Guyenne, which ended in King Ferdinand's conquering Navarre; and the commander in chief falling sick, Sir Thomas succeeded him, and managed with great prudence, in bringing home the remains of the English army<sup>f</sup>. He was scarce returned before the ill news arrived of his brother the lord admiral's death; whereupon the king instantly appointed

<sup>b</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 489.

<sup>c</sup> Herbert's life of Henry VIII. p. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Hall, fol. 15. <sup>b</sup> Sir William Drummond's history of the five Jameses, p. 139.

<sup>e</sup> Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 131. Burnet's history of the Reformation, vol. i. b. j.

<sup>f</sup> Grafton, p. 962.

him his successor. Sir Thomas returned his master sincere thanks, as well for this mark of his confidence, as for affording him an opportunity of revenging his brother's death. The French ships were at that time hovering over the English coasts, but Sir Thomas quickly scoured the seas so, that not a bark of that nation durst appear; and on the first of July, 1513, landing in Whitland bay, he pillaged the country adjacent, and burnt a considerable town<sup>a</sup>. The king was then engaged in Picardy, having the emperor in his service; and this induced James IV. to invade England with a mighty army, supposing he should find it in a manner defenceless; but Thomas earl of Surrey quickly convinced him of his mistake, marching towards him with a powerful army, which strengthened as it moved. Sir Thomas Howard returning, on the news of this invasion, landed five thousand veterans, and made haste to join his father. The earl of Surrey dispatching a herald to bid the Scots king battle, the lord admiral sent him word, at the same time, that he was come in person to answer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton; which evidently shews how far that was a personal affair. This defiance produced the famous battle of Floddenfield, which was fought the eighth of September, 1513, wherein Sir Thomas Howard commanded the van-guard, and by his courage and conduct contributed not a little to that glorious victory in which King James fell, with the flower of his army, though not without the slaughter of abundance of English<sup>b</sup>.

King Henry thought himself so much obliged at that time to the Howards, for this and other services, that at a parliament held the next year, he restored Thomas earl of Surrey to the title of Norfolk<sup>c</sup>, and created the lord admiral earl of Surrey, who took his seat in the House of Peers, not as a duke's son; but according to his creation<sup>d</sup>. These favours were from the king; for as to the cardinal minister; he made the duke of Norfolk so uneasy, as high treasurer, that in the course of a

<sup>a</sup> Hall, fol. 23. b. Stowe, p. 491. Godwin's annals. p. 12, 13.

<sup>b</sup> Gr. f. p. 984. Holinghed, vol. ii. p. 829. Speed, p. 755. See an original letter of Queen Catharine to her lord (Henry VIII.) dated Voborne, the sixteenth of September, 1513, acquainting him with the news of this great victory, in Sylloge epist. à variis Angl. princip. script. p. 106.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 1514.

<sup>d</sup> Pat. 5 Hen.

VIII. p. 2. m. 11. Journal of parliament cod. anno.

very few years he was glad to resign that high charge to his son.

The war being ended with France, the admiral's martial talent lay some time unemployed; but certain disturbances in Ireland calling for redress, the active earl of Surrey was sent thither, with a commission, as lord-deputy<sup>1</sup>, where he suppressed Desmond's rebellion, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and without affecting severity or popularity, brought all things into good order, leaving, when he quitted the island, peace and a parliament behind him<sup>2</sup>, and carrying with him the affections of the people, though he performed not all he intended, the cardinal grudging the honour he had already acquired, and resolving to hinder, at all events, his gaining more<sup>3</sup>.

The pretence for recalling him was, the breaking out again of a French war. Before it was declared, the French ships of war interrupted (according to custom) the English trade, so that we suffered as their enemies, while their ambassadors here treated us as friends. The lord admiral, on his arrival, remedied this inconvenience; he immediately fitted out a small squadron of clean ships, under a vigilant commander, who soon drove the French privateers from their beloved occupation, thieving, to their old trade of starving<sup>4</sup>. In the spring, Sir William Fitz-Williams, as vice-admiral, put to sea, with a fleet of twenty-eight men of war, to guard the narrow seas<sup>5</sup>; and it being apprehended, that the Scots might add to the number of the king's enemies by sea as well as land, a small squadron of seven frigates sailed up the Frith of Forth, and burned all such vessels as lay there, and were in a condition of going to sea<sup>6</sup>. In the mean time the admiral prepared a royal navy, with which that of the Emperor Charles V. was to join; and as it was evident that many inconveniencies might arise from the fleets having several commanders in chief, the earl of Surrey, by special commission from Henry VIII. received the emperor's commission to be admiral also of the navy, which consisted of one hundred and eighty tall ships. This commission is dated at

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 1519.      <sup>2</sup> A. D. 1521.      <sup>3</sup> Hall, fol. 70, 90. h. Herbert, p. 40, 41. Cox's history of Ireland, p. 208. Speed, p. 762.      <sup>4</sup> Grafton, p. 1052, 1053. Stowe, p. 514. Speed.      <sup>5</sup> A. D. 1522.      <sup>6</sup> Hall, fol. 92. b. 94. a. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 873. Stowe, p. 515.

London, June 8, 1522, in the third year of his reign over the Romans, and seventh over the rest of his dominions, and is very ample<sup>r</sup>.

With the united fleets, the admiral sailed over to the coast of Normandy, and landing some forces near Cherbourg<sup>t</sup>, wasted and destroyed the country; after which they returned. This seems to have been a feint; for in a few days the admiral landed again on the coast of Bretagne a very large body of troops, with which he took and plundered the town of Morlaix<sup>u</sup>, and having gained an immense booty, and opened a passage for the English forces into Champaign and Picardy<sup>v</sup>, he first detached Sir William Fitz-Williams with a strong squadron to scour the seas, and to protect the merchants, and then returned to Southampton, where the emperor embarked on board his ship, and was safely conveyed to the port of St. Andero in Biscay<sup>w</sup>. In the fourteenth of King Henry's reign, the good old duke his father, being quite tired out with cares, resigned his high office of lord treasurer, and the king thereupon conferred it on his son, the earl of Surrey<sup>x</sup>. He was also entrusted by the king with the army raised to invade Scotland, and in the station of general did good service against the duke of Albany, whereby all the deep designs of the French were frustrated. On the death of his father he was once more appointed to command an army against the Scots, in which affair he acquitted himself with as much honour, justice, and bravery as any man ever did<sup>y</sup>.

He afterwards attended the king into France, and was sent principal ambassador to the French king, at such time as that monarch was proceeding to an interview with the Pope<sup>z</sup>. In the twenty-eighth of King Henry, he assisted the earl of Shrewsbury in suppressing a formidable rebellion, covered with the specious title of the pilgrimage of grace, and throughout his whole life approved himself an honest and active servant to the crown, in all capacities; yet in the close of his reign the king

<sup>r</sup> Lord Herbert has inserted it at large in his history, p. 49.

<sup>s</sup> June 13,

2522.

<sup>t</sup> July 1.

<sup>u</sup> Grafton, p. 1063. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 272.

Godwin's annals, p. 56.

<sup>v</sup> Herbert, p. 50. Rapin.

<sup>w</sup> Pat. 14 Hen. VIII.

p. 1.

<sup>x</sup> Hall. Buchanan, lib. xiv. *Lecti de rebus gestis Scotorum*, lib.

ix.

<sup>y</sup> Hall, fol. 206. b. 211 b. *Memoires du Bellay*, liv. iii. iv. Du-

pleix. tome iii. p. 391, 393.

was wrought into a persuasion, that this duke of Norfolk, and his son Henry earl of Surrey, were in a plot to seize upon his person, and to engross the government into their own hands, with many other things devised by their enemies, but altogether destitute of proof. For these supposed crimes he and his son were imprisoned, and, as was but too frequent in that reign, attainted almost on suspicion<sup>a</sup>. Henry earl of Surrey, the most accomplished nobleman of his time, lost his head in his father's presence; nor would the duke have survived him long (a warrant being once granted for his execution) if the king had not died at that critical juncture, and thereby opened a door of hope and liberty.

After all these sufferings he survived King Edward VI. and died in the first year of Queen Mary, at the age of sixty-six, when his attainder was repealed, and the act thereof taken from amongst the records<sup>b</sup>. He was unquestionably as able an admiral, as great a statesman, as fortunate a general, and as true a patriot as any in that age. But it is now time to come to his successor in the command of the navy,

**Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS**, afterwards earl of Southampton, and knight of the garter.

**H**E was descended, not only of an ancient and honourable, but also of a famous and noble family; his ancestors having been summoned to parliament, as barons, to the time of Edward III. Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams, the father of our admiral, married Lucia, daughter and co-heir to John Nevil, Marquis Montacute, by whom he had two sons, Thomas, who was slain at the battle of Flodden-field, and this William<sup>c</sup>. Being the younger son, he, from his nonage, addicted himself to arms, and particularly to the sea-service, which in those days became a distinct and regular profession, King Henry having a navy-office, commissioners, &c. which his predecessors had

<sup>a</sup> Herbert's life of Hen. VIII. p. 565. His misfortunes were owing chiefly to the resentment of his duchess, the daughter of Edward duke of Buckingham, and the falsehood of his female favourite, the former accusing, and the latter betraying him.

<sup>b</sup> See the act of repeal 1mo Mariz, and the character of both the duke and his son, in Sir Walter Raleigh's preface to the history of the world.

<sup>c</sup> A. D. 1554.

<sup>d</sup> From the collections of R. Glover, Somerset.

not. He also fixed settled salaries for his admirals, vice-admirals, captains, and seamen; so that under him naval affairs underwent a very great change, and we have had a constant series of officers in the royal navy ever since. How soon Mr. Fitz-Williams went to sea, does not appear from any memoirs now extant, but most certainly it was in the reign of Henry VII. for in the second of Henry VIII. he was appointed one of the esquires of the king's body.

In 1513 he had a command in the fleet which fought the French off Brest, and behaving very bravely there received a dangerous wound in the breast by a broad arrow. This did not hinder his being present at the siege of Tournay the same year, where, distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner, in the sight of his prince, he was honoured with knighthood<sup>c</sup>, and thenceforward constantly employed at sea, where he made himself equally useful to his prince, and grateful to the seamen. Of these we are assured he knew and called every one by name, never taking a prize but what he shared amongst them, or suffering more than two months to elapse, before they were fully paid their wages. The merchants were remarkably friends to him, on account of his constant attention to their concerns; and the king highly esteemed him for the punctuality with which he executed his orders, and his wonderful expedition in whatever he undertook.

He executed the office of vice-admiral during the absence of the earl of Surrey, then lord-licutenant of Ireland, in 1520, and convoyed the king, when he passed over to France, in order to an interview with Francis I. and two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that prince, Sir William, with a good fleet, was sent to protect our trade, and to molest the enemy, which he did effectually, but was not quite so successful in 1523, when he had orders to prevent the duke of Albany from passing with French succours into Scotland: for though he once dispersed the duke's fleet, and actually took some of his ships, with several persons of distinction on board, yet that cunning prince, escaped him with the rest by this artifice: he pretended to abandon his enterprize, relanded his forces, and ordered the ships to

<sup>c</sup> Hall, fol. 23. a, 45. a. Herbert's life of Hen. VIII. p. 334. Stowe, p. 490, 491,

be laid up; but, as soon as he understood the English admiral was returned to his own coasts, he instantly re embarked his troops, and continuing his voyage, notwithstanding it was the winter season, arrived safely in his own country <sup>f</sup>. In the sixteenth of Henry VIII. we find Sir William preferred to be captain of Guines castle in Picardy; in the next year he was sent ambassador into France, and executed his commission with such success, that he was from that time more and more in the king's favour <sup>g</sup>.

After the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, to whom our admiral was no great friend, we find him an active man in parliament, and made use of by the king to excuse Bishop Fisher to the House of Commons <sup>h</sup>. In the twenty-seventh of the same reign he was again employed in an embassy to France, and in the succeeding year, being already treasurer of the household, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and knight of the garter, the king by letters-patent raised him to the dignity of admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitaine <sup>i</sup>, and, by other letters-patent, soon after created him earl of Southampton; all which he is said to have merited by his steady loyalty, and by his great skill and indefatigable application in maritime affairs, to which he from his youth had been addicted <sup>k</sup>.

Shortly after the king raised him still higher, to the post of lord privy seal, in which quality we find that, with John Lord Russell, who succeeded him as high admiral, he passed over into France, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horse; which shews his martial spirit, and how loth he was to quit the service of his country in a military way <sup>l</sup>.

It seems his constitution was by this time much broken through continual fatigues, and therefore he made a will, whereby, among other legacies, he bequeathed the king his master his best collar of the garter, and his rich George set with diamonds <sup>m</sup>.

Yet, on the breaking out of a war with Scotland, to which his friend and old companion in arms, Thomas duke of Norfolk was immediately ordered, with a numerous army, our brave

<sup>f</sup> Buchanan, lib. xiv. p. 448. <sup>g</sup> *Leſſi de rebus geſtis Scotorum*, lib. ix. p. 426, 407. Drummond, p. 180. <sup>h</sup> Grafton, p. 1109. <sup>i</sup> *Hillingſted*, vol. ii. p. 822.

<sup>k</sup> Hall, fol. 189. a. <sup>l</sup> Pat. 28 H. VIII. p. 2. <sup>m</sup> *MS. collections of Sir Thomas Wriotheſley*. <sup>n</sup> Hall, fol. 142. b. <sup>o</sup> *Spur*, p. 16.

captain would not remain behind, but, with a brisk body of horse and foot, joined him, and led the van; yet this proved but the last flashings of his heroic flame, since at Newcastle, overcome by his disease and with fatigue, he breathed his last, to the great regret of his royal master, as well as of his general, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army, all the rest of the expedition, as a mark of the respect due to his memory<sup>a</sup>. By his countess Mabel, daughter to Henry Lord Clifford, he had no issue to inherit his virtues or his honours; but he left behind him a natural son, Thomas Fitz-Williams, *alias* Fisher<sup>c</sup>. As to his age at the time of his decease, we find no note thereof either in books or in records; but it is probable, that he did not exceed sixty, according to the course of his preferments. He seems to have been one of the first seamen raised to the honour of peerage in this kingdom.

As to the remaining admirals in King Henry's reign, they were John Lord Ruffel and the Viscount Lisle, so well known to posterity by the title of duke of Northumberland, as the supreme director of all things in the reign of Edward VI. and as a fatal example of the issue of boundless ambition in the beginning of the succeeding reign. But the reader will find such ample accounts of them elsewhere<sup>d</sup>, and their naval achievements contain so little worthy of notice, that I rather proceed to the transactions under the next king, than detain my readers with a jejune detail of things of little consequence, especially considering the narrow bounds into which we are to bring such an infinite variety of important matter.

<sup>a</sup> Grafton, p. 1268.

<sup>c</sup> Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 105.

<sup>d</sup> In Dugdale, Collins, and other peerages of England, as well as in the general histories, and particular memoirs of these reigns, and in Strype's and other collections of original papers relating to those times.

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L I V E S  
 OF THE  
 A D M I R A L S:  
 INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
 N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. X.

The Naval History of England, under the reign of Edward VI. with an account of such eminent seamen as flourished in his time,

**T**HIS young prince, at the decease of his father, was but in the tenth year of his age: however, on the twentieth of February following<sup>a</sup>, he was crowned, to the great joy and satisfaction of the nation, who were in hopes a milder government would succeed under the auspices of an infant prince, assisted by ministers whose chief, indeed, whose only support must be the affections of the people<sup>b</sup>. The scheme of administration, laid down by the will of King Henry VIII. was held to be impracticable<sup>c</sup>, because it made such a division of power, as rendered the conduct of public affairs extremely difficult, if

<sup>a</sup> A. D. 1546.      <sup>b</sup> Fabian, p. 535. Grafton, p. 1283. Stowe, p. 593. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 979. Speed. Godwin's annals, p. 211. Journal of this monarch's reign, written by himself, p. 3. printed by Bishop Burnet at the end of the second volume of his history of the Reformation. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 12.      <sup>c</sup> The reader may see his testament at large in Rymer's foedera, tome xv. p. 120. the authenticity of which has been however questioned.

not impossible: and therefore, to remedy these inconveniencies, the earl of Hertford, uncle to the young king, created soon after duke of Somerset, was declared PROTECTOR, or chief governor, that the nation might have some visible head; after which, as a manifestation of his authority, followed various promotions: amongst the rest, Sir Thomas Seymour, the protector's brother, was created baron of Sudley, and raised to the great trust of lord high admiral<sup>d</sup>. One would have thought, that, in the dawn of such a government; peace had been more advisable than war; but we find the great counsellors in those days thought otherwise; for one of the first things they resolved was to commence war against Scotland, to which probably they might be provoked by the passage of a strong squadron of French galleys through the narrow seas, which were going to block up the castle of St. Andrews<sup>e</sup>, and to which they were certainly encouraged by the distracted state of the Scots affairs, the government being weakened by a minority, and the nation divided and distracted by factions<sup>f</sup>.

The preparations made by the protector for his expedition into Scotland, looked as if he intended rather an absolute conquest of that country, than to compel the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to the young King Edward<sup>g</sup>. Both the brothers took a share in this expedition: the protector commanded in person the land-army, which consisted of ten thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a fine train of artillery, it being allowed to be in all respects the best equipped force that for many years had been set on foot in this kingdom<sup>h</sup>. With this also the fleet, fitted out by his brother's care, corresponded, consisting in all of sixty-five sail, of which thirty-five were ships of force, the rest were storeships and tenders, the whole commanded by the Lord Clinton as admiral of the North sea, and Sir William Woodhouse as vice-admiral; which arrived before Leith about the time the English army penetrated Scotland by land<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Grafton, p. 1283. Life of King Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 275. et seq. Strype, vol. ii. book i. <sup>e</sup> Stowe, p. 594. Thuan. hist. lib. iii. § 5. Buchanan, lib. xv.

<sup>f</sup> Lessæi de rebus gestis Scotorum, lib. x. Keith's history of the church and state of Scotland, p. 52. <sup>g</sup> Grafton, p. 1284. Godwin's annals, p. 214. <sup>h</sup> Hedingsted, vol. ii. p. 983.

<sup>i</sup> Hayward. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 53.

The protector, who was by no means a cruel man, endeavoured to have prevented bloodshed, by sending very amicable letters to the Scots governors, wherein he shewed how much it would be for the interest of both nations, that this match should take place, and how little it was for the benefit of Scotland to remain in that dependency on France, in which she had continued for a long tract of time. The governor or protector of Scotland, James Hamilton earl of Arran, who was entirely in the French interest, shewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who advised him; since he had a very numerous army, with the flower of the nobility in the field, not to listen to any conditions of peace, but to force the English to a battle; which very bad advice he complied with, and told the rest of the lords about him, that the protector's letter contained only threatenings and reproaches<sup>k</sup>.

This strange conduct brought on a decisive engagement on the tenth of September 1547, which, in the English histories, is styled the battle of Musselburgh<sup>l</sup>; but the Scots writers call it the battle of Pinky<sup>m</sup>. It was fatal to the Scots, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, their army consisting of upwards of thirty thousand men; but they were so eager to fight, that they despised all the precautions usually taken as to ground and other circumstances. Nay, they were so fool-hardy as to expose themselves to the fire of the English fleet, which galled them extremely; and therefore we need not wonder that they were totally defeated, leaving fourteen thousand dead on the place, and eight hundred noblemen and gentlemen prisoners; after which victory, the protector burnt Leith, and so returned in triumph<sup>n</sup>.

The Lord Clinton, with his fleet, continued longer in those parts, with a design, as it appeared, to extirpate entirely the naval force of the Scots. He had before, in the reign of Henry VIII. been employed for the same purpose, and had executed his commission with great diligence, carrying off the Salamander

<sup>k</sup> Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 890. Speed, p. 804. Keith, p. 55. <sup>l</sup> Grafton, p. 1286. Stowe, p. 954. Cooper, fol. 338. b. See King Edward's journal of his reign, p. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Buchanan, lib. xv. Lesley, Keith, p. 54. and the rest of the Scots historians.

<sup>n</sup> Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 990. Speed, p. 805. Hayward.

and the Unicorn, two very fine ships, and all other vessels that were worth taking<sup>o</sup>. He now perfected this scheme of destroying, by burning all the sea-ports, with the small craft that lay in their harbours, and searching every creek, and all the mouths of rivers, with such diligence, that, it is said, he did not leave one ship of force or burden in all that kingdom<sup>p</sup>. In 1548 the lord high admiral, with a very stout fleet, sailed hence upon the Scots coasts, to prevent their repairing their harbours, and to do what farther mischief he was able. But he was less successful; for, though he made two descents upon considerable forces, yet he was repulsed in both<sup>q</sup>. The great hardships the people suffered had made them desperate; so that, notwithstanding the vast expence England had been at, and the complete victory the protector had gained, the Scottish queen being escaped into France, and great succours coming from thence into Scotland, the English were obliged after two years to make peace, both nations having suffered exceedingly by the war; which proved, however, advantageous enough to France, who, as usual, made her uses of each, and performed her agreements with neither<sup>r</sup>.

The unnatural quarrel between the protector and his brother the lord high admiral was the chief cause of the nation's misfortunes; for, while they endeavoured with all their force to destroy each other, public affairs were neglected, those who might have prevented these disorders, from the same principle of selfish ambition studying rather to increase them, with a view to ruin both<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 586, 587.

<sup>p</sup> Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 995. Lessius,

lib. 2. Buchanan, lib. xv.

<sup>q</sup> Hayward, Godwin, Keith.

<sup>r</sup> Grafton,

p. 1310, 1314. Godwin, p. 220, 240. Thuan, lib. v. § 15.

<sup>s</sup> Hayward, p. 301. Godwin, p. 226. Innumerable instances of this sort occur in the collection of state-papers published by Dr. Haynes. No person, how great soever their quality, seems to have been exempt from the perplexities attending this unhappy business; even the king submitted to be examined; and his confession, as it is styled, with that of the Lady Elisabeth, the marquisses of Dorset and Northampton, Sir Robert Tyrwhyt and his lady, the earl of Rutland, and other persons of distinction, are these to be met with, printed from the originals. The marriage of the lord admiral with the dowager-queen, and the disgust it gave the protector, or rather the duchess his consort, appears to have been the original cause of these disputes: and perhaps the reader will incline to my opinion, when he has perused two letters from that princess to her lord, both without date, and the confession of Wyghtman servant to that nobleman, which he will find in p. 61, 62, 68, 69. of that work: See the king's journal in Burnet, p. 4.

What

What the crimes of the admiral really were, most of our historians seem to think very uncertain: we only know, that he was charged, among other things, with a design of seizing the king's person, of marrying the Princess Elisabeth, and forming thereby some title to the crown. On this accusation, whether well or ill founded, he was attainted, without a trial, by act of parliament<sup>1</sup>: a proceeding altogether inexcusable, because thereby posterity stand deprived of seeing the evidence on which public justice is said to be founded. The protector set an edge on the sentence passed by this law, by signing the warrant, in conjunction with the rest of the lords of the council, for the admiral's execution, though his Majesty's uncle, and his own brother<sup>2</sup>: and this, we are told, he did to gratify his wife<sup>3</sup>.

The truth seems to be, that the lord protector Somerset was an honest but weak man, meant well, yet seldom knew his own meaning, and, as such men generally are, was therefore governed in most cases by other people's counsels; whereas the admiral is allowed to have had quick parts, great courage, and a much better capacity for governing: but his turbulent spirit gave the common enemies of his family, and the nation's quiet, an opportunity of detaching him from his brother's interest, and thereby creating those misfortunes which were not only fatal to him and the protector, but to the kingdom also<sup>4</sup>. I cannot forbear remarking, that the events of this short reign afford the most useful lessons to English ministers: private views governed all the great men in these times; and to this they sacrificed the welfare of the king and kingdom. For this, one, not out of regard to justice, but for the same dirty purposes, brought the other to deserved punishment; and by degrees they all became victims to national vengeance, though their successors were not at all warned

<sup>1</sup> Grafton, p. 1291. Stowe, p. 596. The charge, containing thirty-three articles, with the answer of the lord-admiral to the three first, (for he would answer to no more, neither would he sign those), are printed in the collection of records in the 2d volume of Burnet's history of the Reformation, p. 158—196.

<sup>2</sup> March 20, 1549. <sup>3</sup> Hayward, p. 301, 302. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 344. a. See the warrant for the admiral's execution in Burnet, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Godwin's annals, p. 225—229. Burnet in his history of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 99, 100. and in general all our historians who write without bias.

by their examples, but trod still in the same slippery paths, till a similarity of conduct brought them also to similar ends!

The French, who were now governed by Henry II. a young enterprising prince, laid hold of this opportunity, while the English were engaged in a Scots war, and divided by civil dissensions, to deprive them of the few but important places, they still held in France. To colour their proceedings, they set up the following pretence: that Boulogne was not absolutely yielded to King Henry VIII. but conditionally only, by way of mortgage for a certain sum of money, which they said, had been tendered him more than once by their late king Francis I. and consequently they had an equity of redemption, which, they thought, might justify them in any measures that should appear necessary for the making themselves masters of the place. In saying this, I am not governed by English authorities, much less by English prejudices, but follow the accounts given by their best historians, and who relate the sequel of the matter thus: The French king, under pretence of adding to the magnificence of his public entry into Paris, and the queen's coronation, drew a considerable body of forces into the neighbourhood of that city, and into Picardy; then, departing suddenly from his capital, he came to Abbeville where his forces rendezvoused, and marched from thence with all expedition to Boulogne, where he attacked and carried some of the forts, and distressed the place so much, that it was found impracticable to keep it<sup>1</sup>. Our writers say, that these forts were taken by treachery; and it appears by the representations made in King Edward's name to the emperor, that the whole of this transaction was contrary to the law of nations, there being, at the time it happened, no war declared<sup>2</sup>.

Another attempt the French likewise made upon the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, which they invaded with a strong squadron of men of war, and two thousand land forces. The English court having notice of this attempt, and knowing those islands to be but indifferently provided, sent thither a small squadron under the command of Commodore Winter, with

<sup>1</sup> J. de Serres, p. 701. Mezeray, tom. iv. p. 657. Histoire de France par P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See the king's journal, p. 6. Grafton, p. 1310. Stowe, p. 597. See the instructions sent to Sir Philip Hoby by the duke of Somerset; Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 164.

eight hundred men as a reinforcement, on board a few transports. At his arrival he found the ports blocked up, and himself under the necessity either of desisting from his enterprize, or attacking the French notwithstanding their superiority. He, like a brave man, chose the latter, and executed this design with such courage and conduct, that having killed them near a thousand men, he obliged the enemy to embark the rest on board some light vessels, in which they fled; abandoning their ships of force, and all these he caused to be set on fire. This defeat so nettled that vain nation, that our authors say, they forbade the speaking of it, with all its particulars, under pain of death; for which report one would imagine there must have been some foundation; since we find no traces of this story in any of their own writers<sup>a</sup>.

The misfortunes attending the English, by taking the forts about Boulogne, having served the purpose of the duke of Somerset's enemies, in fixing a grievous charge upon him, for which he was sent to the Tower, and divested of his protectorship; they then thought proper to make a treaty with France, whereby the town of Boulogne and its dependencies, were sold for four hundred thousand crowns, and the French took possession of them in the spring of the year 1550<sup>b</sup>. In this treaty the Scots were included; and for the managing thereof Edward Lord Clinton, who had been governor of the territory now yielded to France, was made Lord High Admiral for life, and had large grants made him of lands, from the king<sup>c</sup>.

It

<sup>a</sup> Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 1055. Godwin's annals, p. 239. Speed, p. 811. Fox's acts and monuments, vol. ii. p. 671.      <sup>b</sup> E. Leonard, tome ii. p. 472. Rymer, tome xv. p. 211. Thuan. hist. lib. vi. sect. vi.

<sup>c</sup> Grafton, p. 314. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 230. Lessius, lib. x. p. 504. Hayward. King Edward's journal, p. 13. Among others, as the king's journal, p. 11. and Strype, vol. ii. p. 194. informs us, who were rewarded for accomplishing this business, was Anthony Guidotti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. He had a present of one thousand crowns, a yearly pension of one thousand crowns, and a pension of two hundred and fifty crowns was bestowed on John Guidotti, his son. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him, and about a year after was appointed the king's merchant, had a licence to export woollen cloths, kerries, lead, tin, &c. under certain

It is not to be wondered, that a treaty so far from being honourable to the nation, was very ill received at home; and yet it must be acknowledged, that it was not near so inexcusable as some would represent it. We have already shewn, with what injustice the French made war upon King Edward: and it is but reasonable to add, that when his ambassador applied to the emperor for assistance, and represented the great things that his father had done for the house of Austria, the pains he had taken to solicit the electors to set the imperial crown on the head of Charles V. and how much the English nation had been impoverished by the wars against France, purely on his behalf; a very uncourteous and rude answer was given. The emperor took notice of the great change that had been made in religion, which, he pretended, put it out of his power to yield the aid that was desired; and therefore insisted, that as the price of his friendship, all things should be restored again to their former state. After this, when matters were come to extremity, it was proposed, on the part of King Edward, that the emperor should take the town of Boulogne into his hands, to remain as a deposit till the king was of age; but that was likewise rejected, unless the old religion was restored<sup>d</sup>. We may from hence perceive the integrity of those ministers who chose rather to sacrifice their interests with the nation, than injure the Protestant religion; and at the same time we may discern, how little the friendship of foreign and of Popish powers is to be depended upon, when the interests of England alone are at stake.

After this peace, there grew a closer and more considerable intercourse between the French and English courts, which gave such offence to the emperor, that he suffered his subjects in Flanders to cruise in the English seas, which afforded the French a pretence for acting in the same manner; but, upon complaint that the navigation of the narrow seas was exceed-

certain restrictions, and to import velvet, cloth of gold, wine and oil; paying only the same duties as the merchants of England. See likewise Rymer's *foedera*, tome xv. p. 227, 228.

<sup>d</sup> Hayward's *life of Edward VI.* in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 310, 311. Bishop Burnet's *history of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 131, 139, 140. *Strype's memorials*, vol. ii. b. i. chap. xxiii.

ingly disturbed, the king ordered Lord Henry Dudley, with four men of war and two light ships, to put to sea, in order to protect our merchants; which, however, he performed but indifferently<sup>e</sup>. On the twenty-second of May, in the preceding year, the Lord Marquis of Northampton, accompanied by the earls of Rutland, Worcester, and Ormond; the Lords Lisle, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergavenny, and many gentlemen of rank; carrying with him the collar, and other habiliments of the most noble order of the garter; with which he afterwards invested Henry II. went over to France as the king's ambassador, and there concluded a treaty for the marriage of his master to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of that monarch; who, in the month of July following, dispatched Monsieur le Marechal de St. Andre with a very great retinue into England, to present the ensigns of the order of St. Michael to the king; as also to treat of various affairs: though it is highly probable the French were not very sincere in these negotiations.

Some time after they began to raise jealousies in England, of the emperor's proceedings, because he had fitted out a great fleet, without assigning any particular cause for it<sup>f</sup>; but the next year things took a new turn: for the French continuing their piratical practices, under one pretence or other, seized many English ships; so that loud complaints were made to the king: and upon examination it appeared, that the merchants had suffered by their depredations, in the space of twenty months, to the full amount of fifty thousand pounds. Upon this, his ministers at the court of France had orders to make very sharp representations, which they did, but with little effect<sup>g</sup>; so that things remained pretty much in this situation; that is, tending to a rupture, to the time of the king's death, which happened on the sixth of July 1553; but whether

<sup>e</sup> King Edward's diary, March 26, 1552. Hayward's life of that prince in Kennet. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. b. ii. chap. x.

<sup>f</sup> King Edward's diary, p. 26, 27, 30. Hayward, p. 318. Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 266, 267, 289, 290. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 177. Rymer, tome xv. p. 293.

<sup>g</sup> The reader will find various instances in the king's journal, p. 62—66. Strype, vol. ii. p. 332. Hayward, and other writers.

by poison<sup>a</sup>, as some have pretended; or by a consumption<sup>i</sup>, as is generally thought, I pretend not to determine. He had then reigned near six years and a half, and was not quite sixteen. He was certainly, for his years, a very accomplished prince; of which he has left us many, and those unquestionable proofs in his writings.

This reign plainly shews, that the personal character of a prince, however amiable, as much governed by his ministers as his subjects, is to them of no great importance. The forms of government were kept up, parliaments were called and sat, nothing was heard but the highest pretensions to purity in religion, and zeal for the public good; while those who made them, shewed very little regard to either, in what is the surest test of men's principles, their actions. Under colour of reformation, several useful charities were given to the crown, as if they had been superstitious foundations, that the crown might give them away again so such, as for that very purpose, had branded them with so offensive an appellation. Against this archbishop Cranmer struggled, but in vain; those who had their interests in view prevailed; the crown had the scandal and they the benefit. All bishops had not the sanctity, nor the sincerity of Cranmer. There were amongst them some who accepted rich fees, in order to grant away their revenues. All this time the Commons were grievously taxed; the exchequer was like a sieve, which received all, and retained nothing. Errors in administration at home produced misfortunes abroad; these created expences, and which is worse, unavailing expences; so that, by an authentic account preserved amongst the Cecil papers, it appeared, that from the thirtieth of the last, to the close of this reign, which is not quite fifteen years, there had been spent in foreign wars, and about foreign concerns, upwards of three millions sterling. Boulogne was the great prize we got; and this watching their opportunity, the true

<sup>a</sup> See an extract of a journal kept by one in those times, in Strype, vol. ii. p. 421. Hayward, p. 326, 327. Burnet, p. 221. Heylin's history of the Reformation, p. 138, 139.

<sup>i</sup> Grafton, p. 1324. Holinghed, vol. ii. p. 1083. Godwin, p. 253. Cooper, fol. 358. though he says, and he lived in those times, that many were punished for reporting this prince was poisoned; and that the rumour thereof was spread throughout the kingdom.

Characteristic of French policy, we were forced to restore for four hundred thousand crowns; and the poor young king, who was not so much as indulged with the trifles necessary for his childish occasions, died in debt.

The great power, and immense fortunes which these aspiring courtiers sacrificed the public welfare to secure, were, as such acquisitions commonly are, of short duration. The Seymours destroyed each other; those who assisted the protector to remove the admiral, took advantage of the weakness this occasioned, to depress first, and then utterly to ruin him, under the specious pretence of concern for the commonwealth, for which in truth they had far less regard than he. The two great dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, who rose upon his fall, as they built upon the same sandy foundation of mere human policy, had the same unfortunate ends upon a scaffold; and the practices they employed for aggrandizing, became the cause of the overthrow of their respective families, in their own times; and consequently they had the unpleasant spectacle of the subversion of their ambitious schemes, to embitter their last moments before their own eyes. So dangerous and so destructive a thing it is for the grandees, in any nation, to abuse their elevated rank, and employ that power with which they are entrusted for the common good, to serve their private views, at the expence of a great people, who with some justice, though perhaps with too indecent a violence, testify a pleasure in their misfortunes, and behold with satisfaction the desolation of those houses (how noble or ancient soever) that were cemented with blood, and founded on oppression. If those whom their own abilities, the favour of their prince, or the confidence of the people, lift into high places, would read the history of their own countries, and reflect seriously on the melancholy catastrophes of such, who, by an abuse of their talents, presumption on their power, or abandoning their patriotism when it had raised them to places, have fallen headlong from the pinnacle of preferment, without so much as pity attending their miserable dejections; it would infallibly keep them in the safe path, and exempt them from sharing the like fate.

But even in this reign, though they were but short, there were however some gleams of sunshine. In such affairs as in-

terested no faction, and more especially in such as came before the king in council, and were of a nature fit for him to examine, or to be explained to him; things took another, and a better turn: it may be, those refined politicians who were about him, as towards the close of his reign he had some who might have read lectures to Machiavel, there might have been somewhat of art in this. For if in things discussed in his hearing, all is thoroughly canvassed, and the right judgment given; how should a very young king suspect, that in other cases, even before the same men, different, and it may be opposite notions, were adopted? The best minds are easiest deceived. But let us return to the history, and close it with some of those pleasing prospects, which may relieve us after our late sad, but at the same time useful and necessary meditations.

As to his care of trade, we have as many instances of it, in every kind, as can be desired. In 1548, he passed an act for laying the Newfoundland trade entirely open, and for removing various obstacles by which it had been hitherto cramped<sup>k</sup>. The very same year, the merchants at Antwerp complaining of certain hardships under which they suffered, the king's ambassadors interposed; and when the regency of that city suggested to them, that it was strange the king of England should more regard a company of merchants, than the friendship of a great emperor, King Edward's agent, whose name was Smith, answered roundly, that his master would support the commerce of his subjects, at the hazard of any monarch's friendship upon earth<sup>l</sup>.

We have a very distinct and particular account of the advantages derived to the city of Antwerp from the residence of the English merchants there, which, for the reader's instruction, as well as satisfaction, we will insert, from a very scarce and curious piece, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, then secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England.

“ Philip, surnamed the Good, duke of Burgundy and of Brabant, &c. gave privileges to the English nation in the Low Countries, which happened in the year 1466, which

<sup>k</sup> See Hakluyt, p. lii. p. 131.  
109.

<sup>l</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 108,

“ privileges the town of Antwerp confirmed the sixth of August in the same year; giving to them besides a large house, which is now called the Old Burse; and afterwards, by exchange, another more goodly, spacious and sumptuous house, called the Court of Lier, which the company enjoyed till the said town was yielded up to the duke of Parma, in the year 1585.

“ At the abovesaid first concordate and conclusion of privileges with the town of Antwerp, or not long before, there were not, in all the town, above four merchants, and those also no adventurers to the sea: the rest of the inhabitants or townsmen were but mean people; and neither able nor skillful to use the feat or trade of merchandize; but did let out the best of their houses to Englishmen and other strangers, for chambers and pack-houses; contenting themselves with some corner for their profits sake: but within these late years, the concourse and resort of foreign merchants to that town was so great, that house-room waxed scant, rents were raised, tolls, excises, and all other duties to the prince and town wonderfully increased; and the Antwerp men themselves, who a few years before were but mean artificers, or lived by husbandry and keeping of cattle, whereof one gate of that city to this day beareth the name, and had but six ships belonging to their town, and those for the river only, that never went to sea, began to grow exceeding rich; so that some fell to the trade of merchandize, and others employed their substance in building.

“ Then their old rotten houses covered with thatch were pulled down; their waste ground, whereof there was store within the town, was turned into goodly buildings, and fair streets; and their shipping increased accordingly. Thus prospered not only those at Antwerp, but all other towns and places thereabouts: so that in our memory that now live, the said town was grown to such wealth, strength and beauty, as never was known the like in so short a time; and no marvel: for, within the compass of fifty years, an house that was worth but forty dollars a-year, grew to be worth three hundred dollars a-year; and an house that was let out for sixty dollars, came afterwards to be let for four hundred

“ dollars; yea, some houses in Antwerp were let for six hundred, some for eight hundred dollars a-year rent, besides their havens for ships to come and lade and discharge within the town. Their public stately buildings and edifices, erected partly for ornament, and partly for the ease and accommodation of the merchant, were so costly and sumptuous, as he that hath not seen and marked them well would not believe.”

This shews abundantly how great a right King Edward had to insist upon all his subjects privileges in that city, where their residence was a thing of such prodigious consequence. We must not imagine, however, that so wise a prince as the Emperor Charles V. was not very well acquainted with this, of which we have an instance, within the compass of King Edward's reign, *anno dom.* 1550. For when, after all the supplications of the citizens of Antwerp, and the intercession of several great princes on their behalf, he remained fixed in his purpose of introducing the inquisition into that city; yet, upon the bare mention that this would infallibly drive the English not only out of Antwerp, but out of the Low Countries, he very prudently desisted<sup>m</sup>.

With like care the king prosecuted the wrongs done to his trading subjects by the French, and very graciously received a memorial, wherein certain methods were laid down for encouraging and increasing the number of seamen in his dominions, and for preventing the carrying on a trade here in foreign bottoms<sup>n</sup>. Some notice there are of other projects, of a like nature, in his own diary, which shew, that if he had lived to have had a sufficient experience, he would have been extremely careful of maritime affairs, and very ready to have contributed to the ease and advantage of his subjects<sup>o</sup>. But the disorders which happened in his short reign, as well as his immature death, prevented his doing the good which he intended.

We must ascribe to those disorders, and to the boundless ambition of that great duke, who, taking advantage of the king's minority, directed all things with almost absolute sway, that such heavy taxes were laid upon the people, who were far

<sup>m</sup> Burnet's history of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 161. Grimston's history of the Netherlands, p. 286, 287. <sup>n</sup> Barnaby's information to secretary Cecil, MS.

<sup>o</sup> See the king's diary, published by Burnet.

from being in a condition to bear them, that lands, to so great a value, were taken from the church to the use, as was pretended, of the crown, and then granted away to favourites; and, above all, that the very worst part of his father's politics should be pursued, and the coin still more and more debased; for in the third year of his reign, under pretence of redressing this evil, there was a new standard introduced, somewhat better in appearance than the last coinage in his father's reign, for now, instead of four ounces, there were six ounces of fine silver in each pound of metal; but then the number of pieces was increased from forty-eight to seventy-two, and consequently the nominal value of silver was raised from four shillings to six shillings an ounce, but, in reality, continued at the same rate as before, that is, at twelve shillings an ounce, which was incredibly grievous to the people; yet two years afterwards this method was changed, and the finishing stroke given to all practices of this nature, by coining the same number of shillings, that is, seventy-two out of a pound of metal, in which there was but three ounces of silver; so that, while the nominal value remained the same, and those who knew no better believed that silver was still at six shillings an ounce; it was, in fact, so long as the money of this coinage remained current, at twenty-four shillings an ounce. Yet one advantage followed from thence, which was, that the grossness of the imposition made it quickly discernable; and therefore the next year's money was coined pretty near the old standard, before it had been practised upon by his father; but then there were sixty shillings in the pound weight, which brought the price of silver to five shillings an ounce. And this began that emendation of our coin, which was completed, under Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of the same minister who procured this last alteration in the time of King Edward.

In this monarch's reign the Levant trade grew more extensive; and that to the coast of Guinea, and other parts of Africa, was first discovered, and prosecuted with success, by Mr. Thomas Wyndham<sup>a</sup>. We may add to these proofs of the flourishing of naval power under this young prince, the attempt

<sup>a</sup> Churchill's voyages, introduction.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 146.

made for discovering a north-east passage<sup>r</sup>, which will lead us to speak of the most accomplished seaman who lived in his time, and whose memory deserves, for his industry, penetration, and integrity, to be transmitted to posterity: I mean the celebrated and justly famous

## SEBASTIAN CABOT.

**T**HIS gentleman was the son of that eminent Venetian pilot Sir John Cabot, of whom we have given some account heretofore. He was born at Bristol about the year 1477; and therefore Mr. Strype is mistaken when he tells us he was an Italian; into which he was led by the name he met with in the MS. from whence he copied his remarks, viz. *Sebastiano Caboto*<sup>s</sup>, an inaccuracy common enough with our old writers, who affect to vary foreign names strangely, a folly with which the French are still infected, inasmuch that it is a difficult thing to understand English proper names, even in their latest and best historians. Sebastian was educated by his father in the study of those parts of the mathematics which were then best understood, especially arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography, and by that time he was seventeen years old, he had made several trips to sea, in order to add to his theoretical notions a competent skill in the practical part of navigation; and in like manner were bred the rest of his father's sons, who became also eminent men, and settled abroad, one in Genoa, the other at Venice<sup>t</sup>.

The first voyage of consequence in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father, for the discovery of the north-west passage, of which we have given some account before<sup>u</sup>. This was in 1497, and certainly first taught our seamen a passage to North America: but whether Sebastian Cabot did not, after the decease of his father, prosecute his design, and make a more perfect discovery of the coasts of the new found land, is a great doubt with me, because

<sup>r</sup> Eden's history of travel, p. 224.

born at Bristol, and that he was the son of a Genoese. Strype's memorials, v. l. ii. p. 402.

<sup>s</sup> Remarks on Hakluyt, MS.

<sup>t</sup> Graffon, p. 1323. says, he was  
<sup>u</sup> In the life of John Cabot, p. 337.

I find such incongruous relations of this voyage in different authors<sup>w</sup>. For instance, the celebrated Peter Martyr, who was intimately acquainted with Sebastian, and wrote in a manner from his own mouth, says, that the voyage wherein he made his great discovery towards the north, was performed in two ships fitted out at his own expence<sup>x</sup>; which by no means agrees with his father's expedition, wherein were employed one stout ship of the king's, and four belonging to the merchants of Bristol<sup>y</sup>. Besides this, a very intelligent Spanish writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when Cabot sailed at the expence of King Henry VII. in order to make discoveries towards the north, he passed beyond Cape Labrador, somewhat more than fifty-eight degrees north latitude, then, turning towards the west, he sailed along the coast to thirty-eight degrees; which agrees very well with our accounts of John Cabot's voyage<sup>z</sup>: but Ramusio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebastian Cabot before him when he wrote, speaks of a voyage wherein he sailed north and by west to sixty-seven degrees and an half, and would have proceeded farther, if he had not been hindered by a mutiny among his sailors<sup>a</sup>.

The writers in those days had no precision; they set down facts very confusedly, without much attending to circumstances, and were still less solicitous about dates, which gives those who come after them much trouble, and yet seldom attaining any certainty; which, I must acknowledge, is the case here. It is, however, probable, that Sebastian made more than one, perhaps more than two voyages into these parts, by virtue of King Henry VII.'s commission; and if so, he well deserved the character Sir William Monson has given of him<sup>b</sup>, and of his important discoveries, which the reader will be pleased to see in his own words, the authority of the writer, from his perfect knowledge of the subject, being of as much weight as the facts he mentions.

<sup>w</sup> As appears, by comparing the accounts in Hakluyt with those in Purchas, and in the history of travel, by Eden.   <sup>x</sup> Decad. iii. cap. 6.   <sup>y</sup> Fabian's MSS. chronicle, A. D. 1497.   <sup>z</sup> Lopez, de Gomara hist. des Ind. Occident. lib. ii. cap. iv.

<sup>a</sup> In his preface to the third volume of his excellent collection.   <sup>b</sup> In the large collection called Churchill's voyages, vol. iii. p. 396. and his character, p. 401.

“ To come to the particulars, (says he), of augmentation of  
 “ our trade, of our plantations, and our discoveries, because  
 “ every man shall have his due therein, I will begin with New-  
 “ foundland, lying upon the main continent of America, which  
 “ the king of Spain challenges as first discoverer; but as we  
 “ acknowledge the king of Spain the first light of the west and  
 “ south-west parts of America, so we, and all the world must  
 “ confess, that we were the first who took possession, for the  
 “ crown of England, of the north part thereof, and not above  
 “ two years difference betwixt the one and the other. And as  
 “ the Spaniards have, from that day and year, held their pos-  
 “ session in the west, so have we done the like in the north:  
 “ and though there is no respect, in comparison of the wealth  
 “ betwixt the countries, yet England may boast, that the dis-  
 “ covery, from the year aforesaid to this very day, hath afford-  
 “ ed the subject annually, one hundred and twenty thousand  
 “ pounds, and increased the number of many a good ship, and  
 “ mariners, as our western parts can witness, by their fishing  
 “ in Newfoundland. Neither can Spain challenge a more na-  
 “ tural right than we to its discovery; for in that case we are  
 “ both alike.

“ If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their  
 “ right, it is Italy that must assume the discovery to itself as well  
 “ in the one part of America as in the other. Genoa, and  
 “ Christopher Columbus by name, must carry away the praise  
 “ of it from Spain; for Spain had not that voyage in agitation,  
 “ or thought of it, till Columbus not only proposed, but accom-  
 “ plished it. The like may be said of Sebastian Cabot<sup>c</sup> a Ve-  
 “ netian, who by his earnest intercession to Henry VII. drew  
 “ him to the discovery of Newfoundland, and called it by the  
 “ name of *Bucallas*, an Indian name for fish, from the abun-  
 “ dance of fish he found upon that coast.”

This shews plainly the great sagacity and unbiassed impartiality  
 of this ingenious author, who points very justly to those advan-  
 tages [and these not inconsiderable] which had, even in his time,

<sup>c</sup> This affords a farther and more direct proof of my conjecture, that Sebastian  
 Cabot made more than one voyage in the service of Henry VII. since, from what  
 our author says, it looks as if he had not only found the country, but established  
 the fishery of Newfoundland.

accrued to this nation from these discoveries, and fairly ascribes to Italy the honour of producing those incomparable persons by whom they were made : for, though he is a little mistaken in the name, ascribing to Sebastian what was due to Sir John Cabot, yet he is right as to the fact ; for Sir John was a citizen and native of Venice ; which fully justifies his compliment to ITALY, the MOTHER of SCIENCE, and the NURSE of the FINE ARTS.

If this worthy man had performed nothing more, his name ought surely to have been transmitted to future times with honour, since it clearly appears, that Newfoundland hath been a source of riches and naval power to this nation, from the time it was discovered, as well as the first of our plantations ; so that, with strict justice, it may be said of Sebastian Cabot, that he was the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people. Yet have we no distinct accounts of what he advised, or what he performed for upwards of twenty years together, wherein certainly so able a man could never have been idle. The next news we hear of him is in the eighth of King Henry VIII. and our accounts then are none of the clearest<sup>d</sup>.

It seems that Cabot had entered into a strict correspondence with Sir Thomas Pert, at this time vice-admiral of England, who had a house at Poplar, and procured him a good ship of the king's, in order to make discoveries<sup>e</sup> : but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have passed by the south to the East Indies : for he sailed first to Brasil, and, missing there of his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of Hispaniola and Porto-Rico, where he carried on some traffic, and then returned, failing absolutely in the design upon which he went, not through any want either of courage or conduct in himself, but from the fear and faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert his coadjutor, of which we have abundant testimony from the writings of a person who lived in those times<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> See Wheeler's discourse of trade, and Captain Luke Fox's account of the north-west passage.

<sup>e</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 498.

<sup>f</sup> See the

dedication of a piece, called, A treatise of New India, published in 1555 by Mr. Richard Eden, and addressed to the great duke of Northumberland. Gonfalso de Oviedo hist. Ind. Occid. lib. xix. cap. 13.

This disappointment, in all probability, might dispose Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and to go over to Spain, where he was treated with very great respect, and raised as high as his profession would admit, being declared pilot major or chief pilot of Spain, and by his office intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery, which in those days were many and important. His great capacity and improved integrity induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, in relation to a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the new-found passage of Magellan, to the Moluccos; which at length he accepted, and of which we have a clear account in the writings of the Spanish historian Herrera<sup>s</sup>.

He sailed, says he, about the beginning of April 1525 first to the Canaries, then to the islands of cape Verde, thence to cape St. Augustine, and the island of Patos or Geese; and near *bahia de Todos los Santos*, or the bay of All Saints, he met a French ship. He was said to have managed but indiscreetly, as wanting provisions when he came to the said island; but there the Indians were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships: but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him by force four sons of the principal men. Thence he proceeded to the river of Plate, having left ashore on a desert island Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, because they censured his management; and, in conclusion, he went not to the Spice islands, as well because he had not provisions, as by reason the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the Straits. He sailed up the river of Plate, and, about thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island, which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards Brasil. There he anchored, and, rowing with the boats three leagues higher, discovered a river he called *San Salvador*, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side, whither he brought up his vessels, and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water. Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in

order to make discoveries, thinking that, although he did not pass through the Straits to the Spice islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zarcarana; and, finding the natives thereabouts a good-natured rational people, he erected another fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, i. e. of the Holy Ghost, and his followers by another name, viz. Cabot's Fort.

He thence discovered the shores of the river Parana, which is that of Plate, where he found many islands and rivers, and, keeping along the greatest stream, at the end of two hundred leagues came to another river, to which the Indians gave the name of Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coast of Brasil, and, running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground; a thing which, in those parts, he had not seen before. There he met with so much opposition, that he advanced no farther, but killed many Indians, and they slew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone out to gather palmetos to eat. At the same time Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia, with the same view of making discoveries, had entered the river of Plate, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered the said river about the beginning of the year 1527, having sent away his own which was a large ship, alledging, that it was of much too great burden for that discovery, and with the rest came to an anchor in the same place where Cabot's ship lay, directing his course, with two brigantines and sixty men, towards the river Parana which lies north and north-west, arrived at the fort built by Cabot.

About one hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he found Sebastian Cabot himself in the port of St. Anne, so named by the latter; and, after a short stay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghost, and thence sent messengers into Spain. Those who were dispatched by Sebastian Cabot were Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued, and producing gold, silver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their general's conduct. The demands they made were, that a supply should be sent of provi-

sion, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of seamen and soldiers : to this the merchants, by whom Cabot's Squadron was fitted out, would not agree, but chose to let their rights escheat to the crown of Castile ; the king then took the whole upon himself, but was so dilatory in his preparations, that Sebastian Cabot, quite tired out, as having been five years in America, resolved to return home ; which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the biggest of his ships, and leaving the rest behind him <sup>b</sup>.

It was the spring of the year 1531 when Cabot arrived at the Spanish court, and gave an account of his expedition. It is evident enough from the manner in which the Spanish writers speak of him, that he was not well received, and one may easily account for it. He had raised himself enemies by treating his Spanish mutineers with so much severity ; and, on the other hand, his owners were disappointed by his not pursuing his voyage to the Moluccos : he kept his place, however, and remained in the service of Spain many years after, and at length he was invited back again to England <sup>c</sup>. We have no account how this was brought about in any author now extant, and therefore I shall offer to the reader's consideration a conjecture of my own, which he may accept or reject, according as it seems to him probable or improbable.

Mr. Robert Thorne, an English merchant at Seville, whom we have mentioned before with commendation, was intimately acquainted with Cabot, and was actually one of his owners in his last expedition <sup>d</sup> ; it seems, therefore, not at all unlikely, that he, after his return from Newfoundland, might importune Cabot to think of coming home ; and what seems to add a greater appearance of truth to this conjecture, is Cabot's settling at Bristol, when he did return to England, of which city Mr. Thorne was an eminent merchant, and once mayor <sup>e</sup>. These transactions fell out towards the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII. about which time, as I suppose, Sebastian Cabot actually returned, and settled with his family here.

<sup>b</sup> Herrera, decad. iii. lib. v. cap. 3. See also an account of this expedition in Churchill's voyages, vol. i. in the introduction. <sup>c</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 7. See also the preface to the third volume of Ramusio. <sup>d</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, p. iii. p. 726. <sup>e</sup> See p. 355.

In the very beginning of King Edward's reign, this eminent seaman was introduced to the duke of Somerset, then lord-protector, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which Cabot had applied himself than, his tender years considered, could have been expected; for he knew not only all the ports and havens in this island and in Ireland, but also those in France, their shape, method of entering, commodities and in-commodities, and in short could answer almost any question about them that a sailor could ask<sup>m</sup>. We need not wonder, therefore, that with such a prince Cabot was in high esteem, or that in his favour a new office should be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a pension of one hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, which we find granted to him by letters-patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the second year of that king's reign, by a special clause in which patent this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding<sup>n</sup>. It was in this year that the emperor's minister d'Arras, in the name of his master, signified to Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassadors then at the court of Brussels, his Imperial Majesty's request, that the king would send over thither our famous seaman, as he could be of no great service to the English nation, who had little to do with the Indian seas, and more especially as he was a very necessary person to the emperor, was his servant in the capacity of grand pilot of the Indies, and to whom he had granted a pension, and that in such a way as the emperor should at some convenient opportunity declare unto the king's council. But we have no accounts that this application was in any shape complied with<sup>o</sup>.

He continued thenceforward highly in the king's favour, and was consulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great case of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551; of which it will be fit to insert a short succinct account here, since it has escaped the notice of most of our historians, though it gave in some measure a new turn to the whole state of our commerce.

<sup>m</sup> Burnet hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 225.

p. iii. p. 10. Rymer's fœdera, tom. xv. p. 181.

<sup>n</sup> Hakluyt's voyages,

<sup>o</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. ii.

p. 190.

These merchants are sometimes called of the Hanse, because they came from the Hanse-towns, or free cities in Germany; sometimes Almains, from their country: they settled here in or before the reign of Henry III. and imported grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wax, and steel, whence the place in Dowgate-ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-yard; which name it still retains. The kings of England encouraged them at first, and granted them large privileges; amongst others, that of exporting our woollen cloths: they had likewise an alderman, who was their chief magistrate; and in consideration of various grants from the city, they stood bound to repair Bishopsgate, and were likewise under other obligations. By degrees, however, the English coming to trade themselves, and importing many of the commodities in which these Germans dealt, great controversies grew between them; the foreigners, on all occasions, pleading their charter, which the English merchants treated as a monopoly not well warranted by law.

At last the company of merchant-adventurers, at the head of which was our Sebastian Cabot, on the twenty-ninth of December 1551, exhibited to the council an information against these merchants of the Steel-yard, to which they were directed to put in their answer. They did so; and after several hearings, and a reference to the king's solicitor-general, his counsel learned in the law, and the recorder of London; a decree passed on the twenty-fourth of February, whereby these merchants of the Steel-yard were declared to be no legal corporation; yet licences were afterwards granted them, from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods, notwithstanding this decree, which remained still in full force and virtue<sup>p</sup>. The great offence objected to them was, that whereas, by their charter, they were allowed to export goods at one and a quarter *per cent.* custom, which gave them a great advantage, they, not content with this, in direct violation of that charter, covered other foreign merchants so, that in one year they exported forty-four thousand cloths, and all other strangers

<sup>p</sup> Minutes of these proceedings are to be found in King Edward's diary; and the decree at large in Mr. Wheeler's treatise of commerce, p. 94.

but one thousand one hundred. These merchants of the Steelyard being immensely rich, ventured now and then upon such tricks as these; and then by paying a round sum, procured a renewal of their charter.

In the month of May 1552, the king granted a licence, together with letters of safe conduct, to such persons as should embark on board three ships, to be employed for the discovery of a passage, by the north, to the East Indies. Sebastian Cabot was at that time governor of the company of merchant-adventurers, on whose advice this enterprize was undertaken, and by whose interest this countenance from the court was procured<sup>q</sup>. The accounts we have of this matter differ widely; but as I observe there is a variation in the dates of a whole year; so I am apt to believe, that there must have been two distinct undertakings; one under the immediate protection of the court, which did not take effect; and the other by a joint stock of the merchants, which did. Of the first, because it is little taken notice of, I will speak particularly here; for the other will come in properly in my account of Sir Hugh Willoughby. When, therefore, this matter was first proposed, the king lent two ships, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*, to Barnes, Lord-mayor of London; Mr. Garret, one of the sheriffs, and Mr. York and Mr. Wyndham, two of the adventurers, giving bond to the king to deliver two ships of like burden, and in as good condition, at Midsummer 1554. In consideration also of the expence and trouble of Sebastian Cabot, his Majesty made him a present of two hundred pounds<sup>r</sup>.

A year afterwards, this grand undertaking was brought to bear; and thereupon Sebastian Cabot delivered to the commander in chief those directions, by which he was to regulate his conduct; the title of which ran thus: "Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements, of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay; compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipful Sebastian Cabot, Esq; governor of the mystery and company of the merchant-adventurers

<sup>q</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 504. but Mr. Strype's remark, that these were the ships which went with Sir Hugh Willoughby, is wrong. <sup>r</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. ii. p. 402.

" for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown; the ninth of May, in the year of our Lord God 1553<sup>\*</sup>." This shews how great a trust was reposed in this gentleman by the government, and by the merchants of England: and the instructions themselves, which we still have entire, are the clearest proofs of his sagacity and penetration; and the fullest justification of such as did repose their trust in him.

Many have surmised, that he was a knight; whence we often find him styled Sir Sebastian; but the very title of those instructions I have cited, proves the contrary; as also the charter granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, in the first year of their reign, to the merchants of Russia, since styled the Russia company; whereby Sebastian Cabota is made governor for life; on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that trade<sup>†</sup>; but so far from being styled knight, that he is called only, one Sebastian Cabota, without any distinction at all<sup>‡</sup>. Indeed he is styled Sebastian Cabot, Esq; in the letters patent bearing date at St. James's, November 27, 1555, in the second and third years of Philip and Mary; wherein their Majesties are pleased to grant him an annuity of one hundred sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence; during his natural life; as he also is in the letters patent dated at Westminster, May 29, 1557, the third and fourth of the same reign; when these princes were pleased to permit him to surrender the former patent; and as a reward of his great merit, to grant him the like annuity as before, not only during his life, but also to continue the same to William Werthington, Esq; a friend no doubt of Cabot's, for his natural life likewise<sup>§</sup>. After this we find him very active in the affairs of the company, in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs, it is observed, that on the twenty-seventh of

<sup>\*</sup> These are yet in the hands of the Russia company.

<sup>†</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 226.

<sup>‡</sup> In Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 226.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid. p. 267. where the charter is at large.

<sup>¶</sup> The words in the charter are, " And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath been the chief setter-forth of this voyage, therefore," &c. which authentic declaration of his merit, does him more honour than any titles could have done.

<sup>x</sup> Rymer's fœdera, tome iv. p. 427; 465.

April, that year, he went down to Gravesend, and there went on board the *Serch-thrift*, a small vessel fitted out under the command of the said Burroughs for Russia, where he gave generously to the sailors: and, on his return to Gravesend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor; desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, (which shews the chearful temper of the man), that, upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the Christopher; where, says Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself<sup>7</sup>. This, except the renewing his patent, is the last circumstance relating to Cabot that I can meet with any where: and as it is certain, that a person of his temper could not have been idle, or his actions remain in obscurity; so I look upon it as certain, that he died some time in the next year; when, if not fourscore, he was at least much upwards of seventy.

He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived; and who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom: for he it was who first took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such mighty consequence in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in their inquiries ever since<sup>8</sup>. An Italian writer, famous for making the most judicious collection of voyages which has hitherto appeared, celebrates Sebastian Cabot as his countryman<sup>a</sup>; yet as he was, if we believe himself, ours both by nature and affection<sup>b</sup>, and as we owe so much to his skill and labours, I thought it but just to give his memoirs a place here, amongst those of the most eminent British seamen; the rather because he has been hitherto strangely neglected by our biographers, as well as by our general historians<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 274, 275.  
 Varenius's geography, p. 837.

<sup>8</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 811.

<sup>a</sup> Gio. Battista Ramusio, in the preface to his third volume.

<sup>b</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 319.

<sup>c</sup> One might have wondered at his being omitted in the general dictionary, if there had been an article of DRAKE.

It is likewise fit to say somewhat of SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY, admiral of that expedition into the northern seas, which produced the important discovery of the trade to Archangel. I have before observed, that the original of this undertaking sprung from Sebastian Cabot, whose settled opinion it had always been, that there were streights near the north pole, answerable to those of Magellan. It was by him proposed to King Edward VI. so early as the year 1551: in the month of February the next year, he obtained two ships from the king, the *Primrose* and the *Moon*; and the terms on which he was to have these, leading him to confer with some principal merchants, the result of their conferences was, the changing his scheme; inasmuch, that it was agreed to build three new ships, and to fit these out by a joint stock; to which, such as had a good opinion of the voyage might contribute, at twenty-five pounds a share. This once settled, the ships were built with wonderful celerity; and that which was called the Admiral, was sheathed with lead, to preserve her from the worms. The whole of this joint stock amounted but to six thousand pounds; and yet this money was so well employed, that, by the beginning of May 1553, they were ready to sail<sup>d</sup>.

The Admiral was called the *Bona Esperanza*, of the burden of one hundred and twenty tons, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight; the *Edward Bonaventure*, of one hundred and sixty tons, commanded by Captain Richard Chancellor; the third, the *Bona Confidentia*, of ninety tons, Cornelius Dürfurth master. May 10, 1553, they sailed from Ratcliff; and, on the eighteenth of the same month, cleared from Gravesend. The admiral, Sir Hugh Willoughby, had all the qualities that could be desired in a commander: he was descended of an honourable family, was a man of great parts, much experience, and unconquerable courage; yet unfortunate in this undertaking. In the beginning of the month of August he lost the company of Captain Chancellor; and about the same time first discovered Greenland, though the Dutch endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmost progress was to se-

<sup>d</sup> See the account of this voyage in Latin, by Clement Adams. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 243.

Twenty-two degrees of north latitude; and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far spent, and his ships unable to bear the sea, he put into the haven of Arzina, in Lapland, on the eighteenth of September, and there provided the best he could to have passed the winter. It appears by a will, which was found in his ship, that Sir Hugh and most of his company were alive in January 1554, but soon after they were all frozen to death; their bodies being found the next summer by Russian fishermen, who repaired to that coast; as also the original journal of Sir Hugh, from whence these particulars are taken.<sup>c</sup>

• As for Captain Chancellor, he was so fortunate as to enter the river of St. Nicholas, where he was well received, and had, soon after, access to John Basilowitz, then great duke of Muscovy, which gave us an entrance into that country.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 212.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. XI.

The Naval History of England, during the reign of  
Queen Mary; together with such transactions as re-  
late to foreign commerce, or remarkable discoveries.

**T**HOSE who were about, and in the confidence of King Edward at the time of his decease, prevailed upon him to set aside his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call to the possession of his throne his cousin, the Lady Jane Grey, who was married a little before to the Lord Guilford Dudley, son to the great duke of Northumberland: but notwithstanding the time they had during the king's sickness to concert their project, and to provide for the support of their designs, they were so much at a loss, that they did not immediately publish his death; but on the eighth of July 1553, they sent for the lord mayor of London, and directed him to bring with him six aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many of the merchant-adventurers, whom they acquainted with the king's death, and the manner in which he had disposed of the crown, requiring them to keep it secret; which they did for two days,  
and

and then proclaimed Lady Jane<sup>a</sup> queen of England, &c. I mention this circumstance, to shew in what estimation traders then were.

Among the rest of the precautions taken by the duke of Northumberland and his party, one of the principal was, his sending a Squadron of six ships, with orders to ly before the port of Yarmouth, to prevent the Lady Mary, as he styled her, from making her escape beyond the seas; which, however, proved the ruin of his design; for these ships were no sooner seen before the town of Yarmouth, than Sir Harry Jernegan went off in an open boat, and exhorted the seamen to declare themselves for Queen Mary, which they immediately did. This, with the lord warden of the cinque-ports proclaiming the queen in Kent, contributed chiefly to put an end to the struggle, so that on the nineteenth she was proclaimed at London, and the unfortunate lady Jane became a prisoner in the very same place where, a little before, she had kept her court<sup>b</sup>.

In the beginning of her reign Queen Mary acted with great temper and moderation, releasing the duke of Norfolk, who had remained a prisoner all this time in the Tower, from his confinement, imprisoning indeed such as had taken arms against her, but proceeding to no greater severities till after Wyat's rebellion, when falling into the hands of Hispaniolized counsellors, she began to act with that cruelty which is so deservedly esteemed the blemish of her reign. That she was naturally a woman of better temper appears by remitting part of a tax granted to her brother King Edward, by his last parliament; and that she had a just respect to the honour of the English na-

<sup>a</sup> Life of Queen Mary, written by George Ferrars, Esq; in Grafton's chronicle, p. 1324, 1325. Stowe, p. 609, 610. Speed, p. 812, 815. See the proclamation, as drawn by the curious pen of the learned Sir John Throckmorton, that service having been declined by Sir William Cecil, afterwards the great lord treasurer Burleigh, in the collection of records to Burnet's history of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 239.

<sup>b</sup> Stowe, p. 611, 612. Hulingshed, vol. ii. p. 1087. Speed, p. 817. Godwin, p. 268, 271. See also the journal of the privy council of this queen's reign, in Haynes's collection, p. 156. in which, among other things, that princess is said to have published a proclamation of defiance against the duke of Northumberland, with the promise of a thousand pounds a year in land to any nobleman who should apprehend him, and lesser rewards in proportion to the quality of the person who performed that service.

sion is clear, from the great pains she took to rectify all the disorders which had crept into the government during the duke of Northumberland's despotic administration <sup>c</sup>. But all her good qualities were blasted by her persisting obstinately in her resolution to marry Philip, prince of Spain, contrary to the general inclination of her people.

In pursuance of this unhappy measure, the consequence also of her bigotry, Commodore Winter was sent with a strong squadron to fetch the ambassadors sent by Charles V. to conclude the match <sup>d</sup>. On the arrival of Mr. Winter at Ostend, the emperor sent him a very fine gold chain, which, at his return to England, he shewed to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who, after looking at it for some time, said, For this gold chain you have sold your country; which expression had like to have cost them their lives <sup>e</sup>. It was the coming of these ambassadors which induced Sir Thomas Wyatt to take up arms, and begin that rebellion which first endangered the queen's safety, and at last brought him to the block <sup>f</sup>. Notwithstanding this, she caused a fleet of twenty-eight sail to be equipped, the command of which she gave to the Lord William Howard, created baron of Effingham, in the first year of her reign <sup>g</sup>, and lord high admiral, who was now, by special commission <sup>h</sup>, constituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her royal army. He was sent to sea under pretence of guarding the coast, but in reality his squadron was designed to escort prince Philip, which was, however, a needless care, since his own fleet consisted of a hundred and sixty sail; with this naval force he entered the narrow seas, his admiral carrying the Spanish flag in his main top, a thing which gave such offence to the gallant admiral of England, that he saluted him with a shot, and obliged him to take in his colours before he would make his compliments to the prince; a circumstance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and one would think, too, of IMITATION <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 31, 32, 33.

<sup>d</sup> Holingshed, vol. ii.

p. 1106. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii.

<sup>e</sup> See

his trial preserved in Holingshed.

<sup>f</sup> Stowe, Burnet, Strype.

<sup>g</sup> Pat.

i. M. p. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Rymer's fœdera, tome xv. p. 382.

<sup>i</sup> Sir W. Monson's naval tracts, p. 243. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1118. Speed, p. 824.

The queen was at this time about thirty-eight years old, entirely at her own disposal<sup>k</sup>, and if we may judge from her conduct, somewhat in a hurry for a husband, which will appear the more excusable, if we consider that she had been disappointed nine or ten times, if not more<sup>l</sup>. She seems, besides, to have had a natural inclination towards this marriage, as being herself a Spaniard by her mother's side, and always remarkably affected to that nation; and yet, by the care of her council, very reasonable articles were drawn for preventing the evils apprehended there from this match<sup>m</sup>. Prince Philip landed at Southampton the nineteenth of July, and passing on to Winchester, there espoused the queen on the twenty-fifth of the same month, being the feast of the Spanish patron St. James<sup>n</sup>. As the nation was displeased at the celebration of their nuptials, so their discontent grew higher and higher, insomuch that the queen never had a pleasant hour, or her subjects a quiet minute, from her wedding-day, though many projects were set on foot to pacify them. To this end the Spanish artificers were forbid to open shops here, severe justice was done on several, who, in resentment of insults, had killed some of the English, and a great many carts laden, as it was said, with gold and silver, were driven through the streets to the Tower<sup>o</sup>.

All these arts, however, could not dissipate the jealousies which the English had conceived, nor were they or their queen at all satisfied when the Emperor Charles V.<sup>p</sup> resigned the crown of Spain to King Philip. They easily foresaw that this would occasion his remaining almost constantly abroad, which would be attended with the most fatal consequences to their affairs, since, without communicating and receiving direction from him, the council could, or at least would, do little or nothing here at home<sup>q</sup>. After the emperor's resignation, in his

<sup>k</sup> A. D. 1554. <sup>l</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 129. <sup>m</sup> These are but imperfectly published in Holingshed; but the original was copied by a careful hand, and is in the Cotton library, Julius, f. vi. and are likewise published in Rymer's *foedera*, tome xv. p. 377. <sup>n</sup> Grafton, p. 1343. Holing. vol. ii. p. 1118. Cooper, fol. 366. Ferreras, *hist. de España*, p. 13. § 16. M. Turquet, liv. 28. p. 1340, 1341. <sup>o</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 625. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 286. <sup>p</sup> A. D. 1556. <sup>q</sup> See this grievance strongly stated in the minute of an order made by Queen Elizabeth in council, on her accession, in the diary of Sir W. Cecil (Lord Burleigh) Cotton library, Titus, c. 10.

passage from Flanders to Spain, he put into an English port, where he was received with great respect by the lord high admiral, who could not, however, prevail upon him to visit the queen his daughter; but, to excuse it, he wrote her a very long letter, perplexed and ambiguous, very evidently speaking that disorder of mind under which he laboured. This letter is dated the twentieth of September, 1556, and seems to have been chiefly intended to palliate the absence of his son<sup>1</sup>.

About this time, the court had information of some treacherous designs in respect to the queen's dominions in France. These places were equally objects of both nations attention. The government of Calais, and its dependencies, was the most profitable employment the crown had to give. It was of great utility as a staple to which foreign merchants resorted to purchase English commodities, which were there vended annually to a very large amount. It was held of still greater consequence as one of the keys of the channel, Dover being the other<sup>2</sup>. The French again considered this fortress and the forts belonging to it as a bridle in their mouths, an inlet into their kingdom, by which the English could enter their country at pleasure, and as a standing monument of their being once masters of the realm. On all these accounts they were, in peace as well as war, plotting how Calais and its district might be recovered<sup>3</sup>. For this reason every overture on that subject was well received, come from whom it would.

The principal instrument in this business, and who wrought for them most effectually, has escaped the notice of all our writers. His name was John de Fontenay, Sieur de Briteville, a gentleman of Normandy, who having in 1545 murdered the king's advocate, took refuge in Calais; this man, as a proper return for the protection shewn to such a criminal, began

<sup>1</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. iii, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Calais, while in our hands, was entirely inhabited by English. Had a mayor and aldermen, with other franchises. A mayor of the staple. Children born there were not reputed aliens. Its inhabitants grew so rich as to excite envy at home, though being English, all the wealth they acquired there of course centered here. See Cotton's records, p. 140, 172, 309, &c.

<sup>3</sup> I. du Tillet Chroniques abrégées des rois de France, p. 106, 107. A. du Chesne antiquitez du Villes de tout la France, p. 467. Scipio du Pleix histoire de France, tome iii. p. 577.

quickly

quickly to contrive a plan for surprizing the place. He communicated this to, and received encouragement from Francis I. and upon his memoir, and the subsequent informations he gave, the French took their measures till it fell into their hands; when Henry II. rewarded this John de Fontenay with letters of abolition, and gave him also three thousand crowns, to pay the intérêt civil, which is in the nature of our appeal, brought by the children of the person whom he assassinated. The truth of this fact stands therefore upon indisputable testimony<sup>u</sup>:

But the court of France did not solely rely on him, they, on the contrary, listened also, as has been before remarked, to the informations, and gladly received the propositions of English traitors, and amongst these to one for betraying this place. King Philip made this known to his queen, and her ministers, offering at the same time any assistance that might be requisite for their defence, it being too well known that the garrisons in Calais and the forts were but weak<sup>w</sup>. The council acted very unluckily upon this tender point. They refused the king's succours from an apprehension they might seize these places for him, and considering these treacherous negotiations in a time of full peace, as so injurious and so insulting to the nation, that they advised the queen to make war upon France. Accordingly an herald was sent to Henry, as the custom was then, to defy him in the queen's name, which was most solemnly performed at Rheims. The reasons publicly assigned for this, that it might appear entirely an English quarrel, were these, that he had assisted the late duke of Northumberland and his adherents; that Dudley and Ashton, traitors, had been by him received, and were gratified with pensions; and that Stafford had been countenanced by him in attacking the castle of Scarborough<sup>x</sup>. But notwithstanding all these points were notoriously true, it was believed that the queen would not have declared war; but from the solicitations of her consort Philip, which made it exceedingly disagreeable to the common people, and the parliament discovered a backwardness in supporting it.

<sup>u</sup> Antiquitez de Caen, p. 95. The project of recovering this place was concerted by the constable Montmorency, but he being taken at the battle of St. Quintin, it was executed (as will appear hereafter) by his rival the duke of Guise.

<sup>w</sup> Grafton's chronicle, p. 1352.

<sup>x</sup> Godwin's annals, p. 326. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. chap. xlv. p. 358.

It was stipulated by the articles of marriage, that the queen's dominions should not be engaged in any war, particularly with the crown of France, on account of any disputes that might arise between the French and King Philip; and yet, when the Spaniards thought it adviseable to break with the French king, Henry II. the queen and her council were prevailed upon to forget that article, and the interests of England, and to enter into a war both with Scotland and France. To bring this to pass, King Philip himself came over, and remained the best part of the spring in England, where he concerted such measures, as he thought would infallibly ruin the French. On his return into Flanders, and drawing his forces to the frontiers, the earl of Pembroke passed from hence with a gallant body of troops, consisting of between ten and eleven thousand men, and had the honour to contribute greatly to the total defeat of the French forces, before the town of St. Quintin, in the famous battle fought there on the seventh of July, 1557, and assisted soon after in taking of the town by storm.

But while these brave men gained honour abroad, their country suffered severely at home; for the Scots not only harassed the borders, but also, by the advice and assistance of the French, fitted out abundance of privateers, which disturbed the commerce, and particularly alarmed all such as were concerned in the Iceland trade, then of very great consequence. To quiet the apprehensions of the merchants, Sir John Clere, vice-admiral of England, was sent with a fleet of twelve sail to annoy the Scots, and to preserve the Iceland fleet: with this view he made a descent on the island of Pomona, one of the Orkneys, on the twelfth of August, 1557; but the next day the Scots, to the number of three thousand men, fell upon him, defeated the forces he had landed, killed three of his captains, took all his artillery, and to complete the misfortune, the boat in which he fled overset, so that himself, with several others, were drowned. The rest of the fleet, discouraged by this unlucky accident, abandoned their design, and returned home, which encouraged the Scots to raise a great army, and to threaten a

† Grafton, p. 1352, 1353. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 1134. Speed, p. 822. Thuan. hist. lib. 19. § 4. Mezeray, tome iv. p. 705. P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 128.

dangerous invasion; but their own domestic dissensions, as was commonly the case with that people, rendered their projects abortive, and preserved the nation from receiving any further damage on that side<sup>a</sup>.

The succeeding winter proved fatal to the English possessions in France, those small remains of the great conquests which her Henrys and Edwards had made. The duke of Guise at this time governed all in France, who being well informed of the strange policy of the English, trusting in the winter, the defence of Calais, rather to its situation than to its garrison, resolved to make use of that season to surprise it. The war with Spain gave a colour for his drawing together a great army on the frontiers, and under pretence of disturbing the English navigation, he directed abundance of ships to be fitted out from all the ports of France, with secret directions to join before Calais in the beginning of the month of January. On the first of that month he threw himself, with a choice body of troops, before the place, or rather behind it, towards the sea, where attacking the forts of Niculay, and the Ryfbank, he, after a vigorous defence, made himself master of them; after which he assaulted the town, and in a week's time forced it to capitulate; the Lord Wentworth, who commanded therein, having no stronger garrison than five hundred men<sup>a</sup>.

Thus, in eight days, the English lost a place which they had held two hundred and ten years, and which had cost Edward III. eleven months siege before he became master of it. Some of our historians, and especially the memoir-writers of those times, attribute this misfortune to treachery, and stab several noble characters with imputations of this sort, according as their prejudices led them; but there does not appear the least ground for these reports, any more than for suggesting that the Lord Gray, who was governor of the castle of Guisnes, betrayed it<sup>b</sup>; since the French writers very candidly acknowledge, that he made not only a good but a desperate defence, so that if he had either commanded a numerous garrison, or had entertained any

<sup>a</sup> Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 429. Lessius, lib. x. Buchanan, lib. xvi.  
<sup>a</sup> Grafton, p. 1354, 1355. Stowe, p. 631, 632. Godwin, p. 330, 331. Lord Burleigh's diary in Merdin's collection of state papers, p. 747. Thuan. hist. lib. x. § iii. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 576, 577. P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 210.  
<sup>b</sup> Grafton, p. 1357—1359. Stowe, p. 632. Godwin, p. 331, 332.

hopes of relief he would have infallibly preserved the place. As it was, he surrendered upon honourable terms<sup>c</sup>, which is more than can be said for the governor of the fortress of Hames, who, seized with a sudden panic, yielded it up before the French had attacked it<sup>d</sup>. The news of these disasters struck the queen with despair, which is not wonderful; but that they should so dispirit the nation, as to engage the council to write in such a dejected strain as they did to King Philip, on his moving them to attempt the re-taking the place, is really strange, and I think it can be accounted for no other way than by supposing, that, on the one hand, they were weary of the mighty expence which these possessions annually cost England, and were, on the other, willing to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity, to demonstrate to the king the mischief this war had done them, and how utterly incapable they were of prosecuting his projects any longer<sup>e</sup>.

In order to shew the probability of what I have suggested, and to give my readers the clearest idea of the real importance of this place, it may not be amiss to observe, that at such time as the French king Francis I. was prisoner in Spain, there wanted not some, who advised King Henry VIII. to lay hold of this opportunity of parting with this fortress, and all he held in France, supposing, that by such a step he might add to his profit, without diminishing his honour: but, upon a debate in his privy council, it was resolved to keep it<sup>f</sup>. This is certain, that the expence of preserving Calais was very great, not amounting to less, during the time we held it, than three millions. How to compute the advantages we derived from it, I confess, is not easy to say; but surely the indifference with which Queen Elizabeth and her ministers treated it, and the little inclination we have since shewn to get it into our own possession, may render

<sup>c</sup> Thuan. hist. lib. xx. § iii. Dupleix, tome iii. p. 577, 578. P. Daniel, *histoire de France*, tome viii. p. 216.

<sup>d</sup> Grafton, p. 1360. Holinghed,

vol. ii. p. 1140.

<sup>e</sup> See the copy of the council's letter, dated February 1, 1557. Cotton library, Titus, b. 2.

<sup>f</sup> This fact is taken from a letter of the archbishop of Canterbury to Cardinal Wolsey.

what I have advanced credible. Add to this, that in those days the house of Austria was almost as formidable as the house of Bourbon is now; which made the greatest part of Europe afraid of it, and of it only. How well this apprehension was conducted, and with what address the English ministry managed this general inclination, so as to render the weakness of other states the cause of weakening Spain to such a degree as she has never recovered, I shall hereafter have occasion to shew. In the mean time, let us return to the last, indeed the only naval expedition in this reign.

The war still continued between the French and Spaniards with the utmost animosity, and the former, being earlier in the field, in 1558 began to gain great advantages in the Low Countries; but growing upon this too warm, as is common with the French, they attacked Count Egmont near Gravelin, whose army made a gallant resistance till such time as the English squadron, then cruising in the narrow seas, hearing the incessant noise of their artillery, and having the advantage of the wind, approached the field of battle, which was close to the sea-side, and bringing their guns to bear upon the left wing of the French, they did such terrible execution as quickly decided the fate of the day, and forced two hundred of the enemy to fly to the English ships for quarter. This battle was fought on the 3d of July, and was of infinite consequence to King Philip. In the mean time the queen caused a considerable navy to be drawn together, in order to make a descent upon France. The ships were not fewer than two hundred and forty sail; but there were great uncertainties about the time, place, and manner of acting, occasioned by the king's feeding Queen Mary with hopes of his coming over to England, which it is more than probable he never intended.

At length the Lord Clinton, then lord high admiral, put to sea with a stout fleet in the month of July, and landed seven

8 See Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 26. The French made an offer of Calais to Queen Elisabeth, by their ambassadors at London, in 1560, prior to the treaty of Edinburgh, after having first tried how far threats would operate, in case she would recal her forces out of Scotland, which she had sent to the assistance of those of the reformed religion in that kingdom; but her Majesty, as we are told, which shews in what estimation she held it, shrewdly replied, that for the sake of a paltry fishing-town she would never desert those she had taken under her protection. Camdeni annal. Elisabethæ, edit. T. Hearne, vol. i. p. 64.

thousand

thousand men in Lower Bretagne, where they took the town of Conquet, and soon after re embarked. Before they reached the English coast, they were joined by a squadron of thirty sail of Spanish ships, which induced the admiral to think of taking Brest; but, arriving on the coast of Bretagne a second time, they found the whole country in arms, so that they were constrained to abandon their enterprize, and to lay aside all thoughts of action for this year<sup>b</sup>.

This disappointment joined to the coldness of her husband, the calamities which the war had brought upon her native country, and the general discontent of her subjects, greatly affected the queen's tender constitution, now in a manner worn out by a dropsy: yet this distemper was not the immediate cause of her death, but rather a kind of infectious fever, which raged excessively in the autumn of this year, especially among the better sort. According to the accounts in some of our old chronicles it differed little from a plague<sup>c</sup>. While she laboured under her last sickness, King Philip entered into a treaty with the French king, wherein at first he pretended to insist strenuously on the restitution of Calais; but it afterwards appeared, that this was only for form's sake, and in order to obtain better terms for himself; the poor queen was wont to say in her languishing condition, that as yet they knew not her distemper, but that, if after she was dead they opened her, they would find Calais written in her heart<sup>d</sup>. Worn with her disease, and excruciated by her griefs, she expired the 17th of November 1558, the parliament then sitting.

We have said somewhat as to her character before, but it may not be amiss to observe, that in the latter part of her reign, and especially after the death of Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, lord-chancellor, and her prime minister, things went but indifferently in parliament, where, but a few weeks before her death, one of the members for the city of London made a long speech in the House of Commons, wherein he fully and

<sup>b</sup> Grafton, p. 1363, 1364. Stowe, p. 633. Godwin, p. 334. Thuan. hist. lib. xx. § 9, 10. Duplex, tome iii. p. 583, 584. P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 231. <sup>c</sup> Cooper's chronicle, fol. 377. Stowe's annals, p. 684. Dr. Haddon's answer apologetical to Hierome Osorius, (who alledged the queen was poisoned), fol. 28. <sup>d</sup> Grafton, p. 1365, 1366. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1162. Speed, p. 830. Godwin's annals, p. 340, 341. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 747.

freely laid open all their grievances, and entered into a particular detail of the state of the nation, affirming amongst other things, that the city of London was then worth less by three hundred thousand pounds than at the death of King Edward<sup>1</sup>. We need not wonder, therefore, that this princess was very little regretted, especially if we consider, that, throughout her whole reign, she put herself at the head of a party both in church and state, and thereby exceedingly provoked the body of her people.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that by the hardships the nation underwent, in consequence of the queen's foreign marriage, they were for that reason cured of their unreasonable attachment to the house of Burgundy, which, from the time that Maximilian married the heiress of the last duke to the death of Queen Mary, cost England in the bare expence of wars and subsidies entered into, or granted on their behalf, six millions of our money, exclusive of the inexpressible advantages derived to them from our trade, of which enough has been said in the former reign. To this we must justly ascribe, in a great measure, the putting our commerce upon a right foot, by which I mean, taking it out of the hands of foreigners in the Steel-yard, and out of the hands of an exclusive company here at home, which had been impracticable, or, which comes to the same thing, never had been thought practicable, if, through the distresses brought upon us by Queen Mary's administration, our political system had not been changed; and the bringing this to pass ought in justice to be ascribed to Sir William Cecil, who being little employed, though much regarded by that princess, spent most of his leisure time in making himself intirely master of the practical as well as speculative knowledge relative to coin and commerce, which with so much credit to himself, and glory to his sovereign, he exerted in the next reign. For as it was the bane of Queen Mary's government, that she was intirely guided by foreign councils, so it was the principal source of her sister's fame and felicity, that her views were intirely English, as were those of her minister before-mentioned, whose maxim it was,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Smith reports this in his oration on the question, whether it would be more expedient for the nation, that Queen Elizabeth should marry a native or a foreigner? which the reader may meet with at large in the appendix to his life by John Strype, N. iii. p. 7.

that his mistress could not be great, and himself secure, from any other means than by consulting for, and procuring the common benefit of the nation <sup>m</sup>.

Some things, however, were done under the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary for the benefit of trade, King Edward's decree against the merchants of the Steel-yard was enforced by an act passed in the parliament of the twenty-fourth of October in the first year of the queen's reign, and the privileges this company pretended to were intirely taken away for this just and wise reason, because that though they were said to be for the benefit and advancement of commerce, yet they were found in effect to be prejudicial thereto, by maintaining in these merchants a monopoly, by secreting the mystery of traffic from the natives of this realm, and by establishing a kind of foreign republic in the metropolis of this kingdom. Notwithstanding which, this princess was prevailed upon, some say in consequence of her alliance with the emperor, to suspend the execution of this act for three years, and to discharge the German merchants from paying any other duties than those they were accustomed to pay in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. <sup>n</sup>

The Russia company, or, as it was then called, the Muscovy company, was established by the charter which has been mentioned before, with a particular view to the discovery of new trades, and in this respect the wisest and most useful establishment that was ever founded. It was therefore farther encouraged by an act in the eighth of the next reign, and so lately as in the time of William III. another act passed whereby the company are obliged to admit as a member, and to a joint participation of all their privileges, any subject of this realm who requests the same, paying for such admission five pounds; so that this society stands on a broad bottom, and cannot be charged with any of those inconveniencies which may be justly imputed to other companies <sup>o</sup>. The first Russian ambassador sent hither was

<sup>m</sup> See his character drawn by the inimitable pen of the learned Camden, vol. iii. p. 773—775. Sir Robert Naunton's *fragmenta regalia*. Life of William, Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's state-worthies, p. 473.

<sup>n</sup> The letters patent for this purpose bear date at Westminster, January the 15th, 1554. Rymer's *fœdera*, tom. xv. p. 364. A treatise of commerce, &c. by John Wheeler, London, 1601. quarto.

<sup>o</sup> See their case on their late petition.

in this reign, and was received with great respect, having his first public audience of King Philip and Queen Mary on the twenty-fifth of March 1557<sup>p</sup>.

We find also, that several letters were written to princes and states, in favour of our merchants, by the direction of their Majesties; and by the favour of King Philip there was a considerable intercourse with Spain, and with all the provinces subject to his Catholic Majesty throughout Europe; which, though it might possibly be the effects of his policy, in order to gain the affections of the English, yet it was certainly of great advantage to private persons, quickened the spirit of trade, and added somewhat to the public stock. It must however be allowed, that these favours did by no means balance the inconveniencies which arose from the influence of foreign councils, much less would they have made us amends, if the intrigues of this enterprising prince had taken effect; for that he had thoughts of adding England and Ireland to his other hereditary dominions, and of awing them by Spanish garrisons, is very certain, though the war with France, and the queen's early death, prevented such schemes from being carried into execution<sup>q</sup>. This, as it was very fortunate for us, so it was such a heavy disappointment to him, that, as we shall see in the succeeding part of this work, he exerted all his address, and employed his utmost power, to achieve by force what he had failed of obtaining by fraud, and thereby ruined his own maritime strength, and increased ours much beyond what could otherwise have been by our utmost industry effected.

As to discoveries, there were not many attempted in this short space. Stephen Burroughs, as we before observed, was fitted out to prosecute Sir Hugh Willoughby's attempt to find a passage by the north to the East Indies; but he failed, though he passed as far as the straits of Weygatz<sup>r</sup>. Captain Richard Chancellor,

<sup>p</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 630. Godwin, p. 324, 325. Strype's memorials, vol. iii. p. 373. The letters of these princes to the emperor of Russia, with a copy of the first privileges granted by that monarch to the English merchants, their charter, and a discourse at large of the extraordinary reception the Russian minister met with in England, the reader will find in Hakluyt's noble collection, vol. i. p. 258, 265, 267, 285.

<sup>q</sup> See Lord-keeper Bacon's speech in d'Ewes's journal, an. 1. Eliz.

<sup>r</sup> Hakluyt's voyager, vol. i. p. 282.

who had so happily begun an intercourse between us and Russia, and procured such ample privileges for our merchants from the Czar, made two other voyages into his dominions, which were very successful; but, in returning from the last, he was unfortunately lost on the coast of Scotland in the latter end of the year 1556<sup>1</sup>. The next year the Russia company sent Captain Anthony Jenkinson into Muscovy, who the year following passed with infinite labour, and incredible danger, into Bucharia, having traversed the countries bordering on the Caspian sea, and so was actually the first discoverer of the Persian trade by the way of Muscovy<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Stowe, p. 629. Hollinghed, vol. ii. p. 1132. Godwin, p. 324. <sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 324, 336.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. XII.

Containing the Naval History of England, under the auspicious reign of Queen Elisabeth, an account of the many discoveries made, and plantations settled during that space of time, with the measures pursued for the advancement of trade; including also memoirs of the famous admirals, and eminent seamen, who flourished in that glorious period.

ON the demise of Queen Mary, one would have thought there needed no mighty consideration in order to settle the succession, since, according to the will of King Henry, which had been hitherto obeyed, as well as the laws of nature and of the land, the Lady Elisabeth became immediately queen. The ministry in the late reign, however, seem to have been in some doubt about taking this step, and very probably, if the parliament had not been sitting, they might have made some attempt to have secured their own power, at the expence of the public peace: but it fell out more happily

for the nation, so that after a short consultation, they resolved to give notice to the House of Lords of their mistress's demise; and upon this orders were immediately given for proclaiming Queen Elizabeth<sup>a</sup>.

There never was perhaps a kingdom in a more distressed condition than England at the accession of this princess. It was engaged in a war abroad for the interest of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and distracted about their religious and civil concerns. Those of the reformed religion had been lately exposed to the flames, and those of the Roman communion found themselves now in a declining state. On the continent we had no allies; in this very island the Scots were enemies, and their queen claimed the English crown. The exchequer was exhausted, most of the forts and castles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at sea we had lost much of our ancient reputation, and a too sharp sense of their misfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the last degree<sup>b</sup>.

ELIZABETH was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and withal, what she inherited from her father, a high and haughty spirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an absolute contempt of those pleasures, by the indulging which princes are too commonly misled. Her wisdom consisted in good sense, rather than refined maxims, and her policy seems to have rose no higher than to this plain rule, of steadily minding her business. From the moment she became a queen, she never suffered herself to forget the station in which God had placed her. She received the compliments on her accession with majesty, and she supported her dignity even in her dying moments. The subsequent part of this history will shew, that this character is drawn from her actions, and that I have been no more inclined to flatter her, than to asperse some of her royal

<sup>a</sup> Additions to Fabian, p. 566. Grafton, p. 1357. Cooper's chronicle, fol. 377. The celebrated Lord Burleigh's diary of the reign of this princess, in Murdin's collection, p. 747. Stowe, Holingshed, vol. ii. Speed, and other historians.

<sup>b</sup> Gul. Camden, annal. vol. i. p. 27. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 2, 3. and the speech of Lord-keeper Bacon, in Sir Simmonds d'Ewes's Journal, p. 11.

predecessors; though, if authorities could support scandal, I might have cited not a few to countenance both.

But let us see by what steps this great queen and her able ministers extricated their country from the misery in which it was involved, and restored this realm not only to a settled and flourishing condition, but raised her glory higher than in her most happy times she ever stood, laying the foundation of that extensive power, which she has since enjoyed, and which she may always enjoy, if there be not wanting honest men at the helm, or if the spirit of the nation co-operates constantly with that of her rulers.

The first act of the queen's government was asserting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which it was recited, that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign counsels in the late reign, and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that she was a free princess, and meant so to act, without any further applications to Spain, than the concerns of her people absolutely required<sup>c</sup>. On the twenty-first of November, when she had worn the crown but three days, she sent orders to vice-admiral Malyn, to draw together as many ships as he could for the defence of the narrow seas, and for preventing likewise all persons from entering into, or passing out of the kingdom without licence, which he performed so strictly, that in a short time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to signify to the warden of the cinque-ports, that the queen meant not to imprison her subjects, but that persons might pass and repass about their lawful concerns<sup>d</sup>.

With like diligence provision was made for the security of Dover, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight<sup>e</sup>, so that by the end of the year the kingdom was out of all danger from any sudden insult, and the queen at leisure to consider how she might further strengthen it, so as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive. Her entrance on government had the

<sup>c</sup> Cotton library, Titus, c. 10. See the queen's instructions to Guido Cavalcanti, dated the twenty-ninth of January 1558-9, in Dr. Forbes's collection of state-papers, vol. i. p. 34.

<sup>d</sup> Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 6.

<sup>e</sup> See Sir William Cecil (Lord Burleigh's) diary in the cotton library, Titus, c. 10.

same appearance of wisdom as if she had been years upon the throne, and the hopes raised by her first actions were supported and even exceeded by the steadiness of her conduct; so that by a firm and uniform behaviour, she secured the reverence and affection of her subjects at home, and established a character abroad that prevented any immediate enterprizes upon her dominions in that feeble and fluctuating condition in which she found them.

In the month of April 1559, peace was concluded with France, and therein, amongst other things, it was provided, that after the term of eight years, the French should render to the queen the town of Calais, or pay her fifty thousand crowns by way of penalty. In this treaty the dauphin and the queen of Scots were also included; but this was very indifferently performed: for the French immediately began to send over great forces into Scotland, where they intended, first to root out the Protestant religion, and then to have made themselves entirely masters of the kingdom<sup>f</sup>. This proceeding so alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that many of them had immediate recourse to arms, and not finding their own strength sufficient, applied themselves for protection to Queen Elisabeth, who, foreseeing the consequence of suffering the French to fix themselves, and establish an interest in Scotland, determined to send thither the assistance that was desired, both by land and sea<sup>g</sup>.

In the mean time a strict but legal inquiry was made into the loss of Calais in the late reign. The Lord Wentworth, on

<sup>f</sup> Corps diplomatique du droit des gens, tome v. p. i. p. 28. Buchanan, lib. xvi, xvii. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1184. Camden, vol. i. p. 42. Mezeray, tome v. p. 15. 16. and the rest of the French historians, who all own this project of their King Francis II. But the best account of the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, is in Dr. Forbes's collection of State-papers, vol. i. to which we refer the reader.

<sup>g</sup> See the queen's letter to the duke of Norfolk, dated December 30th, 1559, in Haynes's collection of State-papers, p. 217, 218. the articles agreed to on the part of that princess by the duke of Norfolk, with Lord James Stuart, and others of the nobility, when she condescended to take the realm of Scotland and the confederate Lords under her protection, dated February 27th, 1559. Lord Grey's instructions on his entering that kingdom, and other papers relating to that important business. Keith's history of the church and state of Scotland, vol. i. p. 112. Sir James Melvil's memoirs, p. 28, 29. Stowe, p. 647. Speed, p. 834.

whom many aspersions had fallen, was fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers; but the captains Chamberlain and Harlestone were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them<sup>b</sup>. As for Lord Grey, his gallant defence of the fortress, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any prosecution; instead of which, he was appointed commander in chief of the forces that were to march into Scotland. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Winter, which sailed up the Frith of Forth, blocked up Leith by sea, while the army of the Scots Lords, and the English auxiliaries under Lord Grey, besieged it by land, and in a very short space forced the French garrison to capitulate; whereby all the designs of France on that side were intirely broken<sup>c</sup>, and the queen left to look to her own concerns, which she did with such diligence, that in two years space religion was restored, the principal grievances felt under the former government redressed, base money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flourishing condition.

But above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; she directed a most exact survey of it to be made, a very strict inquiry into the causes of its decay, and the surest means by which it might be recovered. She issued orders for preserving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gun-powder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vast expence. For the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the river Medway, she built a strong fortress called Upnore-Castle. The wages of the seamen she raised, enlarged the number, and augmented the salaries of her naval officers; drew over foreigners skilled in the arts relating to navigation, to instruct her people, and by the pains she took in these affairs, excited a spirit of emulation among her subjects, who began every where to exert themselves in like manner, by repairing of ports, and building vessels of all sizes, especially large and stout ships, fit for war as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. Camden

<sup>b</sup> Stowe, p. 639. Camden, vol. i. p. 43. Strype, vol. i. p. 26. <sup>c</sup> Buchanan, lib. xvii. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1187. Thuan. hist. lib. xxiv. § iv. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 750.

tells us, the queen justly acquired the glorious title of the **RESTORER OF NAVAL POWER, and SOVEREIGN OF THE NORTHERN SEAS**; infomuch that foreign nations were struck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing respectfully to court a power, which had been so lately the object of their contempt<sup>k</sup>.

The civil diffensions in the kingdom of France, which gave the court a pretence for oppressing those of the reformed religion, whom they called Huguenots, produced in the year 1562 very destructive consequences to their neighbours. A general spirit of rapine and confusion having spread itself through the inhabitants of that extensive kingdom, and the greatest crimes meeting with impunity, such as dwelt on the sea-coast, and who were mostly Huguenots, fitted out ships to annoy their enemies; upon which the court-party did the like, so that at last piracies were frequent, and the English trade suffered thereby so intolerably, that at length the queen resolved to interpose<sup>l</sup>. The French Protestants had long sued to her for protection, and offered to put the port of Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, into her hands; which she at length accepted, and sent over Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, in the month of September 1562, with a considerable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept possession of it till the twenty-ninth of July following<sup>m</sup>.

The taking into our hands this place, proved of infinite detriment to the French, for the court having declared all English ships good prize, so long as the queen held that port, she found herself obliged to issue a like proclamation, whereupon such numbers of privateers were fitted out from English ports, and from Newhaven, that the spoil they made is almost incredible<sup>n</sup>. For

<sup>k</sup> Camdeni annales, vol. i. p. 86. where he somewhat exceeds the truth, when he says the queen, with the assistance of her subjects, might fit out a fleet that would require 20,000 seamen, since in 1582, all the sea-faring people in her realm did not exceed 14,295. Sir William Monson's tracts, p. 279. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 375.

<sup>l</sup> See her manifesto, still extant in Stowe's annals.

<sup>m</sup> P. Leonard, tome ii. p. 571. Davila, lib. iii. Thuan. lib. xliii. § iv. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 367. Forbes's state papers, vol. ii. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murrin's collection, p. 753, 754. <sup>n</sup> Hollinghed, vol. ii. p. 1196. Camden, vol. i. p. 94. Speed, p. 835.

example,

Example, we are told that one Francis Clarke equipped at his own expence, three frigates, and after a cruize of six weeks, brought into Newhaven no less than eighteen prizes, which were valued at upwards of fifty thousand pounds<sup>o</sup>. The main motive to this conduct was, to revive a naval enterprizing spirit amongst her subjects, the promoting ship-building, and preventing her neighbours from gaining an ascendancy at sea, as they would certainly have done, if, in order to redress the nation's wrongs, she had had recourse to negociation. A maritime power injured, instead of expostulating, immediately makes reprisals, and thereby extorts apologies from the aggressors made sensible of their past mistake.

But by degrees this spirit of privateering grew to such a height, that the queen, for her own safety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to restrain it<sup>p</sup>; those who had fitted out ships of force, from a disposition natural enough to privateers, plundering indiscriminately all vessels that came in their way. In the month of July, also in this year, the queen directed a small squadron of ships to be fitted out, viz. the Lyon, the Hoope, the Hart, Swallow, and a bark, named the Hare, of which Sir William Woodhous, knight, was appointed vice-admiral, under a pretence of guarding the narrow seas, which were then said to be greatly infested with pirates, but in reality, as appears from his instructions, to lend what assistance he possibly could to the malecontents in France; which none of our historians, at least that we can discover, have remarked. Some of these vessels were in the November following, such as the Hart, Swallow, Hare, &c. judged requisite by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Admiral Clinton, to remain at Portsmouth, not only for the security of the coast, and keeping the channel clear during the winter, but for the conveniency of transporting troops, money, provisions, and ammunition, as also for the conveying to, and receiving letters from Newhaven<sup>q</sup>. And, as we are told, the Hare having on

<sup>o</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 653.

<sup>p</sup> She was under the necessity of sending an extraordinary ambassador to his Catholic Majesty, to excuse these piracies, and to restrain them for the future by a proclamation. Camdeni annales Elis. vol. 1. p. 98.

<sup>q</sup> Haynes's state papers, p. 304. Forbes's state papers, vol. II. p. 171.

board Sir John Portinaria, a famous engineer, in her passage to the last-mentioned place, was attacked by a French ship of ninety tons and upwards, which they notwithstanding took, and which proved to be laden with wine, and carried her in with them on the twenty-fifth of the same month<sup>r</sup>.

Philip II. of Spain, from the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, sometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others seeking every occasion to injure and molest her subjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in Flanders<sup>s</sup>. What served also to heighten the people's hatred against the Spaniards was the cruelty and treachery with which they had treated captain<sup>t</sup> Hawkins and his crew in the West Indies, an insult the queen could but very ill bear, though, as things were circumstanced, she could not well resent it, all trade to the Spanish West Indies being in some respect repugnant to treaties<sup>u</sup>. Yet while these things disturbed the nation's tranquillity in a certain degree, France and the Low Countries were much more grievously torn through religious disputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war<sup>w</sup>. The Protestants being the weakest, and withal the most injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them some assistance, though she was not willing absolutely to break either with the most Christian or with the Catholic king.

The latter had sent the duke of Alva to govern the Netherlands, who was a fierce and cruel man, but withal a person of great courage, an able captain, and a consummate statesman. This duke, as he was a bitter enemy to the Protestants, so he had conceived, probably on that account, as keen a hatred against Queen Elizabeth, which he soon found occasion to discover. Towards the end of the year 1568, some merchants of Genoa, intending to have set up a bank in the Low Countries, procured a licence from the king of Spain to transport thither a very large sum in ready money, on board certain ships belonging to

<sup>r</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 652. Holingshead, vol. ii. p. 1197. Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 367. <sup>s</sup> Camden, Burnet, Rapin. <sup>t</sup> A. D. 1567. <sup>u</sup> Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177. <sup>w</sup> Memoires de Castelnau, liv. i. Commentaires de Montluc, tome ii. liv. v. Duplex, tome iii. Le Clerc's histoire des Provinces Unies, tome i. liv. i.

the province of Biscay. These ships were chased in their passage by some French privateers, and were forced to take shelter in the ports of Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton, where, by the queen's orders, their vessels were protected, and those on board them well treated, till, at the request of the Spanish ambassador, the money was brought ashore.

Cardinal de Chatillon, who was at the same time here as a refugee, informed the queen that this money did not belong, as was pretended, to the king of Spain, but to private merchants, and that in case she gave leave for transporting it into the Netherlands, the duke of Alva would certainly seize it, in order to carry on some of his dark designs. The queen, by the advice of her very wise and able minister Cecil, resolved to defeat this scheme, by taking the money to her own use, promising to re-pay it immediately, if it should appear to be the king of Spain's treasure, and to compensate the Genoese merchants for the time she kept it with just interest, if it was theirs\*. This was highly resented by King Philip and the duke of Alva, the former by his ambassador, endeavoured to get secretary Cecil assassinated, tampering also with the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Ormond, to raise disturbances both in England and Ireland; in which, however, he failed: but the duke of Alva, according to the violence of his temper, seized all the English effects in Flanders, and permitted his frigates and privateers to cruize on the English coast†. The queen made reprisals in her turn, and allowing her subjects to fit out ships, they pursued this trade of privateering with so much eagerness and success, that at length they began not to distinguish friends from foes‡, upon which her majesty was compelled to issue a proclamation, forbidding the purchase of any ship, or effects taken by these privateers. Soon after which these disputes were compromised§, and peace restored, though it did not last long, both the Spaniards and the English being generally inclined to break it¶.

\* Stowe, p. 662. Camden, vol. i. p. 175. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. v. Thuan, lib. xliv. § xi. M. Turquet, tome ii. p. 1432. † Lord Burleigh's diary in

Murdin's collection, p. 766, 767. Bentivoglio, p. 1. lib. v. ‡ Mardin's state papers, p. 257, 274. § A. D. 1573. ¶ Meteren, *histoire des Pays bas*, liv. liii. F. Strada, lib. vii. Grimstone's history of the Netherlands,

b. ix. p. 460.

In the midst of all these difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people in prosecuting new schemes of trade abroad, or pursuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view she sometimes contributed ships, sometimes gave money, at others entered into partnership; in short, she neglected nothing which might shew her maternal tenderness for all her subjects. She likewise afforded, in a very delicate conjuncture, a shining proof of her generosity, in directing a strong squadron of her ships to escort Anne of Austria, in her voyage from Flanders into Spain, notwithstanding the bad terms whereon she then stood with King Philip<sup>c</sup>. Her treaties with France, which seemed to exclude all fear of danger, did not hinder her from fortifying Portsmouth thoroughly, in which it quickly appeared, that her precaution was far from being the effects of a needless timidity; for the French soon fitted out a considerable fleet, pretending to take some offence at the supplies she had sent the Huguenots, as if it was contrary to the treaties between them; but when it appeared that her majesty had provided effectually against any attempts they were able to make, they were glad to desist, and even to make greater professions of friendship than before, which disposed the queen to send over the earl of Worcester to the christening<sup>d</sup> of the French king's daughter.

This proved unlucky for the Huguenots, who having fitted out abundance of rovers from Rochelle, they stopt and visited vessels of all nations approaching the French coast; amongst the rest, they seized a bark with part of the earl of Worcester's baggage, which they took, and killed three or four people<sup>e</sup>. This being reported to the queen, she issued her orders by the lord high admiral, to scour the narrow seas, who appointed William Holstock, Esq; comptroller of the navy, with three light frigates, and three hundred and sixty men on board, to perform this service, which he did with such industry and effect, that between the Northforeland and Falmouth, he took twenty privateers of several nations, with nine hundred men on board them, and sent them as they were taken to Sandwich,

<sup>c</sup> Camden annales, vol. ii. p. 220, 221. Ferreras hist. de España, p. 15. § xvi. Sir Richard Hawkin's observations, p. 22. <sup>d</sup> A. D. 1576. <sup>e</sup> Stow, p. 67, 674. Camden, vol. ii. p. 270, 275. P. Daniel, tome viii. p. 750.

Dover, Newport, and Portsmouth. He likewise re-took, and set at liberty, fifteen merchant-men, by them made prize, and all this within so short a time as six weeks, returning into Portsmouth in the middle of the month of March. Among these prisoners were three persons who were known and proved to be of the crew of that vessel which had plundered the earl of Worcester's baggage, and therefore they were immediately tried and hanged as pirates, but the rest were ransomed<sup>f</sup>. A few years after, the nation found itself under the like difficulties, though from another quarter.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland had now delivered themselves from the Spanish bondage, and were growing considerable in the world by their maritime power. This, however, had a bad effect on the disposition of the common people, who became insufferably insolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our corresponding with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, who were their enemies. At first, therefore, they took only such ships as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed such notorious piracies, that the queen was again forced to send the comptroller of the navy, Mr. Holstock, with a small squadron to sea, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and sent two hundred of their seamen to prison. The queen, not satisfied with this punishment sent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beale, Esq; to demand restitution of the goods taken from her subjects, which, however, they did not obtain; and on this account the Dutch factors here suffered severely<sup>g</sup>.

But as for such refugees of all nations, as fled hither for the sake of religion, she not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce them to stay, and fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy succeeded so well, that Colchester, Norwich, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and many other places were filled with those industrious foreigners, who taught us to weave

<sup>f</sup> Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1257. Strype's annals, vol. ii. p. 171, 172. Thuan. lib. iv. § viii. <sup>g</sup> Stowe, p. 681. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1262. Camdeni annales, vol. ii. p. 303, 304. Grimstone's history of the Netherlands, b. x. p.

variety of silk and worsted stuffs, while many also from Germany were sent into the north, where they employed themselves in mining, making salt-petre, forging all sorts of tools made of iron, which were arts absolutely unknown to us before their arrival, and which, for ages to come, might have continued so, but for the wisdom and public spirit of the queen and her ministers. The French and Spaniards, who were sensible of the advantages we gained, and the losses they suffered, by the retiring of their artificers into this island, had recourse to severe laws in order to prevent it, which were so far from answering the end, that they drove people over faster than they came before; so that we may truly say, our extensive trade was a blessing bestowed by God, for the countenance we afforded in those their dismal days of distress, to the afflicted Protestants in France and Flanders<sup>b</sup>.

The growth of this kingdom's power and commerce being so conspicuous, left King Philip of Spain, the most penetrating prince of his time, no room to doubt, that his projects for assuming the supreme dominion of Europe, or at least the absolute direction of it, would be rendered intirely abortive, unless some method could be contrived for ruining England at once. While he meditated this design, and took various steps towards it, he found himself daily more and more irritated, by the pains the queen took to frustrate his schemes, and to diminish the power which had been derived to him from his father the Emperor Charles V.<sup>1</sup> We have shewn how, during the administration of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, differences had arisen between the court of England and the king of Spain's subjects there, and how, after much warmth shewn on both sides, these matters were in some measure accommodated in 1573. That accommodation was so far from being the effects of any cordial disposition in either of these powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both sides, neither having as yet brought those things

<sup>b</sup> Mezeray, Strada, Camden, Strype, Stowe, Holinghed, Speed, and, in general, all the writers of those times, particularly, such as have made the progress of the Reformation the subject of their writings; though, after all, the point has never been so thoroughly and particularly discussed as it deserves.  
<sup>1</sup> Camden, Strype, Rapin.

so far to bear, as were requisite for accomplishing their respective designs \*.

The catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying Queen Elisabeth, and utterly subverting the English state<sup>1</sup>. The first of these was, uniting against her, under colour of religion, most of the princes and states abroad, which, by the assistance of the Pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he, in a good measure, effected, carrying, (as we shall hereafter see) his distaste so far, as to practise even with the little republics in Germany, to disturb our commerce, and to affront our government. His second point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the Popish faction, and by maintaining, at a vast expence, such fugitives as fled from hence<sup>m</sup>, in which he was likewise for some time successful, the peace of the kingdom being broken, its strength enervated, the government, nay, the queen's life, often in danger by those restless spirits, who were as assiduous in the blackest cause as if their industry had been prompted by the most honourable motives. The last thing King Philip had at heart was the providing, as secretly as might be, such a force as, with the assistance of his other schemes, might enable him to make himself entirely master of England at once; to which end he with great diligence sought to increase his maritime power, and upon the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep under the command of the prince of Parma, one of the ablest generals that or perhaps any age ever produced, such an army in constant readiness there, as might be sufficient to achieve this conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution of these deep-laid projects, Philip met with many favourable circumstances, which might, and very probably did, strongly flatter his hopes, particularly the death of the queen of Scots that deeply stained the character of Elisabeth in foreign courts, and his own acquisition of

\* Hugo Grotius in *hist. Belg.*

<sup>1</sup> The reader may find a more copious detail of the political motives to the invasion in 1588, in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 512.

<sup>m</sup> There are in the collections published by Strype, Haynes, and Murdin, lists of the names of persons of quality and others, to whom the king of Spain assigned pensions on that account, see p. 247, 248. in the latter. Dr. Birch's *memoirs of the reign of Elisabeth*, vol. i. p. 203.

the kingdom of Portugal, by which he gained a vast accession of naval strength<sup>a</sup>.

Queen Elisabeth and her ministers were too penetrating; and had too quick as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark as to the purpose of the king of Spain, and their prudence was such, that by every method possible they worked to disappoint him, without disclosing their apprehensions to the world. With this intent they laboured to convince foreign states, that King Philip was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at subduing all his neighbours, which being a thing strictly true, and at the same time nearly concerning themselves, had undoubtedly a proper weight<sup>o</sup>. In the next place, pains were taken to cultivate a closer correspondence with his discontented subjects in the Netherlands, and to furnish them with money, and secretly with other aids, whereby they were enabled to give some check to his power both by sea and land. Our own privateers were allowed to pass into the West Indies, where they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit; for by this means they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortresses in the West Indies, with the nature of the commerce transacted there, the method of sharing it by fair means, or of destroying it by force<sup>p</sup>. Thus, notwithstanding their immense wealth and extensive dominions, the English were in some measure a match for the Spaniards in all places, and at all points.

But still, the great secret, by which the queen defeated all King Philip's political inventions, seems to have been scarce known to most of the writers who have undertaken to acquaint us with the transactions of her reign. It was in reality this: she discovered the principal instruments he intended to make use of for her destruction; but, instead of exposing or destroying them, she contrived so to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfil her purposes, though they remained all the time tools and pensioners to Spain. Thus she caused the ambassador Mendoza, whose arts might have been otherwise dangerous

<sup>a</sup> Camden, Stowe, Speed, Strype, Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. 4. Grimstone's hist. of the Netherlands, lib. xiii. M. Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. 3. <sup>o</sup> Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 434. as also such letters in the cabala as relate to the years 1597 and 1598. <sup>p</sup> Stowe, Holinghed, Speed, Hakluyt, Purchas.

had he remained here, to be so wrought on as to forfeit his character, by suborning persons to murder Secretary Cecil, and to spread libels in the night through the streets, reflecting on herself<sup>9</sup>. The Spanish emissaries employed to seduce her people, in order to form a strong party on any invasion, she took care to engage in plots against her person, whereby they became speedily obnoxious to a legal conviction, and so were brought to an ignominious death, equally terrible and shameful to the Popish faction. This appears clearly from the case of Parry and other conspirators, with whom her secretaries played till their treasons were ripe, and then seized and convicted them; and thus at last, after all the pains the king had taken, she escaped an invasion by procuring such notions to be infused into the prince of Parma's head, as inclined him rather to seek his own than his master's advantage, by which she reaped a double benefit, that prince being soon after poisoned, and so his particular schemes were likewise cut short<sup>r</sup>. But it is time to return to our more immediate subject, the pains and precautions taken by the queen and her ministers to put the nation into such a state of defence, both by land and sea, as might give the people courage, and strike the enemy with a strong sense of danger; the rather, because these facts seem hitherto not to have been extremely well understood.

The queen's apprehensions of the Spaniards designs were certainly conceived much earlier than most of our historians imagine, as appears from the state-papers in her reign, among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent than instructions for viewing fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, inquiring into the strength and posture of our militia, taking frequent musters, and, in fine, forming from all these

<sup>9</sup> Camden, Stowe, Speed, and more particularly in the life of Lord Burleigh, written by one of his servants, and published by the reverend Mr. Peck in the first volume of his *Disiderata curiosa*. Bishop Carleton's remembrances, chap. vii. p. 73. Strype's annals, vol. iii. book i. chap. 14. The queen's declaration upon sending him away is in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> xxiv. p. 43. Mendoza is said to have fell into extreme disgrace after his return to Spain, living retired like an hermit, abandoned by all the world. Dr. Birch's memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 128.

<sup>r</sup> Carleton's remembrances, chap. viii. p. 90. Stowe's annals, p. 746. Hoellinghed, Speed, G. imstone's history of the Netherlands, lib. xiii. p. 1020, 1061.

inquiries a brief state of the military and naval power of her dominions, of which I have seen many in ancient MSS. amongst them one in 1575, whereby it appears, that the able men throughout England were computed to be 182,929, by which were intended serviceable men; and of such as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were 62,462; and of light-horse 2,566. I have likewise an account of the royal navy in 1578, by which it appears, that it consisted of no more than twenty-four ships of all sizes\*. The largest was called the Triumph, of the burden of a thousand tons; the smallest was the George, which was under sixty tons. At the same time all the ships throughout England, of an hundred tons and upwards, were but one hundred thirty-five, and all under an hundred, and upwards of forty tons, were six hundred and fifty-six.

It is, therefore, singularly strange to find a late writer, who ought certainly to be as well acquainted with the state of the navy as any man, give us the following list† under so amazing a title as,

#### WHAT OUR NAVY WAS IN 1573.

	Guns.	No.	
Of —	100,	1	} 59 of the line of battle, as they might be reckoned in those days.
From —	80 to 60,	9	
From —	58 to 40,	49	
From —	38 to 20,	58	
From —	18 to 6,	29	
		<hr/> 146	

Though nothing is easier than to discern at first sight, that this account is absurd and improbable, yet another writer has copied it implicitly, and no doubt, by degrees, it would gain credit, though I dare say there is an error of an hundred years at least in the title of this state of the navy. That it is absolutely false, may appear from hence, that, in an estimate in the office of ordnance, the guns on board the queen's ships in 1578 are computed to be five hundred and four‡, whereas, according to the foregoing state, they must have been five years before, as

\* E codice antiq. MS. penes Sam. Knight, S. T. P.

† Mr. Burchet in his preface to his naval history. See also Lediard's naval history, vol. i. p. 16.

‡ E codice antiq. ante citat.

we see, no less than five thousand ninety-nine, which, if we compare with the number of cannon in the Spanish armada, being but two thousand six hundred and thirty, as appears by a list printed by authority of the Spanish court, we shall have a proper idea of the accuracy of this computation, which I have been forced to treat in this manner, to prevent so strange a fact from being longer imposed even on the most inattentive peruser".

As I find authority has so great weight with some people, that they will not be brought to believe that the naval strength of England was so inconsiderable at this time, I have thought it necessary to insert *verbatim* the list before-mentioned in this edition, and to add some remarks, which will, I think, put the matter beyond all dispute.

**The Names of her MAJESTY'S SHIPS, with the Number of Men and Furniture requisite for the setting forth of the same, A. D. 1578,**

## I. TRIUMPH.

## 2. Furniture :

1. Men 780, whereof	Harquebus, - - -	200
Mariners, - - -	Bows, - - -	50
Gunners, - - -	Arrows, sheaves of, -	100
Soldiers, - - -	Pikes, - - -	280
2. Furniture :	Bills, - - -	170
Harquebus, - - -	Mariners, - - -	200
Bows, - - -	3. Burden, - - -	900
Arrows, sheaves of, -		
Pikes, - - -		
Corfslets, - - -		
Mariners, - - -		
3. Burden, - - -		

III. WHITE BEAR.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,

as the last.

### III. WHITE BEAR.

**Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.**

## II. ELISABETH.

#### IV. VICTORY.

1. Men 500, whereof

1. Men 600, whereof	Mariners,	-	-	330			
Mariners,	-	-	300	Gunners,	-	-	40
Gunners,	-	-	50	Soldiers,	-	-	160
Soldiers,	-	-	200	2. Furniture :			

▼ **Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 221. in the appendix.**

Harquebus, - - -	200	Pikes, - - -	90
Bows, - - -	40	Bills, - - -	100
Arrows, sheaves of, -	80	Corfleets, - - -	50
Corfleets, - - -	80	Mariners, - - -	100
Mariners, - - -	160	3. Burden, - - -	600
3. Burden, - - -	803		

## V. PRIMROSE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

## VI. MARY ROSE.

1. Men 350, whereof	
Mariners, - - -	200
Gunners, - - -	50
Soldiers, - - -	120
2. Furniture :	
Harquebus, - - -	125
Bows, - - -	30
Arrows, sheaves of, -	60
Pikes, - - -	100
Bills, - - -	120
Corfleets, - - -	50
Mariners, - - -	160
3. Burden, - - -	600

## VII. HOPE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

## VIII. BONAVENTURE.

1. Men 300, whereof	
Mariners, - - -	160
Gunners, - - -	30
Soldiers, - - -	110
2. Furniture :	
Harquebus, - - -	110
Bows, - - -	30
Arrows, sheaves of, -	60

## IX. PHILIP and MARY.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

## X. LYON.

1. Men 290, whereof	
Mariners, - - -	150
Gunners, - - -	30
Soldiers, - - -	110
2. Furniture and Burden as the two last.	

## XI. DREADNOUGHT.

1. Men 250, whereof	
Mariners, - - -	140
Gunners, - - -	20
Soldiers, - - -	80
2. Furniture :	
Harquebus, - - -	80
Bows, - - -	25
Arrows, sheaves of, -	50
Pikes, - - -	50
Bills, - - -	60
Corfleets, - - -	40
Mariners, - - -	80
3. Burden, - - -	400

## XII. SWIFTURE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

## XIII. SWALLOW.

1. Men 200, whereof	
Mariners, - - -	120
Gunners, - - -	

Gunners,	-	-	20
Soldiers,	-	-	60
2. Furniture :			
Harquebus,	-	-	75
Bows,	-	-	25
Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	50
Bills,	-	-	60
Corflets,	-	-	30
Mariners	-	-	70
3. Burden,	-	-	350

XIV. ANTELOPE.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

XV. JENNET.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the two last.

XVI. FORESIGHT.

Men and Furniture as the three  
last.  
Burden, - - - 300

XVII. AID.

1. Men 160, whereof			
Mariners,	-	-	90
Guns,	-	-	20
Soldiers,	-	-	50
2. Furniture :			
Harquebus,	-	-	50
Bows,	-	-	20
Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	40
Pikes,	-	-	40
Bills,	-	-	50
Corflets,	-	-	20
Mariners,	-	-	50
3. Burden,	-	-	240

XVIII. BULL.

1. Men 120, whereof			
Mariners,	-	-	10
Guns,	-	-	10
Soldiers,	-	-	40
2. Furniture :			
Harquebus,	-	-	35
Bows,	-	-	15
Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	30
Pikes,	-	-	30
Bills,	-	-	40
Corflets,	-	-	20
Mariners,	-	-	40
3. Burden,	-	-	160

XIX. TYGER.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

XX. FAULCON.

1. Men 80, whereof			
Mariners,	-	-	60
Guns,	-	-	10
Soldiers,	-	-	20
2. Furniture :			
Harquebus,	-	-	24
Bows,	-	-	10
Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	20
Pikes,	-	-	20
Bills,	-	-	30
Corflets,	-	-	12
Mariners,	-	-	24
3. Burden,			

XXI. AIBATES.

1. Men 60, whereof			
Mariners,	-	-	30
Gunners,	-	-	10
Soldiers,			

Soldiers,	-	-	10	XXIV. GEORGE.			
2. Furniture :				1. Men 50, whereof			
Harquebus,	-	-	16	Mariners,	-	-	40
Bows,	-	-	10	Guns,	-	-	10
Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	20	Soldiers, none.			
Pikes,	-	-	20	2. Furniture :			
Bills,	-	-	30	Harquebus,	-	-	12
Corfleets,	-	-	12	Bows,	-	-	10
Mariners,	-	-	24	Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	20
3. Burden,	-	-	80	Pikes,	-	-	15
				Bills,	-	-	20
				Mariners,	-	-	30
XXII. HANDMAID.							

## XXII. HANDMAID.

Men, Furniture, and Burden,  
as the last.

## XXIII. BARK OF BULLEN.

1. Men 50, whereof				The sum of all other, as well
Mariners,	-	-	30	merchant ships as others in
Gunners,	-	-	10	all places of England, of 100
Soldiers, none.				tons and upwards, - 135
2. Furniture:				The sum of all barks and ships
Harquebus,	-	-	12	of 40 tons and upwards, to
Bows,	-	-	10	100 tons, - 656
Arrows, sheaves of,	-	-	20	There are besides, by estimation,
Pikes,	-	-	15	100 sail of hoyes.
Bills,	-	-	20	Also of small barks and
Mariners,	-	-	30	fishermen an infinite number.
3. Burden,	-	-	60	So as the number - - -
				through the realm cannot be
				less than 600, besides London.

There cannot be fuller evidence expected for the authenticity of this list, than the visible conformity between it and all the lists of the queen's ships of war, published in the relations by authority during that reign, and by Sir William Monson in his naval memoirs, with one of which, containing the state of the navy at the queen's demise, the reader will find an opportunity of comparing it hereafter. On the other hand, that there could be no such fleet at the time the before-mentioned abstract is dated, will still farther appear from the following considerations: That the building and maintaining it was utterly  
inconsistent

inconsistent with the state of the public revenue at that time. That there is not the least mention of any such force in any of the histories of those times. That all the lists of ships published by authority directly contradict it; so that unless we can believe the wisest and most active men in that age were totally ignorant of what it most imported them to know, we must conclude that this abstract certainly belongs to another period, or that it is a downright chimera; but the former appears to me infinitely more probable than the latter.

It must give every candid and attentive reader a very high idea of the wisdom and fortitude of Queen Elizabeth, and her ministers, when he is told, that during the whole time Spain was providing so formidable an invasion, they were assiduously employed in cherishing the commerce and naval power of England, without suffering themselves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boasts, or by the intelligence they had of their great strength, and vast preparations\*. To distress King Philip in bringing home his treasures from the West Indies, many adventurers were licensed to cruize in those seas, and the queen herself lent some ships for this purpose†. To delay the invasion as much as possible, or if it had been practicable to defeat it, the queen sent a stout fleet under Sir Francis Drake, in 1587, to Cadiz, where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected; for he forced six galleys which were designed to have guarded the port, to shelter themselves under the cannon of their castles, and then burnt a hundred ships and upwards in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and provisions. From thence he sailed to Cape St. Vincent, where he surprized some forts, and entirely destroyed the fishing craft in the neighbourhood.

Arriving at the mouth of the Tayo, and understanding that the Marquis de Santa Cruz lay hard by with a squadron of good ships, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the Marquis, who was one of the best seamen in Spain, adhering

\* Stowe, Speed, Bohun, Lord Bacon's character of Queen Elizabeth.  
 † Sir William Monson's naval trade, p. 169, 170. Sir Francis Drake revived, London 1653, quarto, p. 2. Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 139. Hakluyt, Purchas, Camden. Lord Burleigh's diary of this reign, in Mordin's collection of state papers, p. 782, 783.

closely to his master's orders, chose rather to let Drake burn and destroy every thing on the coast, than hazard an engagement. Sir Francis having done this, steered for the Azores, where he took a large ship homeward bound from the East Indies, which added as much to his profit, as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation, and so returned home in triumph\*. This expedition delayed the Spaniards for some months; but in the spring of the next year, this enormous fleet being almost ready, King Philip gave orders that it should rendezvous at Lisbon, in order to pass from thence to England.

His Catholic Majesty presumed so much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, superior certainly to any thing that had been fitted out for ages before, that instead of concealing its strength, he caused a very accurate account of it to be published in Latin, and most of the languages spoken in Europe, except English\*. This piece was dated May 20th, 1588, and according to it, the most happy Armada (for so it was styled therein) consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, making in all fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred sixty-eight ton; on board of which there were nineteen thousand, two hundred ninety-five soldiers, eight thousand four hundred fifty mariners, two thousand eighty-eight slaves, with two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. Besides, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for such as should join them. There were also on board this fleet, one hundred and twenty-four volunteers of quality, and about one hundred and eighty monks of several orders.

The command of the whole was originally designed to have been vested in the above-mentioned marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of known valour and great experience, of which he

\* Stowe, p. 808. Sir William Monson's naval traicts, p. 170. M. Tardet *histoire d'Espagne*, liv. xxxii. p. 113, 114. Lord Burleigh's journal of the reign of Elizabeth, in Murdin's collection of state papers, p. 785.

\* The title in Spanish runs thus: "La felicissima Armada que el Rey Felipe nuestro Senior mando Junta en el puerto de la Ciudad de Lisboa en el Reyno de Portugal: en anno de mill e quinientos y oenta y ocha. Hecha por Pedro de Pae Salas."

had given high proofs in the famous battle of Lepanto; but he dying, the duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonso de Gufman, was appointed in his stead, rather on account of his superior quality than his distinguished merit, under whom served Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old experienced Biscaneer, who had the direction of all things, and by whose advice the general was entirely led. These great officers repaired to Lisbon in the latter end of the month of May, and, in a few days after, their navy was in a condition to sail<sup>b</sup>. But it is now time to return to the dispositions made in England for warding off so dangerous a blow.

In the first place, the queen took care to give proper information to all foreign states of the nature and intent of this project of the king of Spain, pointing out to them not her own, but their danger, in case that monarch should prevail; which method being as prudently carried into practice, as it was wisely contrived, the king of Denmark, at the request of her ambassador, laid an embargo on a very strong squadron of ships hired for the use of King Philip in his dominions<sup>c</sup>. The Hanse-towns, determined enemies at that time to England, retarded, however, the ships they were to have sent to Spain, which, though a very seasonable act of prudence then, proved fatal to them afterwards. King James VI. of Scotland, buried all his resentments for his mother's death, and steadily adhered to his own, by following the queen's interests. The French were too wise to afford the Spaniards any help, and the Dutch fitted out a considerable navy for the service of the queen, under the command of Count Justin of Nassau<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Stowe, p. 745. Camden, vol. ii. p. 571. Speed, p. 838. Ferreras historia de España, p. 15. § xvi. M. Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. vii. Dupleix, tome iv. p. 173. Benivoglio, p. ii. lib. iv.

<sup>c</sup> Camden, vol. ii. p. 586. Strype's an-

nals, vol. iii. p. 524. Stowe.

<sup>d</sup> Camden, vol. ii. p. 566. See an original letter from that prince to the queen, dated Edinburgh, August the 4th, 1588, full of the warmest expressions of friendship, respect and esteem, offering to march at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to her assistance, against the enemies of her country, in Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 18. It is also to be met with in Dr. Birch's memoirs of that princess, vol. i. p. 55. Mezeray, tome v. p. 320. P. Daniel, tome ix. p. 297. Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies, tome i. p. 140.

The English fleet was commanded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, then high-admiral, who had under him for his vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake; for his rear-admiral Sir John Hawkins, and abundance of experienced officers, who had signalized their courage and conduct: their orders were to lie on the west coast, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with Count Nassau, cruized on the coast of Flanders, the better to prevent the prince of Parma from making any descent, as it was expected he would attempt to do with the army under his command.

In regard to a land-force, the queen had three armies; the first consisted of twenty thousand men, cantoned along the south-coast; another of two and twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, which was encamped near Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leicester; the third, which was made up of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, all chosen men, was for the guard of the queen's person, their commander being the Lord Hunsdon, a brave, active, and resolute nobleman, the queen's near relation<sup>c</sup>.

The Spanish fleet sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the first of June, N. S. with as great pomp, and as sanguine hopes as any fleet ever did. The king's instructions to the duke of Medina Sidonia were, to repair to the road of Calais, in order to be joined there by the prince of Parma, and then to pursue such further orders as he should find in a sealed letter delivered to the general with his instructions. It was further recommended to him to keep as close as possible to the French shore, in order to prevent the English from having any intelligence of his approach, and in case he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting, to the utmost of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himself. But in doubling the North-cape, the fleet was separated by foul weather, which obliged the general to sail to the Groyne, where he re-assembled his ships, and had intelligence that the English fleet, believing their expedition laid aside, was put into Plymouth.

<sup>c</sup> Stowe, p. 744. Speed, p. 859. Camden, vol. ii. p. 564. Bestivoglio, p. 13. lib. iv.

Upon this he held a council of war, to consider whether they should adhere strictly to the king's order, or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the English fleet in their harbour. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was resolved to attempt the English fleet, and this chiefly at the instigation of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, admiral of the Andalusian squadron. The pretence indeed was very plausible, and, but for an unforeseen accident, they had certainly carried their point. The first land they fell in with, was the Lizard, which they mistook for the Ram's-head near Plymouth, and being towards night stood off to sea till the next morning. In this space of time they were descried by a Scots pirate, one Captain Fleming, who bore away immediately for Plymouth, and gave the lord admiral notice, which proved the utter ruin of their design, as well as the sole cause of the preservation of the English fleet<sup>d</sup>.

The season was so far advanced, and the English had so little intelligence of the Spaniards departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but several of their ships also were already laid up, and their seamen discharged. The admiral, however, sailed on the first notice, and though the wind blew hard into Plymouth-sound, got out to sea, but not without great difficulty<sup>e</sup>. The next day, being the 20th of July, they saw the Spanish navy drawn up in a half-moon, sailing slowly through the channel, its wings being near seven miles asunder. The admiral suffered them to pass by quietly, that having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and success, and though Don Martinez de Ricalde, did all that it was possible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmost disorder, and many of them received considerable damage. More had been done, but that a great part of the English fleet lay at too great a distance, so that the admiral was forced to wait for them.

<sup>d</sup> Stowe, p. 747. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 172. Speed, p. 860.

<sup>e</sup> Camden, vol. ii. p. 571. *Phoenix Britannicus*, quarto, 1731. p. 346. Strype, vol. iii. *Meteren*, liv. xv. fol. 302. *Grotii histor. Belg. lib. i.* p. 118.

The night following a Dutch gunnet, who had been ill treated by some Spanish officers, set fire to the ship on board which was their treasure; nor was it without great difficulty that the flames were extinguished. The greatest part of the money was put on board a galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which soon after sprung her foremast, and being thus disabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake, who sent her captain to Dartmouth, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men <sup>f</sup>. The next day was spent by the Spanish general in disposing his fleet, issuing orders to his officers, and dispatching an advice-boat to hasten the duke of Parma, by giving him an account of the great loss he had already suffered; and the extreme danger he was in. On the twenty-third they fought again, with variety of success, which, however, demonstrated to the Spaniards, that the mighty bulk of their ships was a disadvantage to them, their shot flying over the heads of the English, while every bullet of theirs took place.

On the twenty-fourth the English were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a supply arriving in the evening, the admiral made all necessary dispositions for attacking the Spaniards in the midst of the night, dividing his fleet into four squadrons, the first commanded by himself, the second by Sir Francis Drake, the third by Admiral Hawkins, and the fourth by Captain Martin Forbisher, but a dead calm prevented the execution of this design. On the twenty-fifth one of the Spanish ships was taken, and on the twenty-sixth the admiral resolved to make no further attempts upon them, till they should enter the straits of Dover, where he knew Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter waited for them with a fresh squadron. He also took this opportunity of knighting Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Admiral Hawkins, and Captain Forbisher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement <sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Stowe's annals, and Sir William Monson's naval tracts. Grimsstone's history of the Netherlands, book xiii. p. 1003. Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. iv. <sup>g</sup> Camden, vol. ii. p. 576. Stowe, p. 744. Speed, p. 861, Reldanus, l. viii. p. 175. Memoirs of the earl of Monmouth, p. 51.

The wind favouring the Spanish fleet, they continued their course up the channel, with the English ships close in their rear. The strength of the Spaniards had not only alarmed, but excited the courage of the whole nation, insomuch that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of distinguishing himself by appearing, upon this occasion, against the common enemy. With this public-spirited view, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, and many others, fitted out ships at their own expence, and went, most of them in person, to attend the admiral. Men of lower rank shewed their zeal and loyalty, by sending ammunition and provisions; and so unanimous were all men against these foreigners, that even the Papists, whom the Spaniards expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe away the aspersions which had been thrown upon them, by serving as common soldiers.

When, therefore, the Spanish fleet anchored on the twenty-seventh of July before Calais, the English admiral had with him near a hundred and forty ships, which enabled him to gall the enemy extremely. But perceiving on the twenty-eighth, that the Spaniards had so disposed their larger ships, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into disorder, he resolved to practise an expedient long before in contemplation, in case the enemy should have come up the river Thames, which was converting some of their worst vessels into fire-ships. This method he accordingly pursued, filling eight large barks with all sorts of combustible matter, and sending them under the command of the Captains Young and Prowse, about midnight, into the thickest part of the Spanish fleet, where they speedily began to blaze, and, as the admiral had foreseen, obliged the navy to separate, and each ship by steering a separate course to seek its own safety.

The next day a large galeas ran ashore on the sands of Calais, where she was plundered by the English. Desirous, however, of attempting somewhat, the Spaniards again rendezvoused near Graveling, where they waited some time, in hopes the prince of Parma would have come out; but in this they were disappointed, whether through the want of power or of will in that great general, is uncertain. At last, finding themselves hard

hard pressed by the English fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt, to have retreated through the streights of Dover; but the wind coming about with hard gales at north-west, drove them on the coast of Zealand, but soon after veering to the south-west, they tacked and got out of danger. The duke de Medina Sidonia, took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that there were now no hopes left of succeeding, and therefore the most prudent thing they could do was to drop their design, and to save as many ships as possible <sup>a</sup>.

This resolution being once fixed, was immediately carried into execution, and the whole Spanish navy made all the sail they could for their own coast, going north-about, which exposed them to a variety of unforeseen dangers. The English admiral very prudently sent Lord Henry Seymour with a strong squadron to cruize on the coast of Zealand, to prevent any danger from their joining with the prince of Parma, and afterwards left them to pursue their course. When the Spanish fleet arrived on the Scots coast, and found that care was every where taken they should meet with no supply, they threw their horses and mules overboard, and such of them as had a proper store of water, bore away directly for the bay of Biscay with the duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ships. The rest, about forty sail, under the command of the vice-admiral, stood over for the coast of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clear. On the second of September, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them ashore, so that upwards of thirty ships, and many thousand men, perished on the Irish coast.

Some likewise were forced a second time into the English channel, where they were taken, some by the English, and some by the Rochellers. Several very large vessels were lost among the western isles, and upon the coast of Argyleshire. Out of these about five hundred persons were saved, who came into Edinburgh in a manner naked, and, out of mere charity, were clothed by

<sup>a</sup> Camden, Stowe, Monson, Strype, Speed, p. 862. Discourse concerning the Spanish fleet invading England in the year 1588, &c. originally written in Italian, by Petruccio Vboldino of Florence, London, 1699; quarta, p. 15.

the inhabitants of that city, who also attempted to send them home to Spain: but, as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their passage upon the coast of Norfolk, and obliged to put into Yarmouth, where they stayed till advice was given to the queen and council, who considering the miseries they had already felt, and not willing to appear less compassionate than the Scots, suffered them to continue their voyage<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, in the short space of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been no less than three years preparing, was destroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ships there returned but fifty-three or four, and of the people embarked there perished twenty thousand men at least. We may best form an idea of their loss, from the precaution taken by King Philip to hide it, which was, publishing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and constancy he expressed upon this occasion, I should be loth to contradict many great authorities; yet this is certain, that the Lord-treasurer Burleigh received intelligence of another kind, *viz.* "That the king should say after "mass, that he would spend the wealth of Spain, to one of "those candlesticks upon the altar, rather than not revenge "himself upon the English<sup>2</sup>." His future conduct agreed so exactly with this threatening, that we may well conclude, if he did not say, he thought so, and was therefore far from being so unmoved at this disaster as is commonly reported. What might in some measure justify his resentment, was the falling out of this mischief through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own; for, if the king's instructions had been pursued, it is more than probable, that Queen Elizabeth's government had run the utmost hazard of being overturned.

The duke of Medina Sidonia escaped punishment through the interest of his wife; but as for Don Diego Flores de Valdez, whose persuasions induced the general to take that rash step, he was arrested as soon as he set foot on shore, and conducted to

<sup>1</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 749. Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 226. in the appendix. Meteren, liv. xv. fol. 305, 306. Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. iv. Certain advertisements out of Ireland concerning the losses and distresses which happened to the Spanish navy, London, 1588, quarto. Lord Burleigh's journal of the reign of Elizabeth in Murdin's collection of state-papers, p. 788. <sup>2</sup> Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 325. Camden's annal. vol. ii. p. 580. Speed, p. 862.

the castle of St. Andero, after which he was never heard of more. The same writer, from whom we have this particular, remarks also an error in the conduct of the English, *viz.* that they did not attack the Spanish fleet after it arrived before Graveling, which however, he assures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occasioned through the negligence of some under-officers, who had the direction of the military stores, and had been too sparing of powder and ammunition; otherwise he tells us, it was thought the duke de Medina Sidonia, at the persuasion of his confessor, would have yielded both himself and his ships, which, it seems, were in that particular not at all better provided. This would have been a conquest indeed, a conquest equally glorious and important, the loss of which ought to teach posterity not to be too hasty in censuring great officers, or too remiss in punishing little ones. In the present case, this mischance seems to have been covered by the many favours bestowed by Providence, and the offenders to have escaped through that general joy which their deliverance from so great an evil diffused through the whole nation<sup>1</sup>.

It seems to be injurious to the reputation of those brave men, who on this occasion achieved such great things, to give no account of the force of the English fleet, which, however, I find not in any of our general historians; a deficiency which I shall endeavour to supply, by adding a list collected at that time, and which, for any thing I know, has not hitherto been published<sup>2</sup>.

#### A LIST of the ENGLISH FLEET in the year 1588.

MEN of war belonging to her Majesty,	-	-	17
Other ships hired by her Majesty for this service,	-	-	12
Tenders and store-ships,	-	-	6
Furnished by the city of London, being double the number the queen demanded, all well manned, and thoroughly provided with ammunition and provision,	}		16
Tenders and storeships,			
	-	-	4

Carried over 55

<sup>1</sup> See William Monfon's naval tracts, p. 172, 173. Stowe, p. 748. Camden, vol. ii. Materan, lib. xv. fol. 308. Bentivoglio, p. xi. lib. iv. p. 115—118.

<sup>2</sup> Communicated to me by the Rev. D. Kuiper, canon of Christ church, Oxon.

	Brought over	55
Furnished by the city of Bristol, large and strong ships,	}	3
and which did excellent service, - - -		
A tender, - - - - -		1
From Barnstaple, merchant ships converted into frigates, -		3
From Exeter, - - - - -		2
A stout pinnace, - - - - -		1
From Plymouth, stout ships every way, equal to the	}	7
queen's men of war, - - - - -		
A fly-boat, - - - - -		1
Under the command of Lord Henry Seymour, in the	}	16
narrow seas, of the queen's ships and vessels in her		
service, - - - - -		
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gentry,	}	43
and commons of England, - - - - -		
By the merchant-adventurers, prime ships, and excel-	}	10
lently well furnished, - - - - -		
Sir William Winter's pinnace, - - - - -		1

In all 143

THE queen having intelligence that the Spaniards, which was an evident mark of resentment, meditated a second attempt upon her dominions, resolved like a wise princess to find them work at home, in order to which, in the spring of the year 1589, she expressed her royal intention of assisting Don Antonio to recover his kingdom of Portugal<sup>a</sup>. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's charge, and partly at the expence of private persons. Her Majesty furnished six men of war, and sixty thousand pounds: Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were joint commanders, who with their friends adventured fifty thousand pounds: the rest was defrayed by London, the Cinqueports, Ipswich, Harwich, Newcastle, &c. and the whole navy consisted of a hundred and forty-six sail<sup>b</sup>: to which also the Dutch, as much interested as we, joined a small squadron<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Stowe, p. 752. Camden, vol. iii. p. 600, 601. M. Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. 3. <sup>b</sup> Stowe, Speed, p. 863. Strype, vol. iii. p. 538. <sup>c</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 601. Le Clerc, tome i. liv. iv.

The first exploit this armament performed was landing near Corunna, commonly called the Groyne; which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval stores, defeated a great body of Spaniards, and then re-embarked their forces, and sailed, as they had at first designed, for the river of Lisbon<sup>q</sup>. On their arrival before Peniche, the troops were landed, the place quickly surrendered to Don Antonio, and from thence Sir John Norris with the earl of Essex, and the whole army, marched immediately by land towards Lisbon, where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir Francis Drake; but he, finding it impossible to proceed up the river with safety to her Majesty's ships, staid at the castle of Cascais, which place he took, and also seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the Hanse-towns, laden with corn and ammunition, which, with about one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage<sup>r</sup>. It was indeed intended to have gone to the Canaries; but by this time the soldiers and sailors were so weakened with sickness, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their passage home they landed at Vigo, took and plundered it, and, having made some addition to their booty, reached England, Sir Francis Drake arriving at Plymouth on the twenty-first of June, and Sir John Norris with the rest of the fleet on the third of July, after having been about ten weeks abroad<sup>s</sup>.

This expedition was inexpressibly destructive to the Spaniards, disappointed all their designs, weakened their naval force, and spread a mighty terror of the English arms through their whole dominions. But, as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconsiderable, and the generals met with a cold reception in England; Sir John Norris charged Sir Francis Drake with breach of his promise, and Sir Francis accused him of expecting from a fleet services that were impracti-

<sup>q</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 174. Birch's memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 58.

<sup>r</sup> See all the before-cited authors, who write copiously of this affair, and yet memoir-writers ascribe this miscarriage to the variance between our generals. See also Sir Francis Drake's letter to the Lord treasurer Burleigh, dated the 2d of June, 1589, in Strype's annals, vol. iv. p. 8.

<sup>s</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 757. Speed, Camden. Birch's memoirs, vol. i. p. 60, 61. Ferner's hist. de Espana, p. xv. § 16.

cable. The chief grounds of their miscarriage were in those days, when men could best judge, held to be these: First, they were but indifferently manned and victualled, of which misfortune they were very sensible before they were out of the channel. Secondly, their landing at the Groyne was contrary to their instructions, gave the men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and exposed them to a great and unnecessary loss. Thirdly, the disagreement of the generals before Lisbon defeated the remaining part of their design, and obliged them to think of coming home sooner than they intended, or was necessary; whereas, if, in pursuance of their instructions, they had sailed directly to the coasts of Portugal, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable they had effectually placed Don Antonio upon the throne of Portugal, which would have given a deadly stroke to the power of Spain, and must have greatly promoted the interest and extended the commerce of England<sup>c</sup>.

The disappointments which happened in this voyage did not discourage either the queen or her subjects from pursuing the war by sea, and endeavouring as much as possible to ruin the maritime force of Spain, and augment their own. In order to this, her Majesty settled a part of her revenue for the ordinary supply of the navy, amounting to about nine thousand pounds a-year, and by expressing a very high esteem for such young lords, and other persons of distinction, as had shewn an inclination to the sea-service, she encouraged others to undertake yet greater things<sup>d</sup>. Amongst these the earl of Cumberland particularly distinguished himself by fitting out a stout squadron in the summer of the year 1589, with which he sailed to the Tercera islands, where he did the Spaniards incredible mischief, and obtained considerable advantages for himself and for his friends. The island of Fayall he reduced, took the city and castle thereon, from whence he carried forty-five pieces of cannon, forced the island of Graciosa to a composition, and seized several rich ships, amongst the rest one, the cargo of which was valued at

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 174, 175. Stowe's annals, p. 757. in which we find that, on their return, the soldiers and sailors thought of making themselves amends for their disappointments by plundering Bartholomew fair. <sup>d</sup> Camden. Sir R. Naunton in his *Fragmenta regalia*. Lord Bacon in his character of Queen Elizabeth.

upwards of an hundred thousand pounds, which in his return; however, was lost in Mount's-Bay on the coast of Cornwall \*.

In 1590 Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Forbisher were at sea with two squadrons, and by impeding the return of the Spanish plate-fleets from America, and other services, kept King Philip entirely employed at home, though his thoughts were still busy in contriving another expedition against England. The succeeding year Lord Thomas Howard, second son to the duke of Norfolk, sailed with a squadron to the islands, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish fleet from the West Indies, which now was forced to return home. In this he had probably succeeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than seven of the queen's ships, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly escaped being totally destroyed by the Spaniards: for King Philip, knowing the dismal consequences that must have followed, in case his plate-fleet was intercepted, resolved to employ that force, which was intended against England, for its relief, and accordingly sent Don Antonio Bassan, an experienced seaman and an excellent officer, with a fleet of forty-five sail, to attack Lord Thomas Howard, who very narrowly escaped them. His vice-admiral Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, was taken through his own obstinacy; for, when the enemy was in sight, he would not be persuaded that it was the armada, but insisted that it was the American fleet, and so was surrounded. He sold his life and his ship, which was the only one of the queen's taken in the war, dearly; for a man of war called the *Ascension*, of Seville, and a double fly-boat full of men, sunk by his side. The *Revenge* was so battered, that she could not be carried to Spain, but foundered at sea with two hundred Spaniards on board; and, as for Sir Richard Grenville, he died two days after of his wounds. The next day after the fight the plate-fleet arrived, which shews the uncertainty of expeditions of this kind; for, had it come but one day sooner, or had the armada been one day later, the English had possessed themselves of an immense treasure. The Spaniards, however, gained very little by their dear-bought success; for, in their return home, near 100 vessels were wrecked, and the greatest part

\* Hakluyt's voyages, vol. ii. p. 143. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1142. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 176.

of the wealth on board them was lost, while Lord Thomas Howard with his little fleet still kept the sea, and, by picking up stragglers, saved a great part of the expences of his expedition <sup>2</sup>.

In 1591 the earl of Cumberland made another expedition, and in 1592 Sir Martin Forbisher and Sir John Burroughs infested the Spanish coast, and did much mischief. In 1594 the queen sent a small squadron to sea under the command of Sir Martin Forbisher, to reduce the port of Brest in Bretagne, which the king of Spain had taken, by the assistance of the leaguers in France, from King Henry IV. A place that, if it had been long kept, must have been very troublesome to that monarch, and would have given the Spaniards great advantages against us. It was strong as well by situation as by the art and expence employed in fortifying it, and had besides a numerous garrison of Spanish troops. Sir John Norris, with a small English army, formed the siege by land; Sir Martin Forbisher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour, and having thus blocked up the place by sea, landed his sailors, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, stormed the fort, which, though gallantly defended, was taken, but with the loss of abundance of brave men, and amongst them may be reckoned Sir Martin himself, who died of the wounds he received in that service. The same year Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins failed on their last expedition into the West Indies <sup>1</sup>.

The Spaniards, who seldom abandon any design they once undertake, were all this time employed in assembling and equipping another fleet for England, and, as an earnest of their intentions, in the year 1595, Don Diego Brochero, with four gallies, arrived in Mount's-bay in Cornwall, and, landing with all his men, burnt three little places, *viz.* Mouse-hole, Newlin, and Penzance, with a neighbouring church, but without killing or taking so much as a single man <sup>3</sup>. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invasion of the Spanish dominions, to prevent any such future visits to her

<sup>1</sup> Camden, vol. ii. p. 637, 638. Sir William Monson, p. 178, 179. Carew's survey of Cornwall, fol. 62. Sir Walter Raleigh's true report in Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 169. Linschotten's voyages, book i. chap. 99. Sir Richard Hawkins's observations, p. 10. <sup>2</sup> Camden, vol. iii. Stowe, p. 809. Hakluyt, vol. iii. Fuller's worthies in Yorkshire, p. 233. Sir William Monson's naval tracts. <sup>3</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 697. Carew's survey of Cornwall, fol. 115.

own; in order to which, a stout fleet and a numerous army were provided under the most experienced officers of those times.

The true design of this expedition was to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, not less in all than one hundred and fifty sail, of which one hundred twenty-six were men of war; but of these only seventeen were the queen's ships, the rest were hired from traders, and fitted for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet were embarked upwards of seven thousand men<sup>a</sup>. The joint commanders of the expedition were the earl of Essex and the lord high admiral (Howard), assisted by a council of war, composed of the following honourable persons, *viz.* Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conyers Clifford. There was besides a Dutch squadron under the command of Admiral Van Duvenvoord, consisting of twenty-four ships, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for some time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready, and then, on the first of June 1596, sailed for the coast of Spain with a fair wind, and the good wishes of all their countrymen<sup>b</sup>.

In their passage they were divided into five squadrons; and, whereas in former expeditions great inconveniencies had happened by the enemy's having early intelligence, in this they were so happy as to arrive in sight of Cadiz on the twentieth of the same month, before they were either looked for, or so much as apprehended. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a strong castle. In the port were forty-nine Spanish ships, amongst them many laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty galleys. It was resolved the same day in a council of war to have landed all their forces at St. Sebastian's; but, when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable. After this, some time was lost before their coming to another resolution, which was owing to the joint command; for the earl of Essex, who was young and warm, affected to dictate, and, on the other hand, the admiral, who had as much

<sup>a</sup> Stowe, p. 771. Speed, p. 868. Sir William Monson's account of the wars with Spain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 28. Vere's commentaries, p. 24.

<sup>b</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 720, 721. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 184. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 607. Meteren, liv. xviii. fol. 390. Bentivoglio, p. iii. liv. iii.

courage, and a great deal more experience, could not brook being treated in such a manner.

At last it was determined to attack the ships in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town; whereupon a new difficulty arose, which was, who should command this attack, first demanded by the earl of Essex, then given to Sir Walter Raleigh, lastly challenged and enjoyed by the vice-admiral lord Thomas Howard. In the execution of it some errors were committed by the English through the too great heat and emulation of their commanders, but others much more gross and fatal by the Spaniards, who, when they found themselves compelled to fly, did it without any of those precautions whereby they might have provided for their safety; for, instead of running their ships ashore under the town, where they would have been covered by their own artillery, and where at least their men might have gone ashore in safety, they ran them up the bay as far from the enemy as possible, by which means part fell into the hands of the English, and the rest were burnt<sup>c</sup>.

In the mean time the earl of Essex landed his men quietly, the enemy deserting a strong fort, from which they might have done him much mischief; three regiments also were sent to make themselves masters of the causeway which unites the island to the main. This they performed with very small loss, but afterwards quitted it again, which gave the galleys an opportunity of escaping; another oversight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing the earl was landed, landed also with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordship could have kept the place; and, while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was sent to seize the ships in the harbour of Port-real, to prevent which the duke of Medina Sidonia caused them to be set on fire and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the sea<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> See the relation at the end of the first volume of Hakluyt's voyages, said to be written by a person who was in the expedition, as also a better copy of the same relation in Stowe's annals, p. 771. See likewise Sir William Monson's account and observations on this voyage in his tracts, p. 184. Ferrera's hist. de Espana, p. xv. § 16. Mayerue. Turquet hist. d'Espagne, liv. xxxvi. p. 287.

<sup>d</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 725. Stowe, p. 774. Speed, p. 870. Sir Walter Raleigh's relation of the action at Cadiz, in his genuine remains published by his grandson, p. 25. Ver's commentaries, p. 41.

The city and its forts they possessed for a fortnight, and the earl of Essex was very desirous of being left there with a garrison, however small; which was, notwithstanding, over-ruled by the council of war, and then it was agreed to sail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, where they found the place deserted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could be made plunder. To repair this disappointment, the earl of Essex was for sailing to the Azores, and there waiting for the East India ships; but in this, too, he was over-ruled, because there was a great complaint of the want of provision and ammunition on board their fleet. In their return they looked into the ports of the Groyne, St. Andero, and St. Sebastian's, where they expected to find ships, but met with none; and after this, nothing remarkable happened till their arrival in England, which was on the eighth of August the same year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred brass guns, and an immense booty, the desire of keeping which is conceived to have hindered them from performing more. But with respect to the damage done the Spaniards, it is not easy to form any computation. However, this we know, that they burnt eleven men of war, forty ships from the Indies, four large merchant-men, and many magazines of ammunition and provision; so that notwithstanding the people might murmur here at home about the miscarriage of this voyage, as from the writings in those times it manifestly appears they did, yet taking all things together, it answered very well, and distressed the enemy excessively<sup>c</sup>.

In the spring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a fresh armada from Lisbon, composed not only of his own ships and gallies, but also of all that he could take up and hire in Italy, or elsewhere. On board of these he embarked a great

<sup>c</sup> Compare Sir William Monson's remarks with the apology of the earl of Essex, as also with the account given of this business by Mr. Oldys, in his excellent life of Sir Walter Raleigh. See likewise the different relations of this expedition by the earl of Essex, Sir Anthony Standen, Sir Christopher Blunt, and the lord admiral Howard, in Dr. Birch's memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 45—55. Letters of thanks were written to the lord admiral, on his arrival at Plymouth, and to the earl of Essex, and Mynheer Van Duvenvoord at Portsmouth, by order of the queen, for their great services on this occasion. See Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 809.

body of troops; especially of the Irish, intending to have invaded both England and Ireland; but the winds disappointed him; scattered his fleet, and thirty-six sail were cast away. In the mean time the queen resolved to fit out another fleet under the command of the earl of Essex, with an intent to intercept the plate-fleet near the Azores; after burning such vessels as were in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. This fleet consisted of forty men of war, and seventy other ships, to which the Dutch added ten men of war, under Sir John Van Duvenwoord, who was knighted in the former expedition<sup>f</sup>.

They sailed from Plymouth the ninth of July; but a storm arising, they were forced back thither again, and did not sail the second time till the seventh of August. They used their best endeavours to perform the first part of their instructions, but finding it impracticable; they thought it expedient to steer for the islands, which accordingly they did. In this voyage Sir Walter Raleigh's ship sprung her mast, which however did not hinder him; when he had repaired his loss, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous, which was the island of Flores. He had scarce begun to wood and water there, before the earl of Essex sent him orders to follow him to Fayal, which island the general himself intended to attempt. Raleigh obeyed him; but not finding Essex on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were securing their goods, throwing up retrenchments, and making every other preparation necessary for their defence, he, with the advice of his officers, resolved, in case Essex did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the island, which accordingly he performed; but though he got reputation by this exploit, yet he lost the general's friendship, so that a coldness thenceforward prevailed, which afterwards increased to open opposition and the most rancorous hatred<sup>g</sup>.

After Essex's arrival they sailed together to Graciosa, which immediately submitted. Here the general intended to have stayed; and if he had done so, undoubtedly it had answered his

<sup>f</sup> Ferrera's hist. de España, p. 15. § xvi. Meteren, liv. xix. fol. 403. Camden, vol. iii. p. 737, 738.

<sup>g</sup> See Sir William Monson's reflections upon this expedition, the life of Sir Walter Raleigh before cited, and Spower's annals, p. 783.

purpose, and he had taken the whole Spanish fleet; but being too easily brought to alter his purposes, he took another method, which gave the Spaniards, who arrived next day, an opportunity of proceeding for Tercera, with the loss of no more than three ships, which were taken by Sir William Monson<sup>b</sup>. The rest of the fleet, consisting of about thirty-seven sail, arrived safely in the port of Angra, which was well defended by several forts, so that, on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with reasonable hopes of success.

The earl of Essex, vexed at this disappointment, resolved to do somewhat of consequence before he returned, and therefore landing, surpris'd the town of Villa Franca, and plundered it, after which he re-embarked his forces, and prepared for his return home<sup>c</sup>. In his passage he had the good luck to take a very rich Spanish ship, which fell into his fleet, mistaking it for their own, and had taken another in the same manner, but for the imprudence of a Dutch captain, who firing hastily upon her, frighted her away. In the mean time, the Spaniards were meditating great designs. The absence of the English fleet gave them an opportunity of sending out their squadrons from the Groyne and Ferrol. With these they intended to have made a descent in Cornwall, and to have possessed themselves of the port of Falmouth, in which leaving a strong garrison, they thought next of intercepting the English fleet in their return, when they knew it must be weakened by so rough and troublesome an expedition, in which so long a space of time had been spent, and their ships were to return so late in the year.

This design, as it was wisely laid, so it was well conducted; the Spanish admiral joined his squadrons as he intended, and proceeded with them to the islands of Scilly, almost within sight of our shore. There he thought fit to call a council of war, in order to give his officers necessary instructions as to the

<sup>b</sup> Stowe, p. 783. Speed, p. 870. Vere's commentaries, p. 45—67. See the relation of this voyage by the earl of Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Montjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1935.

<sup>c</sup> See a copious account of this expedition written by Sir Arthur Gorges, who was employed therein, in the fourth volume of Purchas's Pilgrims, p. 1938.

intended

intended descent. But it so happened, that while his captains were on board, a very high storm arose, which hindered them for a long time from getting back to their respective ships, and afterwards entirely separated their fleet, tossing them to and fro, sometimes towards our coast, sometimes on their own. In this storm eighteen capital ships were lost, several forced into English ports were taken, and the Spanish admiral's schemes thereby entirely disconcerted. Nor did our fleet escape the fury of this tempest, but were terribly beaten; however, their ships being light and strong, and manned by able seamen, they with much difficulty reached our western coast, in the latter end of the month of October<sup>\*</sup>.

The compass of this work, I confess, ought to deter me from digressions; but as the principal intention of it is to give the reader a just and impartial notion of the conduct of our naval affairs under every reign, so I think myself obliged to make a few short reflections on the facts before set down, in order to shew how little we stood indebted for safety to the management of our own commanders, or to the faults of our enemies, and how much we owe to the care of divine Providence, which a heathen would have called the fortune of Queen Elisabeth.

This expedition to the Azores might have proved, if well managed by us, the ruin of the Spanish power, and as it was managed, had very near been fatal to our own; so much depends on the conduct of commanders, and so little regard ought there to be had to high titles and great quality, where the safety of a nation is at stake. The earl of Essex was chosen for this command from court-motives, such as his birth, interest, and personal accomplishments, though he wanted almost all the qualities requisite for a commander in chief. His courage was hot and fierce, but not resolute or lasting; his wit was quick, but his judgment slow and unsettled; and besides all this, deficient in experience. Sir William Monson, who went the voyage with him, and who appears enough inclined to favour him, owns that their miscarriage was entirely owing to his Lordship's incapacity, who was unable to form any right resolution him-

\* Camden, Stowe, Speed, Rapin.

self, or pursue steadily any measures recommended to him by those who were more knowing than he! Sir Walter Raleigh fell into disgrace with him, and, as Sir William Monson says, had smarted severely, if the earl had not been afraid of being called to an account for it in England, and all this for doing his duty, for performing the only important service done in the whole expedition. This demonstrates, that the earl had no view but to his own particular glory, and that the public service was to be postponed whenever it came in competition therewith. By this management that plate-fleet escaped, which, if it had been taken, would have ruined the Spaniards, and made us.

His subsequent attempts to repair his own honour, and to make a shew of that resolution which he really had not, delayed the return of the fleet, and gave the Spanish admiral an opportunity of invading England, which an accidental storm prevented. So much is due to truth, and to the interest of the nation; nor would I have this looked on as flowing from any pique to the memory of the earl of Essex, who was certainly a popular nobleman, endowed with many virtues: but where the public suffers, an historian ought to spare no man, however supported by the favour of his prince, or magnified by the folly of the people<sup>m</sup>.

In 1598, the earl of Cumberland fitted out a squadron of eleven sail at his own expence, with which he first attempted to intercept the Lisbon fleet in its passage to the East Indies. Being disappointed in that, he sailed to the Canaries, where he made a descent on the island of Lancerota, plundered it, and then proceeded to America, where he promised himself great things. The place he fixed upon was the island of Puerto Rico, where he landed, and took the capital with small loss. This city he determined to keep, therefore refused a very large ransom offered him by the inhabitants, whom he turned out, and then thought of fortifying the place, with an intent to have

<sup>l</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 191.

<sup>m</sup> The reader may be convinced of the truth of what is above asserted, by comparing the relation of Sir Arthur Gorges, before cited, with Sir William Monson's account in his naval tracts, and what is said on the same subject by Mr. Oldys, in his life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

cruised from thence upon the Spanish coasts; but he was quickly convinced that the design was impracticable, diseases spreading amongst his soldiers and seamen to such a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conquest, and to return home with very great reputation, rather than any considerable reward<sup>a</sup>.

In 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command; but it seems rather with an intent to watch the Spaniards, than to undertake any other enterprize of importance; since after remaining about three weeks in the Downs, it was again laid up. Yet the equipping this fleet had a great effect upon Spain, and all the powers of Europe, for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well victualled, and thoroughly manned, which shewed the strength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved since 1588<sup>b</sup>. The next year, being 1600, Sir Richard Levison was sent to intercept the plate-fleet, which design, though it was well contrived, and wisely executed, yet failed<sup>c</sup>. In 1601, the same admiral was employed in Ireland, where he did good service, in obliging the Spaniards, who had landed a considerable body of forces, to relinquish their design, and withdraw out of that island<sup>d</sup>.

In 1602, the same admiral in conjunction with Sir William Monson, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the Dutch had sent their squadron, agreeable to their engagements with the queen<sup>e</sup>. Notwithstanding this disappointment, they continued on the coast of Portugal, and at length resolved to attack a galleon, which lay with eleven galleys in the road of Cerimbra, which, as it was one of the most gallant exploits performed in the whole war, deserves to be circumstantially related. The town of Cerimbra was large and well built with freestone, defended by a good citadel well furnished with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, stood an abbey,

<sup>a</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 778. Stowe, p. 788. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1156—1157.  
<sup>b</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 195.  
<sup>c</sup> Stowe, p. 788. Speed, p. 877. <sup>d</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 196.  
<sup>e</sup> Stowe, p. 798. Itinerary of Fynes Moryson, b. ii. p. 134.  
 Camden, p. 897. <sup>f</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 198. Camden, p. 893.

so fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored close to the shore, so as to defend by its fire, part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had so flanked and fortified themselves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the English fleet, without receiving any damage themselves, till such time as our ships were just before the town. Yet, in spite of these and many other advantages, the English admirals resolved to attack them, which they did on the third of June. A gale of wind blowing fresh about two in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the signal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and soon after they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the Spaniards defended themselves with much resolution, yet in the end several of the gallies were burnt, the garrison driven from the castle, and the rich galleon, for which all this struggle was made, taken, with about a million of pieces of eight on board\*. The fourth, taking the benefit of a fair wind, they returned to England.

Frederic Spinola, in the *St. Lewis*, sailed from Cerimbra, with the rest of the gallies that had escaped, viz. The *St. John Baptist*, the *Lucera*, the *Padilla*, the *Philip*, and the *St. John*, for the coast of Flanders, and on the twenty-third of September entered the British channel†. Sir Robert Mansel was cruizing there with two or three men of war, and four Dutch ships, to intercept them. The enemy first discovered two of the Dutch ships, and resolved to engage them. But before they could put this design into execution, perceiving one of the queen's, they stood off the remainder of the day, hoping by advantage of the night to gain their intended port. The admiral, and the other ships, with the two Dutch men of war, chased them from eight in the morning till sun-set, when the gallies altered their course for the English shore, and came so near it, that some of the slaves got off their chains, leaped overboard, and swam to land. They then very unhappily ran into

\* Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 199—201. Camden, p. 893—895. Fuller's worthies in Lincolnshire, p. 163.

† Johnstoni, rerum Britannicarum hist. lib. ix. p. 309. Winwood's memorials, vol. i. p. 401, 412, 413, 435, 436, 438, 439. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 203.

the place, where one of her Majesty's ships, and the Hollanders lay at anchor. Sir Robert foreseeing that the gallies must fall in with those ships, in order to make them still keep that course, steered a little out of the way, to get between them and the coast of Flanders. The ship which they thus fell in with, was the Answer, Capt. Broadgate, who fired upon them very briskly, as the Dutch did likewise. The enemy however did not fire so much as a single gun, but made the best use they could of their oars, and steering at random, one of them in the night came directly upon the admiral, who discharging all his guns, brought down her main-mast, when, hearing a most lamentable cry, he offered those who were in her quarter. The other five gallies came to her assistance, at whom he discharged a broadside, but what execution it did could not be discovered. One of the Dutch ships falling foul of the galley called the Lucera, carried away her rudder, and so disabled her that she sunk immediately, with all that were on board. By a like accident the Padilla split in pieces, and the Dutch vessel, who was the occasion of the disaster, narrowly escaped sharing the same fate. A third was cast away through carelessness of the sailors, in her endeavouring to reach Calais. Two put into Newport. Spinola in the Admiral, with a very valuable cargo, got safe, though with difficulty, into Dunkirk, and after refitting the three gallies, carried them to Sluys<sup>u</sup>. The year following he was killed in an engagement with the Dutch, leaving behind him the character of a very brave and gallant commander<sup>w</sup>.

This was the last great exploit performed by sea in this reign; for the queen, now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the twenty-fourth of March following, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and in the seventieth of her life, when she had settled the Protestant religion throughout her kingdom, had restored the crown to its

<sup>u</sup> Camdeni annal. Eliz. p. 895. Hugon. Grotii hist. Belgic. sub anno 1602. He gives all the honour to his countrymen, but with how little reason will appear hereafter, from a very curious and authentic paper written by Sir Robert Mansel.

<sup>w</sup> Card. Bentivoglio Guerra de Fiandra, p. 531. H. Grotii annal. & hist. A. D. 1603. Metesen Nederland. hist. fol. 500.

ancient reputation, supported her allies with the greatest firmness, and humbled her enemies, so as to compel them to think of soliciting for peace \*.

\* Camden. Lord Bacon in his character of Queen Elizabeth, and in his discourse of peace and war. Stowe, Speed. See also a very curious letter to Mr. afterwards Sir Ralph Winwood, and secretary of state to the Duke de Tremouille, acquainting him with the demise, and some other extraordinary particulars of this illustrious princess, in Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 460, 461. Dr. Birch's memoirs of that reign, vol. ii. p. 508. Moyer's memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 309. See a very particular and accurate relation of the last sickness and death of this great queen, left us by her near relation, Sir Robert Cary, afterwards earl of Monmouth, in his memoirs, p. 172.

The names of such ships as her Majesty left at her death.

Names of ships.	Tonnage.	Men in harbour.	Men at sea : where of	Mariners.	Gunn-ners.	Soldiers.
Elisabeth Jonas, - - -	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph, - - -	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White Bear, - - -	900	30	500	340	40	120
Victory, - - -	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mer-Honneur, - - -	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark Royal, - - -	800	17	400	268	32	100
Saint Matthew, - - -	1000	30	500	340	40	120
Saint Andrew, - - -	900	17	400	268	32	100
Due Repulse, - - -	700	16	350	230	30	90
Garland, - - -	700	16	300	190	30	80
Warspight, - - -	600	12	300	190	30	80
Mary Rose, - - -	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Hope, - - -	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure, - - -	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Lyon, - - -	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpareil, - - -	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance, - - -	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow, - - -	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought, - - -	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope, - - -	350	10	160	114	16	30
Swiftsure, - - -	400	10	200	130	20	50
Swallow, - - -	330	10	160	114	16	30
Forefight, - - -	300	10	160	114	16	30
The Tide, - - -	250	7	120	88	12	20
The Crane, - - -	200	7	100	70	10	20
Adventure, - - -	250	7	120	88	12	20
Quittance, - - -	200	7	100	70	10	20
Answer, - - -	200	7	100	70	10	20
Advantage, - - -	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tyger, - - -	200	7	100	70	10	20
Tramontain, - - -	—	6	70	52	8	10
The Scout, - - -	120	6	66	48	8	10
The Catis, - - -	100	5	60	42	8	10
The Charles, - - -	70	5	45	32	6	7
The Moon, - - -	60	5	40	30	5	5
The Advice, - - -	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Spy, - - -	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Merlin, - - -	45	5	35	26	5	4
The Sun, - - -	40	5	30	24	4	2
Synnet, - - -	20	2	—	—	—	—
George Hoy, - - -	100	10	—	—	—	—
Pennyrose Hoy, - - -	80	8	—	—	—	—

Her attention to trade appears in many instances, of some of which it may not be amiss to treat more particularly. The merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly in the beginning of her reign, of the ill treatment they had received in the days of Edward and Queen Mary; to which she very prudently answered, "That as she would not innovate any thing, so she would protect them still in the immunities and condition she found them;" which not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants; for they trying what they could do themselves therein, their adventures and returns proving successful, they took the whole trade into their hands, and so divided themselves into staplers and merchant-adventurers, the one residing constantly at some one place, the other keeping their course and adventuring to other towns and states abroad, with cloth and other manufactures. This so nettled the Hanse, that they devised all the ways that a discontented people could, to draw upon our new staplers or adventurers the ill opinion of other nations and states; but that proving of too small force to stop the current of so strong a trade as they were now run into, they resorted to some other practices.

They applied themselves to the emperor, as being a society incorporated into the empire; and upon complaint, obtained ambassadors to the queen, to mediate the business, but these returned *re infecta*. Hereupon the queen caused a proclamation to be published, that the merchants of the Hanse should be treated, and used as all other strangers in her dominions, in point of commerce, without any mark of distinction. At last, the Hanse-towns prevailed so far in virtue of their German connections as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the English merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was answered by a proclamation<sup>y</sup>, in consequence of which, sixty sail of their ships were taken in the river of Lisbon, laden with contraband goods for the use of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as sincerely desiring to have

<sup>y</sup> The imperial edict of the Emperor Rodolph II. bears date the first of August, 1597; which, together with her majesty's proclamation of the thirteenth of January following, may be met with at large in Wheeler's treatise of commerce, p. 86, 93.

compromised all differences with those trading cities; but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at the city of Lubeck in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and their cargoes to be confiscated; only two of them were released to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings<sup>a</sup>.

After this Sigismund king of Poland interposed in their behalf, sending hither an ambassador, who talking in a very high style, the queen in her answer told him plainly, that the king his master made no right estimate of his own power, and that himself was very little fit for the employment in which she found him<sup>a</sup>. Thus were we ridded for ever of these incorporated foreign factors, and our own merchants established in the right of managing our commerce. In the latter end of her reign, some disputes happening with the king of Denmark, and he most unadvisedly seizing the English ships that were in his ports, the queen sent one Dr. Parkins to demand an immediate and adequate satisfaction; which he did in so peremptory a style, that the Dane was glad to compound the matter for forty thousand dollars, which he paid her Majesty, and which she caused to be proportionably divided among the merchants who were injured<sup>b</sup>.

These are instances of her noble spirit in obtaining redress of grievances in foreign countries, even in the most perilous times, and when her affairs were in the utmost embarrassment. As to her care of trade and navigation within her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars; however, it may not be amiss to observe, that in 1563 an act was made for the better regulation, maintenance, and increase of the navy<sup>c</sup>; and in 1566 there was a law to enable the master, wardens, and the assistants of the Trinity-house, to set up beacons and sea-marks<sup>d</sup>. The same year there passed an act for incorporating, and more effectually establishing the company of merchant-adventurers<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 604, 606, 748, and the other historians of her reign. Wheeler's treatise on commerce. Molloy de jure maritimo, book ii. chap. xii.

<sup>b</sup> See the memorable reply of that princess upon this occasion at large, in Speed, p. 871.

<sup>c</sup> See the statute, anno 1 Eliz. cap. v. <sup>d</sup> Anno 8 Eliz. cap. xiii. <sup>e</sup> Hakl. voyages, vol. i. p. 394.

In 1511, there likewise passed an act for the increase of mariners, and for the maintenance of navigation, and more especially for recovering the trade to Iceland, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upwards of two hundred sail of stout ships<sup>f</sup>. In 1585 the queen erected, by her letters patent, a new company for the management of the trade to Barbary<sup>g</sup>; and in the year 1600 she incorporated a society of merchants trading to the East Indies<sup>h</sup>, whence the present East India Company is derived, as will be hereafter shewn.

Besides these numerous marks of her royal favour, and strict attention to the commerce of her subjects, the queen afforded others continually, by sending envoys and agents to the Czar, to the Shah of Persia, to several great princes in the East Indies, and, in short, wherever her interposition could be of any use to open, to promote, or to recover any branch of traffic, as appears by all the histories that are extant of her reign<sup>i</sup>. It may be said, and which is more, may be said with truth and justice, that in the midst of these great things done for industry and trade, the prerogative was carried very high, many monopolies erected, and several exclusive privileges granted, which have been found injurious to trade. But the discussing these points belong to general history. The queen levied taxes sparingly, and helped out her revenues, by what were then styled rights of the crown. Monopolies were the invention, at least had the countenance, and turned to the profit of her ministers, who for a time deceived their mistress into the support of them; but when she understood the nature and extent of them, she gave them up. As to statutes prejudicial to trade, there were some founded in popular error, from which no age is exempt: or things themselves have changed their circumstances, if not their nature, that what was or might be judged right then, may be plainly wrong now.

<sup>f</sup> 1 Ann. 22 Eliz. cap. vii.    <sup>g</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. ii. p. 114.    <sup>h</sup> Dated at Westminster, December 31. A. R. 43. and recited at large in Purchas, vol. i. lib. iii. p. 144.    <sup>i</sup> Camden, Bacon, Osborne, Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Rapin. See the letters addressed to those princes by the queen, on that head, at length, in Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 338, 339, 375, 418. vol. ii. p. 138, 203. vol. iii. p. 852.

But the peculiar glory of Queen Elizabeth's reign in this respect, was the great care she took of the coin, which, as we have shewn, was shamefully debased in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and though her sister had put an entire stop to this bad practice, yet the circumstances of her affairs were very far from being such as to admit her taking any measures towards an effectual amendment, the base coin continuing to have a currency, though it began to sink in its value; which, however, did not hinder foreigners from pouring in vast quantities of that mixed money, to the great detriment of the nation, and this, notwithstanding that princess expostulated with her neighbours upon that subject, and her doing all she could to hinder it. But immediately after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Lord Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith, whose papers upon that head are yet extant, interposed with the queen, and shewed her clearly the bad consequences of a debased coinage, and shewed her farther, that it was not the short ends of wit, or some slight and temporary devices that could sustain the expence of a great monarchy, but sound and solid courses. I make use of their expressions, which though not elegant, are very emphatic. They therefore exhorted her to pursue the steps of her great-grandfather Edward IV. and rejecting all expedients as ineffectual in themselves, and unworthy of her, to strike at the root of the evil. Admirable and solid counsels!

She took their advice, and by a proclamation in the second year of her reign, called in all the debased money, directing it to be marked with a greyhound, portcullice, lion, harp, rose, or fleur-de-lys, to distinguish the several intrinsic values of the pieces, it being her design to refine the coin, not according to the legal, but natural estimation of money; and therefore she directed, that foreign coin and bullion should be brought to her mint, as there was from eight thousand to twenty-two thousand pounds every week, and the like quantity of gold in Spanish pistoles, for the space of about six months, when she repaid her subjects the full value of the silver, in new money of that standard, which has since continued, and which was fixed after

\* Camden, annal. Elis. vol. i. p. 75, 76. Stowe, p. 646, 647. Strype's an. vol. i. chap. xxii. p. 264, 265. Lord Burleigh's diary in Murdin's collection, p. 751.

mature deliberation, and with a just regard to the value silver and gold had obtained in foreign countries at that time. In the very next year the majority of her council were for undoing all again, by introducing a fresh debasement, but the Lord Burleigh, then Sir William Cecil, and secretary of state, withstood this, as he did every other project of that kind, so long as he lived, with such vehemence of speech, and with such strength of argument, as kept the queen steady to her first measure.

When this great undertaking was thoroughly perfected, the queen took occasion to tell her people in a proclamation, that she had now conquered that monster which had so long devoured them; and it is very wisely recited in the preamble of an act of parliament, in the fifth year of her reign, "That by her great goodness new money had been coined of the same fineness, as in the time of her noble progenitors." Neither was this famous act, as she herself called it upon another occasion, forgot, in the inscription placed upon her monument, where, after mention being made of restoring religion to its primitive sincerity, and establishing a lasting tranquillity, it follows, that she reduced the coin to its just value. Hence we may perceive how great an action this was, and of what lasting benefit to the kingdom.

It may, however, contribute not a little to our satisfaction, if we inquire what quantity of coin, both gold and silver, there might be in the nation, towards the close of her reign, that is, at the beginning of the last century, because it is of very great consequence to have a just notion of what was the nation's stock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have indeed an authentic account of her entire coinage in silver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then, if we consider, that she re-coined almost all the silver specie of the kingdom, and that there was a small alteration in the standard in the latter end of her reign, which raised silver from five shillings to five and two-pence an ounce, which occasioned a new fabrication; so that much of the former coin came into the mint again as bullion; we may, with the judicious Dr. Davenant, estimate the silver coin at that time in this kingdom at two millions and a half, to which if we add the gold of her own and her predecessors coin, and estimate this at a million  
and

and a half, we may be pretty sure that we are not much wide of the truth, and that one hundred and fifty years ago the current coin of England amounted in the whole to four millions or thereabouts.

As the restoring the coin was in effect putting the first wheel in motion, so this being thus early set right, all the subordinate parts of general commerce began quickly to resume their respective forces; and the willingness which the queen shewed upon every occasion to facilitate whatever designs were formed for improving her dominions, employing her subjects, and venting the produce of their industry, had such effects, that by degrees, one thing opening a way to another, the face of affairs totally changed. All the complaints that were formerly made gave place to a general approbation of the queen's government amongst the better part of her subjects, that is, amongst those who were willing to help themselves by their honest and chearful endeavours to enlarge their properties, and to turn to the utmost advantage the laudable desire, which their sovereign expressed, of encouraging whatever could be invented for the promoting their welfare, and augmenting the public stock.

This disposition in the queen excited a like spirit throughout the whole nation. Not only persons bred to trade, and some of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for discoveries, and planting new-found countries; but even persons of the first distinction became encouragers and adventurers in those designs, such as the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, the earl of Leicester, &c. and some of them actually engaged in the execution of such projects, amongst whom were the earls of Cumberland, Essex, and Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, &c.<sup>1</sup> And therefore we need not wonder at the surprising increase of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this sort, within so short a period of time. Let us mention only a few: In 1575 Sir Humphry Gilbert attempted the discovery of a north-west passage. In 1577 Sir Martin Forbisher sought one the same way<sup>2</sup>. Pet and Jackman sailed on a like design in 1580 by the direction of the governor and com-

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt's, Monson's, and Purchas's collections consist chiefly of instances of this sort.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 32.

pany of merchant-adventurers<sup>a</sup>. An expedition was undertaken at a great expence by Sir Humphry Gilbert, in order to settle Florida; nor did it miscarry through any error of the undertaker<sup>b</sup>. The great Sir Walter Raleigh would have settled Virginia in 1584, if prudence, industry, and public spirit could have effected it; but though he failed in the extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, since he laid the foundation of that settlement, which hath since so happily succeeded. But it is now time to speak of those great men by whom these celebrated actions were achieved, and first of

CHARLES HOWARD; Baron of Effingham, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, Knight of the garter, and Lord high-admiral of England.

WE have already seen two brothers of this illustrious family of Howard successively lord high-admirals, and we are now to speak of another Howard, who arrived by merit at the same high honour, and, which is more, was also the son of a lord high-admiral of England<sup>c</sup>. He was born in the year 1536, in the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII. his father having the title only of Lord William Howard<sup>d</sup>. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganshire. Lord William being raised to the title of baron of Effingham, and admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions till the accession of Queen Elizabeth; when he was about twenty-two years of age<sup>e</sup>. His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a share of it, and in 1559 was sent over into France to compliment King Charles IX. who had just ascended that throne<sup>f</sup>. Nine years afterwards he was general of horse in the expedition made by the earl of Warwick against the earls of Northumberland and Westmore-

<sup>a</sup> Camden, vol. ii. p. 360, 361.

<sup>b</sup> See a full account of this matter in Sir George Peachman's relation, who was concerned therein.

<sup>c</sup> See in a former chapter the lives of Sir Edward, and Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and uncle to this noble lord.

<sup>d</sup> Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS.

<sup>e</sup> Dugdale's baronage, tome ii. p. 278.

<sup>f</sup> Camden. annal. p. 54.

<sup>g</sup> Camden. annal.

land; who had taken arms in the north, and in crushing whose rebellion he was very active<sup>t</sup>.

In the following year he commanded a squadron of men of war, which, as we before observed, the queen was pleased should escort Anne of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain<sup>u</sup>. Upon this occasion the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the British seas, having been sufficiently instructed in that ceremonial in their passage to Flanders by Sir John Hawkins, as the reader will find at large related in our memoirs of that gallant seaman. In 1571 he was chosen to parliament as knight of the shire for the county of Surry, and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January the 12th, 1572, in the great office of lord privy seal, and very highly in the queen's favour<sup>v</sup>.

The queen distinguished the son, as she had done the father, by raising him to the highest offices in the kingdom, not hastily, but, as her manner was, by a due progression. He became first chamberlain of the household, an office which his father had enjoyed; and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected knight of the garter<sup>x</sup>. Some of the writers of those times say, that he was raised to check Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers<sup>y</sup>: for, whereas Leicester was a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things, the lord-chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public-spirited man, in the good graces of the queen from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most noble, most loyal, and heroic family. When therefore the earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the queen immediately determined to raise the Lord Effingham to the post of high-admiral, which she did with the general ap-

<sup>t</sup> Strype's annals, vol. i. p. 583. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1212. <sup>u</sup> Camden, p. 220, 221. See the epistle dedicatory addressed to this noble person by Mr. Hakluyt, of the first vol. of his excellent collection of voyages. <sup>v</sup> Stowe, p. 674. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1212. Willis's notitia parliamentaria, p. 88, 95. <sup>x</sup> Dugdale's baronage, tome ii. p. 279. Ashmole's history of the order of the garter, p. 415. <sup>y</sup> Lloyd's state worthies, p. 736.

probation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was excessively beloved <sup>a</sup>.

When the Spaniards had spent three years in preparing their armada, the queen willingly intrusted the care of herself and the nation to this noble lord, of whose conduct and whose fortune she had equal hopes. We have already seen how happily that important contest ended for the honour of this nation; here, therefore, we are to speak only of what was personally performed by the admiral. As soon as he knew that the Spanish fleet was ready to sail, he put to sea, and continued cruising for some time, till the court having received advice, that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateness of the season rendering this probable, Secretary Walsingham wrote to him, directing, that four of the largest ships should be sent into port, and the seamen discharged, to save expence. The admiral wrote back to excuse his not obeying this direction, and in the close of the letter desired, that, if his reasons were thought insufficient, the ships might remain at his expence <sup>a</sup>.

When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spanish fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himself, but wrought also with his own hands, and with six ships only got the first night out of Plymouth, and the next morning, having no more than thirty sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the Spanish navy <sup>b</sup>. He shewed his conduct and prudence by dispatching his brother-in-law Sir Edward Hobby, to the queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land-forces for the security of the coasts, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his assistance <sup>c</sup>. His valour he discovered in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy, and the excellency of his cool temper appeared in his passing a whole night in the

<sup>a</sup> Stowe, p. 700, 709. Camden, p. 451.

<sup>a</sup> Stowe, p. 745, 746. Speed,

p. 360. Camden, vol. ii. p. 571.

<sup>b</sup> See the account of this victory printed in the first volume of Hakluyt's collection, Fuller's worthies in Surrey, p. 84.

<sup>c</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 747.

amidst of the Spanish fleet, and retiring, as soon as he had light enough to discover his own, without loss <sup>d</sup>.

It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was so great; and such as have suggested that it might have been still greater, readily acknowledge, that this did not happen through any fault of the admiral, who always discovered the utmost alacrity in his country's service <sup>e</sup>. The queen acknowledged his merit in the most expressive and glorious terms, and, though extremely frugal, rewarded him with a pension for life <sup>f</sup>, and at his request granted a pardon and a pension to Captain Fleming the pirate, who first brought the news of the Spanish fleet's being on our coasts; which I mention to shew how careful this great man was, a thing uncommon even among the greatest men, that the merits of meaner persons should not pass unrewarded, or be superciliously overlooked <sup>g</sup>.

Sir Richard Hawkins in his observations has a very remarkable passage in relation to this noble person, which the reader will no doubt be very well pleased to see in his own words.

"Worthy of perpetual memory," say he, "was the prudent policy and government of our English navy in *anno* 1588 by the worthy earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral of England, who in the like case, with mature and experimented knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many courageous and noble captains who would have persuaded him to have laid them aboard; but when he foresaw, that the enemy had an army aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and higher moulded, so that they, who with such advantage fought from above, might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter peradventure proving more fatal than the victory profitable, by being overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas by the conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance he always advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was the freedom of our country, and security of our navy, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the

<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 597.

<sup>e</sup> See the reflections made by Sir William Monson on this most important action in his naval tracts.

Stowe, Speed.

<sup>f</sup> Camden, <sup>g</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 795.

“ ignorant (who judge all things by the external appearance),  
 “ seemed invincible, but, truly considered, was much inferior to  
 “ ours in all things of substance, as the event proved ; for we  
 “ sunk, spoiled, and took many of them, and they diminished  
 “ of ours but one small pinnace, nor any man of name save only  
 “ Captain Cocke, who died with honour amidst his company.  
 “ The greatest damage that, as I remember, they caused to any  
 “ of our ships, was to the Swallow of her Majesty’s, which I  
 “ had in that action under my charge, with an arrow of fire,  
 “ shot into her beak-head, which we saw not because of the sail,  
 “ till it had burnt a hole in the rose as big as a man’s head ; the  
 “ arrow falling out, and driving along by the ship’s side, made  
 “ us doubt of it, which after we discovered.”

In 1596 he commanded in chief at sea, as the earl of Essex did at land, the forces sent against Spain, and was at very great expence in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation amongst the seamen and soldiers, were the principal causes of the success the English met with in that attempt, and his conduct throughout the whole was so wise and fortunate, that, upon his return home, the queen, on the 22d of October the same year, advanced him to the dignity and title of earl of Nottingham, (being descended from the family of Mowbray, some of whom had been earls of that county), the reasons whereof are thus inserted in his patent :

“ That, by the victory obtained *anno* 1588, he had secured  
 “ the kingdom of England from the invasion of Spain and other  
 “ impending dangers ; and did also, in conjunction with our dear  
 “ cousin Robert, earl of Essex, seize by force the isle, and the  
 “ strongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the farthest part of Spain ;  
 “ and did likewise entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the  
 “ king of Spain, prepared in that port against this kingdom.”—  
 An honourable preamble ! but less needful in that reign than in any other, since it was well known, that Queen Elisabeth parted not with titles till they were deserved, and where she knew the public voice would approve her favour, as in this case it loudly did ; for the earl of Nottingham, on his first going to the

house of peers, was received with unusual marks of joy, sufficiently declaring how worthy the best judges esteemed him of his new dignity, to which the queen added also another, making him lord justice itinerant of all the forest south of Trent for life<sup>t</sup>,

The next great service in which the earl of Nottingham was employed was in 1599, when the state was again in very great danger. On the one side the Spaniards seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some conceived they were on the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the Groynne, on board which many English fugitives were directed to repair. On the other the earl of Essex, who was then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels he was sent to reduce, and forming, as it was believed, some designs of employing the troops, with the command of which he was intrusted by the queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of London to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all hopes, indeed all shadow of success from foreign and domestic enemies; and, to shew the confidence she had in the admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high and very unusual title of LORD-LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF ALL ENGLAND, an office scarce known to former, never revived in succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces<sup>u</sup>.

The unfortunate earl of Essex, having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in Ireland, and return to England, the queen thought fit to punish this dangerous contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again into favour. But he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to have compelled

<sup>t</sup> Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Camden. annal. p. 794. Stowe's annals. p. 776. Speed, Sir William Monson's naval tracts.

the queen to do what he thought expedient. Upon his failing in this wild and ill-concerted project, he retired with such as were about him to Essex-house in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of England, and other privy counsellors sent by the queen to inquire into the grievances which had driven him to this rebellious violence, as he pretended. This was on the 8th of February, 1600, when the queen saw herself (in the decline of her life, and after she had triumphed over all her foreign foes, in the utmost peril from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who had thus excited a dangerous sedition in her capital) on the point of being imprisoned or deposed. In this perilous situation she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the lord-admiral, who, she often said, WAS BORN TO SERVE AND TO SAVE HIS COUNTRY.

He performed on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the queen could expect; for he in a few hours reduced the earl of Essex, after a romantic fall into the city, to such distress, that he was content to yield himself a prisoner; and, when he had so done, the lord high-admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible<sup>w</sup>. The same year the admiral was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of earl-marshal of England<sup>x</sup>; and to him, upon her death-bed, the queen was pleased to declare her royal intention, as to the succession, in favour of the KING OF SCOTS<sup>y</sup>.

Upon the accession of King James, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large share of that prince's confidence, but was likewise the person of whom he made choice to officiate as lord high-steward at the ceremony of the coronation<sup>z</sup>. Soon after this he was named ambassador to the court of Spain, for the conclusion of a strict intercourse of friendship with that crown, in pursuance of the treaty made at London the 18th of August, 1604, wherein also his lordship had been an acting commissioner. It was very requisite, that much state should be kept up in this embassy, and therefore the earl of

<sup>w</sup> Stowe, Speed, Camden, Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Elis. p. 14. in dorso.

<sup>y</sup> Camden, vol. iii. p. 912.

Dr. Birch's memoirs of Queen Elisabeth, vol. ii. p. 507, 508.

<sup>z</sup> Pat. 1. Jac. I. p. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Pat. 44

Nottingham

Nottingham was appointed with general approbation, not as a man of very great fortune, but from the known generosity of his temper, and the number of his dependents, who at their own charge were content to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set out for Spain with a retinue wherein were six peers and fifty knights, and for the support of this great train he had an appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his expences. During the time that he resided at the court of King Philip III. he was treated with the utmost deference and respect, maintained, with the universal applause, and to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the highest honour to the nation. At his departure the king of Spain made him presents which amounted to twenty thousand pounds<sup>a</sup>.

On his return he was not so well received at court as he had reason to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or the mutable temper of the king himself, being injured, and his master abused, by false reports, that the admiral, while in Spain, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution, than became him<sup>b</sup>. However, he quickly recovered his master's good graces, attended on the Lady Elisabeth when she was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards escorted her with a squadron of the royal navy to Flushing<sup>c</sup>. This was the last service he did his country in that capacity; for, being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient that he should resign his office to the new favourite Villiers, at that time earl, and afterwards duke of Buckingham.

Some of the memoir-writers of those days treat this matter in a way exceedingly injurious to the king's memory, disgraceful to the duke of Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the earl of Nottingham. The sum of their accounts amount to this: The good old earl after so many and so great services, when in a manner bedrid, was forced, through the ambition of Buckingham, to resign his office of admiral, which he did very unwillingly. At the same time it cost the king dear, who was obliged to make that earl a recompence. But that, after all, he insisted upon his creature Sir Robert Mansel, being made vice-admiral

<sup>a</sup> See the 1d volume of Winwood's memorials, p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 91, 92.

<sup>c</sup> Wilson's life of King James in Kennet's complete history of England, vol. ii. p. 690, 691.

for life, before he would resign; and thus, say they, an experienced and wise officer was removed from a post of the highest importance, to make way for a high-spirited youth unfit for such a charge<sup>d</sup>.

It appears, however, upon the strictest inquiry, and due consideration of all circumstances; that these stories are very ill founded, and that in reality the earl of Nottingham's laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to himself, or capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, without any participation of Buckingham, or so much as his knowledge, and was, on account of his age and infirmities, very easily agreed to. His estate was not great, and he had lately married a young wife, the daughter of the earl of Murray, for whom he was desirous of providing, as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these; that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds due from him to the crown should be remitted<sup>e</sup>, that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds<sup>f</sup>, and that, as earl of Nottingham, he should take place in the house according to the descent of his ancestors, so created by Richard II. and not as a new-made peer<sup>g</sup>.

These points were quickly adjusted. The duke went in person to see him, and to return him thanks for resigning in his favour, at the same time that he made the young countess a present of three thousand pounds. He carried also his respect to this venerable old man, ever after as far as it was possible, calling him always FATHER, and bending his knee whenever he approached him. Besides all this, Sir Robert Mansel, who had been ever a dependant on, and was once the earl of Nottingham's menial servant, but then vice-admiral during pleasure, by the interest of the duke, had that office confirmed to him for life

<sup>d</sup> The court and character of King James by Sir A. W. i. e. Sir Anthony Weldon; London, 1650, 12mo. p. 123, 124.

<sup>e</sup> Camden's annals of King James in Bishop Kennet's complete history, vol. ii. p. 651, 653. Sir William Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 279. Crawford's peerage of Scotland, p. 360.

<sup>f</sup> Aulicus Coquinarius in answer to the court and character of King James; London, 1650, 12mo. p. 169. This by some is ascribed to Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester. <sup>g</sup> Camden's annals of King James, p. 653.

by patent, which his old master took so kindly, that, aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a visit to return him thanks<sup>a</sup>. In reference to the public, the king was so much aware of what might be said upon this change, that he appointed the marquis of Buckingham in quality of lord high-admiral, a council composed of persons of rank; and who were perfectly versed in naval affairs, without whose advice he was to do nothing material, and by whose advice and assistance he actually made a great reform, bringing the ordinary expence of the fleet from fifty-four thousand to thirty thousand pounds *per annum*, chiefly by his interest in procuring effectual funds to be assigned for this service<sup>b</sup>. On the whole, therefore, there seems to be nothing in the least dishonourable in this transaction, for all parties were served, and all seem to have been content. What is said to the contrary flows evidently from a desire of prejudicing the world against the memories of men, from surmises and conjectures, a method of all others the most destructive of the true end and fruit of history, which ought to discover the truth, and instruct thereby such as peruse it.

The remaining years of his life were spent by the earl of Nottingham in honourable ease and retirement, to the time of his decease, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was eighty-eight years old<sup>c</sup>. He was a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition, incapable either of doing bad things, or seeing them done without exposing them. His steady loyalty to the crown preserved his reputation unstained, and his fortune unhurt, when the rest of his family were in the utmost danger<sup>d</sup>. Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites. She had a particular felicity in suiting men's employments to their capacities; and this never appeared more clearly than on those occasions, wherein she made choice of this nobleman, whose cou-

<sup>a</sup> Aulicus Coquinariz, p. 170.

<sup>b</sup> Roberti Johnstoni, rerum Britannicarum Historiz, lib. xviii. p. Sanderfon's history of King James I. p. 489. Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 307, 378, 379.

<sup>c</sup> From a MS. catalogue of nobility deceased, in the reign of King James I. <sup>d</sup> Camden. Sir Rob. Naunton in his fragments regalia, Lloyd's state worthies, p. 751.

rage no danger could daunt, whose fidelity no temptation could impeach, much less corrupt.

In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr. Fuller phrases it, at once<sup>m</sup>. It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this lord, his character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and as the rough soldier-like behaviour of Elifabeth's active times, suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the statesmen in King James's court, we need not wonder, that among these the earl of Nottingham met with some detractors<sup>n</sup>. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of malicious censures. He who beat the Spanish armada, equipped a fleet sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea in a fortnight's time, and by his presence alone dispirited the earl of Essex's adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man; though we should grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expressed himself a little bluntly, and, though a person of so high quality, had little or no tincture of those arts which, though they are peculiar, do no great honour to a court.

I have inserted his history here, because, though he died in the reign of King James, he spent his life in the service of Queen Elifabeth. He was, indeed, the king's ambassador in Spain, but as he is celebrated for being an able admiral, rather than a great statesman, I thought it but just to insert his memoirs where they might do his memory most honour. For the same reason I refer those of Sir Walter Raleigh to the succeeding reign, because the last action of his life, and that which led to his unfortunate death, fell out under King James. But it is time to resume the thread of our discourse, and to proceed to an account of

<sup>m</sup> English worthies, Surrey, p. 84.

<sup>n</sup> The reader will find enough of this in a letter of the earl of Northampton to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain. Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 91.

Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT, knight, an eminent seaman, and great discoverer.

**T**HIS gentleman was descended from a very ancient and honourable family in Devonshire, seated there at least as early, and, if some writers are to be credited, even before the conquest<sup>o</sup>. His father's name was Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, Esq; his mother, Catherine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, in the same county, who afterwards married Walter Raleigh of Fardel, Esq; and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, half-brother to the gentleman of whom we are now writing<sup>p</sup>. He was but a second son, though his father, having a good estate, left him a considerable fortune.

It was to his mother's care that he owed an excellent education, first at Eaton, afterwards at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to distinguish himself in an age fruitful of great men<sup>q</sup>. He was as fortunate in an aunt as in a mother, Mrs. Catherine Ashly, who attended on the person, and was much in the favour of Queen Elizabeth. She introduced him to that princess while a boy, and the queen being much pleased with his courtly behaviour, love of learning, and generous disposition, recommended him to Sir Henry Sidney as a youth of merit. His genius naturally led him to the study of cosmography, navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice; for he with great courage exposed his person early in the service of his country, and acquired a very just reputation from his actions, before he entered upon any of his great projects<sup>r</sup>.

The first place wherein he was distinguished for his ripe judgment, as well as for his daring spirit, was in the expedition to Newhaven, wherein he behaved with so much prudence, and his various attempts were attended with so great success, that

<sup>o</sup> Collection of arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonshire, by Sir J. Northcote, Bart. MS.

<sup>p</sup> Sir William Pole's description of Devonshire.

<sup>q</sup> Rildon's survey of Devonshire, vol. i. p. 152, 172. Fuller's worthies, Devon. p. 260.

<sup>r</sup> Supply of Irish chronicles by Hooker, p. 132. Fuller's worthies in Devon. p. 262.

though then but a young man, he was much considered, and raised high expectations in all who knew him. In several expeditions undertaken in those troublesome times, he added to his fortune as well as to his fame; and being always ready, both in discourse and with his pen, to render a reason for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be considered, by some of the most eminent persons in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as one capable of doing his country great service, particularly in Ireland, where men of true abilities were much wanted\*. Their conceptions concurring with Mr. Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himself known by great achievements, which was the ruling passion of his noble mind, he accepted the offers that were made him, and passing over into that island, became president of Munster, where he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Irish, than any Englishman employed in that service.

By his industry and address, he composed the stirrs raised by the Mac-Carthies, and by his valour and activity drove the Butlers out of his province, when they swerved from their duty. He likewise forced James Fitz-Morrice, the greatest captain amongst the Irish, to abandon his country†, and seek for safety abroad, and performed many other things in conjunction with his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, which would well deserve to be recorded here, if the limits of this work would permit, or if they fell in with my design: but as we mention him only as a seaman, it will be unnecessary to dwell on such actions of his life as have no relation to that character; and therefore let us hasten to the proposals he made for discovering a passage by the north to the Indies, in which he laboured as rationally and as assiduously, though at the same time as unsuccessfully, as any man in the age in which he lived.

It is not very clear, whether this gentleman had acquired the honour of knighthood before his return out of Ireland or not;

\* Stowe, p. 812. Sidney papers, vol. i. p. 28.  
 † Camden, vol. i. p. 199, 199. Sidney papers, vol. i. p. 35, 38, 39. Cox's history of Ireland, p. 333.

there are authorities on both sides<sup>u</sup>; but I incline to think, that he received that honour from Sir Henry Sidney, deputy of Ireland, about the year 1570, and that he did not come over to England till some years afterwards<sup>w</sup>. The first discovery he made, both of his knowledge and of his intentions, was in his discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the East Indies, which was first printed in the year 1576, though I conceive it was written some time before<sup>x</sup>.

It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece; and at the close of it there is an account of another treatise of navigation which he had written and intended to publish, and which is now probably lost. The design of this discourse was, to excite a spirit of discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a design he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of the north-west passage, for that he still had this, among other projects in view, is plain from the letters-patent granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert, in 1583. For the present, however, he adhered to his design of planting, and with that view procured from the queen an ample patent, dated at Westminster, June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the western discovery of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands hitherto unsettled by Christian princes or their subjects<sup>y</sup>.

Immediately on the procuring these letters-patent, Sir Humphry applied himself to the procuring associates in so great an undertaking, wherein at first he seemed to be highly successful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly established; yet, when the project came to be executed, many departed from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, separated themselves, and chose to run their own fortunes in their own way<sup>z</sup>. These misfortunes, however, did not deter Sir Humphry

<sup>u</sup> Prince's worthies of Devonshire, wherein he first places his knighthood, A. D. 1570. afterwards 1577; but in both asserts from Sir William Pole's MS. that it was conferred by Queen Elizabeth, p. 327.

<sup>w</sup> Supply of Irish chronicles by Hooker, p. 131.

<sup>x</sup> This treatise is still preserved in

Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 11.

<sup>y</sup> This patent is also extant in

Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 135.

<sup>z</sup> See Mr. Haye's account in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 145. Hellingsted, vol. ii. p. 1369. Risdon's survey of Devon, vol. ii. p. 105.

from prosecuting his scheme, in which also he was seconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends, of unshaken resolution. With these he sailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a short time, and being then compelled to return, he in his passage home met with some Spanish vessels, from whom he cleared himself with great difficulty. This seems to have been in the summer of 1578; but we have a very dark account of it, without dates or circumstances, further than those which have been already given\*. Yet his miscarriage in this first undertaking, was far from discouraging him; for after his return he went on as cheerfully as he had done before, in procuring fresh assistance for completing what he intended, and for promoting Christian knowledge, by the means of English settlements in undiscovered lands. This conduct sufficiently shewed, not only the steadiness of his courage, but the extent of his credit, since after such a disappointment, another commander would scarce have found any adventurers to join with him; which, however, was not his case<sup>b</sup>.

One thing which hastened his second expedition was this, that though the grant in his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clause in it by which it was declared void, in case no possession was actually taken within the space of six years. This term drawing to a close, Sir Humphry in the spring of the year 1583, hastened his friends in their preparations, so as by the first of June his little fleet was in readiness to sail. It consisted of five ships. I. The Delight, of the burden of 120 tons, admiral, in which went the general Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him captain William Winter. II. The bark Raleigh, a stout new ship of 200 tons, vice-admiral, built, manned; and victualled at the expence of Sir Walter, then Mr. Raleigh, under the command of captain Butler. III. The Golden Hind, of 40 tons, rear-admiral, commanded by captain Edward Hayes, who was also her owner. IV. The Swallow, of the like burden, commanded by captain Maurice Brown. V. The

\* See the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 13.

† As appears by Sir George Peckham's relation of Sir Humphry's voyage. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 165.

Squirrel, of the burden only of 10 tons, under the command of captain William Andrews<sup>c</sup>.

They sailed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June, and on the thirteenth the bark Raleigh returned, the captain and most of those on board her falling sick of a contagious distemper. On the 30th of the same month, the rest of the fleet had sight of Newfoundland. On the third of August they landed, the general read his commission, which was submitted to by all the English vessels upon the coast; and on the fifth he took possession of the harbour of St. John, in the name of the queen of England, and granted, as her patentee, certain leases unto such as were willing to take them. At the same time a discovery was made of a very rich silver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon, an able miner, brought by the general for that purpose<sup>d</sup>.

Sir Humphry now inclined to put to sea again, in order to make the best use of his time in discovering as far as possible; and having sent home the Swallow, with such as were sick, or discouraged with the hardships they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St. John's in 47 degrees 40 minutes, N. L. on the 20th of August, himself in the small sloop called the Squirrel, because being light, she was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours; captain Brown in the Delight, and captain Hayes in the Golden Hind. On the 27th, they found themselves in latitude of 45 degrees; and though the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue so, yet on the 29th of August, in the evening a sudden storm arose, where-in the Delight was lost, twelve men only escaping in her boat. This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with respect to the value of the ship, and the lives of the men, but also in regard to his future hopes, for in her he lost his Saxon miner, and with him the silver ore which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which he was so confident, as to tell some of his friends, that upon the credit of that mine, he doubted not to borrow ten thousand pounds of the queen for his next voyage<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Risdon's survey of Devon. vol. ii. p. 205, 206. Narborough's voyages, edit. 1711. p. 13. Dr. Birch's memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 34.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Hayes's account of Sir Humphry's voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 154.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 155.

On the second of September he went on board the *Golden Hind*, in order to have his foot dressed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board all day, and those who were in that vessel did all that was in their power to persuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he absolutely refused to do, affirming, that he would never desert his bark and his little crew, with whom he had escaped so many dangers. A generous but fatal resolution! for the vessel, being too small to resist the swell of those tempestuous seas, about midnight on the ninth of September, was swallowed up, and never seen more<sup>f</sup>. In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was seen sitting in the stern of the bark, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to say with a loud voice, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land." Thus he died like a Christian hero, full of hope, as having the testimony of a good conscience. Mr. Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphry in his voyage; and who hath left us an account of it, affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal resolution of sailing in the *Squirrel*, by a malicious report that had been spread of his being timorous at sea<sup>g</sup>. If so, it appears that death was less dreadful to him than shame; but it is hard to believe that so wise a man could be wrought upon by so weak and insignificant a reflection.

Such was the fate of Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT! one of the worthiest men of that age, whether we regard the strength of his understanding, or his heroic courage. Some further particulars relating to him I might have added from Prince's worthies of Devonshire; but that I am suspicious of their credit; and the more so, because they do not agree well together; besides they are but trivial, and my design leads me to take notice of such only as concern his character<sup>h</sup>. The reason I have given

<sup>f</sup> Camden's annales, vol. ii. p. 401. Risdon's survey, vol. ii. p. 207. Stowe, p. 812. Fuller's worthies in Devon. p. 261. <sup>g</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 159.

<sup>h</sup> He tells us, amongst other things, that the queen of her particular grace, gave to Sir Humphry Gilbert a golden anchor, with a large pearl at the peak. If this were true, it is strange that in the prolix accounts we have of his voyages, and in the Latin poem written expressly to do him honour by Stephen Parmenius,

given his memoirs a place here is this, that he was in a manner the parent of all our plantations, being the first who introduced a legal and regular method of settling, without which such undertakings must necessarily prove unsuccessful. Besides, his treatise of the north-west passage was the ground of all the expectations, which the best seamen had for many years, of actually finding such a route to the East Indies; and though at present we know many things advanced therein to be false, yet we likewise find many of his conjectures true, and all of them founded in reason, and the philosophy then commonly received. I shall conclude my account of him by transcribing a passage which he affirms of his own knowledge, and which I judge worthy of consideration, because some later accounts of the Spanish missionaries in California affirm the same thing.

"There was," says he, "one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria in Spain, that came by chance out of the West Indies into Ireland, *anno* 1568, who affirmed the north-west passage from us to Cataia, constantly to be believed in America navigable; and further said, in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney (then lord-deputy of Ireland) in my hearing, that a frier of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight years before his then coming into Ireland, told him, that he came from Mer del Sur into Germany through this north-west passage, and shewed Salvaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a sea-card made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described this north-west passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius's map. And further, this frier told the king of Portugal, as he returned by that country homeward, that there was (of certainty) such a passage north-west from England, and that he meant to publish the same; which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage known to any nation; for that (said the

Parmenius, an Hungarian; who accompanied him in his last voyage, there should be no mention of it. Perhaps he had this circumstance from some such authority as that from whence he took Sir Humphry's motto, which he says was, *Mulsem mori, quam mutare*; whereas Sir Humphry himself gives it thus, *Mutare vel timere sperno*. But that the former was the family motto of the Gilberts of Compton, and also of the Gilberts of Greenway, I have been since informed. Worthies of Devon, p. 326—329. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 24.

“ king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it  
 “ would greatly hinder both the king of Spain and me. This  
 “ frier (as Salvaterra reported) was the greatest discoverer by  
 “ sea that hath been in our age. Also Salvaterra, being per-  
 “ suaded of this passage by the frier Urdaneta, and by the  
 “ common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offer-  
 “ ed most willingly to accompany me in this discovery, which  
 “ it is like he would not have done, if he had stood in doubt  
 “ thereof.”

It is true, that Sir William Monson discredits this relation, as he endeavours to refute all the reasons that have been offered to support the opinion of a passage to the north-west<sup>\*</sup>; yet I meddle not with the dispute but with the fact, which, as I have said, is confirmed by later testimonies to the same purpose. Let us now proceed to

**SIR JOHN HAWKINS**, a famous admiral, and one who performed many great services against the Spaniards.

**T**HIS gentleman was a native of Devonshire as well as the former, and descended also of a good family; his father was William Hawkins, Esq; a gentleman of a considerable estate; his mother's name was Joan Trelawny, daughter of William Trelawny of the county of Cornwall, Esq. Our John Hawkins was their second son, born at Plymouth<sup>1</sup>, but in what year, I have not been able to find: however, from circumstances we may gather that it could not be later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to navigation and the study of the mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to carry his skill into practice, by making several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were in those days extraordinary undertakings, and must have given him much more experience than almost any of his contemporaries<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Naval tract, p. 428.

<sup>1</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 807. Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen a catalogue of the ancient families in Devon, amongst whom his has a place; and we may collect from circumstances, that his father was a gentleman of considerable fortune, as is said above.

Of these voyages we have no particular account, any more than of those of his father Mr. William Hawkins, who was likewise a very great seaman, and the first of our nation who made a voyage to Brazil<sup>a</sup>. His son, probably, reaped the benefit of his observations; for he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Elisabeth as an officer at sea, when some who were afterwards her chief commanders were but boys, and learned the skill, by which they rose, from him.

In the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of his first famous voyage, advantageous to himself and most of his proprietors; but much more so in its consequences to his country. In several trips to the Canaries, where by his tenderness and humanity he had made himself much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave-trade, and of the mighty profit obtained by the sale of negroes in the West Indies. After due consideration he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription amongst his friends (the greatest traders in the city of London) for opening a new trade, first to Guinea for slaves, and then to Hispaniola, St. John, de Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands, for sugars, hides, silver, &c. Upon his representation of the affair, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr. Bromfield, and Mr. Gunson, whose daughter Mr. Hawkins married, readily joined in the undertaking<sup>b</sup>.

At their expence a little fleet was prepared, composed of the following ships: the Solomon, of the burden of 120 tons, in which went Mr. Hawkins himself; the Swallow, of 100 tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton, and a bark of 40 tons, called the Jonas; on board of which there were about 100 men in all. Such were the beginnings of Britain's naval power! With this squadron he sailed from the coast of England in the month of October, 1562, and in his course first touched at Teneriffe, sailed thence to the coast of Guinea, where having, by force or purchase, acquired three hundred negroe slaves, he sailed directly to Hispaniola, and making there a large pro-

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 520.

<sup>b</sup> Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 2129.

fit, he returned safe into England in the month of September 1563<sup>p</sup>.

The next year he made another voyage with a much greater force, himself being in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by the *Solomon*, and two barks, the *Tiger* and the *Swallow*. He sailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coast of Guinea, and thence to the Spanish West Indies, where he forced a trade much to his profit; and, after visiting the port of the *Havannah*, came home through the Gulf of Florida, arriving at Padstowe in Cornwall, on the twentieth of September, 1565, having lost but twenty persons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities<sup>q</sup>. His skill and success had now raised him to such a reputation, that Mr. Harvey, then Clarencieux king at arms, granted him, by patent, for his crest, a demi-moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord<sup>r</sup>.

In the beginning of the year 1567, he sailed to the relief of the French Protestants in Rochelle, and returning home in the summer, began to make the necessary preparations for his third voyage to the West Indies, which he undertook some time afterwards<sup>s</sup>.

Mr. Hawkins made this, as he did his former voyage, in the *Jesus of Lubeck*, accompanied by the *Minion* and four other ships. He sailed with these from Plymouth the second of October, 1567. At first they met with such storms that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind coming fair, he continued his course to the Canaries, thence to the coast of Guinea, and so to the Spanish America to sell his negroes. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for, notwithstanding this, they traded together in a friendly manner till most of the negroes were sold. Thence he sailed to Carthagena, where he disposed of the rest; but, in returning home, being surprised with storms on the coast of Florida, he was forced to steer for

<sup>p</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 500.

<sup>q</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 807.

Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 389. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 502.

<sup>r</sup> Prince, in the page before cited, tells us, he took this from the original patent.

<sup>s</sup> Stowe's annals, vol. ii. Prince, p. 389.

the port of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered the port the 16th of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, supposing him to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly frightened when they found their mistake. Mr. Hawkins treated them very civilly, assuring them, that all he came for was provisions; neither did he attack twelve merchant-ships that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth 200,000 pounds, but contented himself with seizing two persons of distinction, whom he kept as hostages, while an express was sent to Mexico with an account of his demands.

The next day the Spanish fleet appeared in sight, which gave Captain Hawkins great uneasiness; for, if he kept them out, he was sensible they must be lost with all they had on board, which amounted to near two millions sterling; an act which, considering there was no war declared against Spain, he was afraid his native sovereign Queen Elisabeth would never pardon. On the other hand, he was no less sensible that, the port being narrow, and the town pretty populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were suffered to come in, to attempt some treachery. At length he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would agree that the English should have victuals for their money, that hostages should be given on both sides, and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon which were therein, should be yielded to his crew while they staid. At these demands the viceroy at first seemed highly displeased; yet quickly after he yielded to them, and, at a personal conference with Mr. Hawkins, solemnly promised to perform them<sup>c</sup>.

At the end of three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on the 26th with the usual salutations, and two days more were employed to range the ships of each nation by themselves, the officers and sailors on both sides using reciprocal civilities, and professing a great deal of friendship. But the Spaniards intended nothing less; for they had by this time mustered 1000 men on land, and designed on Thursday

<sup>c</sup> Camden annales, p. 158. Sir John Hawkins's account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 522, 523.

the 24th, at dinner-time, to set on the English on every side. On the day appointed, in the morning, the English perceived the Spaniards shifting their weapons from ship to ship, pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewise observed a greater number of men passing to and fro than the business on board the ships required, which, with other circumstances, giving grounds of suspicion, Captain Hawkins sent to the viceroy to know the meaning of such unusual motions; whereupon the viceroy sent orders to have every thing removed that might give the English umbrage, with a promise, on the faith of a viceroy, to be their defence against any clandestine attempts of the Spaniards. The captain, however, not being satisfied with this answer, because he suspected a great number of men to be hidden in a ship of 900 tons, which was moored next the *Minion*, sent the master of the *Jesus*, who understood Spanish, to know of the viceroy whether it was so or not. The viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and villainous design no longer, detained the master, and causing the trumpet to be sounded, the Spaniards on this signal, of which they were apprized, began the attack upon the English on all sides. Those who were upon the island being struck with fear at this sudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ships; but the Spaniards, debarking in great numbers at several places at once (which they might do without boats, the ships lying close to the shore), slew them all without mercy, excepting a few who escaped on board the *Jesus*.

The great ship, wherein 300 men were concealed, immediately fell on board the *Minion*; but she, having put all hands to work the moment their suspicions commenced, had in that short space, which was but a bare half-hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the first brunt of the great ship, the latter clapped the *Jesus* aboard, which was at the same time attacked by two other ships. However, with much ado, and the loss of many men, she kept them off till she cut her cable, and got clear also. As soon as the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were got two ships length from the Spanish fleet, they began the fight, which was so furious, that in one hour the admiral of the Spaniards and another ship

<sup>u</sup> Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177. Sir Walter Raleigh's works, vol. ii. p. 471, 272.

were supposed to be sunk, and their vice-admiral burned, so that they had little to fear from the enemy's ships; but they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and mangled all the masts and rigging of the *Jesus* in such a manner, that there was no hopes of bringing her off.

This being the case, they determined to place her for a shelter to the *Minion* till night, and then taking out of her what victuals and other necessaries they could, to leave her behind. But presently after, perceiving two large ships, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men on board the *Minion*, in great consternation, without consent of either the captain or master, set sail and made off from the *Jesus* in such haste, that Captain Hawkins had scarce time to reach her. As for the men, most of them followed in a small boat, the rest were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, which, says the captain, I doubt was very little\*.

The *Minion* and the *Judith* were the only two English ships that escaped; and in the night the *Judith*, which was a bark only of fifty tons, separated herself from the *Minion*, on board which was Captain Hawkins and the best part of his men. In this distress having little to eat, less water, in unknown seas, and many of his men wounded, he continued till the eighth of October, and then entered a creek in the bay of Mexico, in order to obtain some refreshment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of 23 degrees 36 minutes N. where his company dividing, one hundred desired to be put on shore, and the rest, who were about the same number, resolved at all events to endeavour to get home. Accordingly, on the 16th, they weighed and stood through the Gulf of Florida, making the best of their way for Europe. In their passage, they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, in Spain, where the Spaniards coming to know their weakness, thought by treachery to seize them a second time; but they suspecting this, sailed forthwith to Vigo, not far off.

They there met with some English ships, which supplied their wants, and departing on the 20th of January 1586, arrived in

\* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524.

Mount's Bay in Cornwall the 25th of January following. As to the hardships endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more strongly or exactly pictured, than in the following lines, with which captain Hawkins concludes his own relation<sup>2</sup>. "If all the miseries and troublesome affairs," says he, "of this sorrowful voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deaths of the martyrs<sup>3</sup>." In reward of his famous action at Rio de la Hacha, Mr. Cook, then Clarenchieux, added to his arms, on an escutcheon of pretence, Or, an escallop between two palmer's staves Sable; and his patent for this augmentation is still extant<sup>4</sup>.

When the Spanish fleet went to fetch Anne of Austria, the last wife of Philip the second, out of Flanders, Sir John Hawkins with a small squadron of her Majesty's ships was riding in Catwater, which the Spanish admiral perceiving, he endeavoured to run between the island and the place without paying the usual salutes. Sir John ordered the gunner of his own ship to fire at the rigging of the Spanish admiral, who taking no notice of it, the gunner fired next at the hull, and shot through and through. The Spaniards, upon this, took in their flags and topsails, and run to an anchor. The Spanish admiral then sent an officer of distinction in a boat, to carry at once his compliments and complaints to Sir John Hawkins. He standing upon deck, would not either admit the officer or hear his message; but bid him tell his admiral, that having neglected the respect due to the queen of England, in her seas and port, and having so large a fleet under his command, he must not expect to lie there; but in twelve hours weigh his anchor and be gone, otherwise he should regard him as an enemy declared, his conduct having already rendered him suspected.

<sup>2</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 352. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 524, 525. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1177.

<sup>3</sup> These are the last words of Captain Hawkins's relation; but the inquisitive reader may find some further circumstances relating to this unfortunate voyage, in the travels of Miles Philips, and of Job Hartop, two of the men set on shore by Sir John Hawkins, in the Bay of Mexico, in Hakluyt's collection, vol. iii. p. 469, 487.

<sup>4</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 389. from the copy of this patent.

The Spanish admiral upon receiving this message came off in person, and went in his boat to the *Jesus of Lubeck*, on board which Sir John Hawkins's flag was flying, desiring to speak with him; which at first was refused, but at length granted. The Spaniard then expostulated the matter, insisted that there was peace between the two crowns, and that he knew not what to make of the treatment he had received. Sir John Hawkins told him, that his own arrogance had brought it upon him, and that he could not but know what respect was due to the queen's ships; that he had dispatched an express to her majesty with advice of his behaviour, and that in the mean time he would do well to depart. The Spaniard still pleaded ignorance, and that he was ready to give satisfaction.

Upon this Sir John Hawkins told him mildly, that he could not be a stranger to what was practised by the French and Spaniards in their own seas and ports; adding, Put the case, Sir, that an English fleet came into any of the king your master's ports, his majesty's ships being there, and those English ships should carry their flags in their tops, would you not shoot them down, and beat the ships out of your port? The Spaniard owned he would, confessed he was in the wrong, submitted to the penalty Sir John imposed, was then very kindly entertained, and they parted very good friends. This account we have from his son Sir Richard Hawkins, who was eye-witness of all that passed.

The next great action of this worthy seaman, was his service under the lord high-admiral, in 1588, against the Spanish armada, wherein he acted as rear-admiral on board her majesty's ship the *Victory*, and had as large a share of the danger and honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he most deservedly received the honour of knighthood<sup>a</sup>; and in pursuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary service, insomuch that, on his return from the fleet, he was particularly commended by the queen.

In 1590, he was sent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbisher, each having a squadron of five men of war, to infest the coasts of Spain, and intercept, if possible, the plate-fleet. At

<sup>a</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 748. Speed, p. 861. Strype's annals.

first, his Catholic majesty thought of opposing these famous commanders, with a superior fleet of twenty sail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassan; but, upon more mature deliberation, he abandoned this design, directed his ships to keep close in port, and sent instructions into the Indies, that the fleet, instead of returning, should winter there. Sir John Hawkins and his colleague spent seven months in this station, without performing any thing of note, or so much as taking a single ship. They afterwards attempted the island of Fayal, which had submitted the year before to the earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being re-fortified, and the inhabitants well furnished with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his associates were forced to retreat.

It must be owned, that with the populace very small reputation was gained by the admirals in this expedition; and yet they lost no credit at court, where the issue of the business was better understood. By compelling the Spanish navy to fly into fortified ports, they destroyed their reputation as a maritime power; and the wintering of their plate-ships in the Indies, proved so great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke, in Seville and other places; besides, it was so great a prejudice to their vessels to winter in the Indies, that the damage could not be repaired in many years. Thus, though no immediate profit accrued, the end of this expedition was fully answered, and the nation gained a very signal advantage, by grievously distressing her enemies <sup>b</sup>.

The war with Spain continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, the most experienced seamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts, than had been hitherto made through the whole course of the war; and at the same time they offered to be at a great part of the expence themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. There were many motives which induced our admiral, though then far in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his

<sup>b</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 620. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 277. Linschotten's voyages, chap. 99.

person in this dangerous service; amongst which, this was not the last or the least, that his son Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, and some hope there was, that in the course of such an enterprize, an opportunity might offer of redeeming him\*.

The queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furnished, on her part, a stout squadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their squadron consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and their whole force amounted to about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as this, and yet none succeeded worse. The fleet was detained for some time after it was ready on the English coast by the arts of the Spaniards, who, having intelligence of its strength, and of the ends for which it was equipped, conceived, that the only means by which it could be defeated, was practising some contrivances that might disappoint the first exploits intended, by procuring delay; in order to which, they gave out, that they were ready themselves to invade England; and, to render this the more probable, they actually sent four galleys to make a sudden descent on Cornwall. By these steps they carried their point; for, the queen and the nation being alarmed, it was held by no means proper to send so great a number of stout ships on so long a voyage at so critical a juncture.

At last, this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 28th of August, in order to execute their grand design of burning Nombre de Dios, marching thence by land to Panama, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived at that place from Peru. A few days before their departure, the queen sent them advice, that the plate-fleet was safely arrived in Spain, excepting only a single galleon, which, having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to Porto-Rico; the taking of this vessel she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hinderance to their other affair. When they were at sea, the generals differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing

\* Sir Richard Hawkins's observations on his voyage to the south seas, p. 133.

immediately what the queen had commanded, whereas Sir Francis Drake inclined to go first to the Canaries, in which he prevailed; but the attempt they made was unsuccessful, and then they sailed for Dominica, where they spent too much time in refreshing themselves, and setting up their pinnaces. In the mean time the Spaniards had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto-Rico, having exact intelligence of the intention of the English admirals to attempt that place. On the 30th of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the same day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the sternmost of Sir John's ships, fell in with the five sail of Spanish frigates before-mentioned, and was taken; the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir John, it threw him into a fit of sickness, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twenty-first of November, 1595, when they were in sight of the island of Porto-Rico, and not, as Sir William Monson suggests, of chagrin on the miscarriage in attempting the city of the same name, which in truth he never lived to see<sup>d</sup>.

At so great a distance of time it may seem strange to enter into, or at least to enter minutely into the character of this famous seaman; but as we have good authorities, and such reflections may be of use to posterity, we think it not amiss to undertake this task, in performing which, we shall use all the care and impartiality that can be expected<sup>e</sup>. Sir John had naturally strong parts, which he improved by constant application. He was apt in council to differ from other men's opinions, and yet was reserved in discovering his own<sup>f</sup>. He was slow, jealous, and somewhat irresolute, yet in action he was merciful, apt to forgive, and a strict observer of his word. As he had passed a great part of his life at sea, he had too great a dislike of land-soldiers<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 698, 699, 700. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 182, 183. There is an accurate and copious account of this voyage in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. as also in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1183. See also the following tracts, intitled, Relation of a voyage to the West Indies by Sir Francis Drake, &c. p. 50.

<sup>e</sup> In order to this I have compared what is to be met with in Hakluyt, Purchas, Monson, Stowe, and Sir Richard Hawkins's book, as also whatever notices I have been able to collect from other contemporary writers.

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 183. <sup>g</sup> See a very remarkable letter signed R. M. by one who had sailed with Hawkins, and Drake, and drew a parallel between them. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1185.

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When occasion required it, he could dissemble, though he was naturally of a blunt rather than reserved disposition. And, now we are making a catalogue of his faults, let us not forget the greatest, which was the love of money, wherein he exceeded all just bounds<sup>b</sup>.

In spite, however, of his imperfections, he was always esteemed one of the ablest of his profession, of which there are no inconsiderable proofs, that he was a noted commander at sea forty-eight years, and treasurer of the navy two and twenty<sup>c</sup>.

He and his eldest brother William were owners at once of thirty sail of good ships<sup>d</sup>, and it was generally owned, that Sir John Hawkins was the author of more useful inventions, and introduced into the navy better regulations, than any officer who had bore command therein before his time. One instance of this amongst many, was the institution of that noble fund (for I will not call it charity, because that term implies, in common acceptance, alms), the CHEST at CHATHAM, which was the humane and wise contrivance of this gentleman and Sir Francis Drake; and their scheme, that seamen safe and successful should, by a voluntary deduction from their pay, give relief to the wants, and reward to those who are maimed in the service of their country, was approved by the queen, and has been adopted by posterity. Sir John Hawkins built also a noble hospital, which he plentifully endowed at the same place<sup>e</sup>.

MEMOIRS of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, a most skilful seaman, the first who made a voyage round the world, and vice-admiral of the English fleet in 1588.

IT seems in some measure to detract from the common notions about nobility of birth, and the advantages of blood, that several of the most illustrious persons in our nation have risen from very obscure beginnings, and have left their historians dis-

<sup>b</sup> I take this from the said letter, and from some MS. remarks on Hakluyt.

<sup>c</sup> Camden annales, p. 700. Stowe's annals, p. 807. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 371.

<sup>d</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 807. <sup>e</sup> Lambard's perambulation of Kent. Killburn's survey of Kent, p. 53. MSS. of Samuel Pepys, Esq;

sicilities enough to struggle with in deriving their descents. This is particularly true of Sir Francis Drake, concerning whose family I must confess I can say nothing with certainty. That he was born in Devonshire, occasioned his being taken notice of by the reverend Mr. Prince, who has left us a life of him not much to be depended on<sup>m</sup>; and as to earlier writers, who might have been better informed, many of them are silent.

According to the account given by Mr. Camden, who professes to have taken it from his own mouth, we are told that he was son of a person in ordinary circumstances, who lived at a small village in Devonshire, and that Sir Francis Russel, afterwards earl of Bedford, was his godfather. His father, having embraced the Protestant religion, was obliged to quit his country, and retire to Kent, where he first read prayers on board the fleet, was afterwards ordained deacon, and in process of time became vicar of the church of Upmore. As for our Francis Drake, he was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, whom he served so faithfully, that, dying unmarried, he bequeathed his ship to Drake, which laid the primary foundation of his fortunes<sup>n</sup>.

I do not doubt but many or indeed most of the circumstances in this story may be true, if brought into their right order; but, as they stand in Camden, they cannot be so; for, first, this account makes our hero ten years older than he was; next, if his father fled about the six articles, and he was born some time before, Sir Francis Russel could have been but a child, and therefore not likely to be his godfather<sup>o</sup>. Another story there is, as circumstantial, and written as early, which perhaps some judicious reader will be able to reconcile with this: but whether that can be done or not, I think it better deserves credit. According to this relation I find that he was the son of one Edmund Drake an honest sailor, and born near Tavistock in the year 1545, being the eldest of twelve brethren, and brought up at

<sup>m</sup> Worthies of Devon. p. 236.

<sup>n</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 351. Yet in his Britannia, p. 145. he makes him a native of Plymouth. English hero, p. 1. and Fuller's holy state, p. 123.

<sup>o</sup> It appears by the monumental inscription on the tomb of this noble person, that he was born A. D. 1527, and was therefore but ten years old at Drake's christening, according to this account, but might well be his godfather, if born 1545.

the expence, and under the care, of his kinsman Sir John Hawkins. I likewise find, that, at the age of eighteen, he was purser of a ship trading to Biscay, that at twenty he made a voyage to Guinea, and at the age of twenty-two had the honour to be appointed captain of the *Judith* in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa in the Gulf of Mexico, where he behaved most gallantly in that glorious action under Sir John Hawkins, and returned with him into England with a very great reputation, but not worth a single groat<sup>2</sup>.

Upon this he conceived a design of making reprisals on the king of Spain, which, some say, was put into his head by the minister of his ship; and to be sure in sea-divinity the case was clear, the king of Spain's subjects had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore Mr. Drake was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on the subjects of the king of Spain<sup>3</sup>. This doctrine, how rudely soever preached, was very taking in England, and therefore, he no sooner published his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though they had no such pretence even as he had to colour their proceedings<sup>4</sup>. In 1570 he made his first expedition with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*, and the next year in the *Swan* alone, wherein he returned safe with competent advantages, if not rich; and having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design with respect to himself and to his enemies<sup>5</sup>.

This he put in execution on the 24th of March 1572, on which day he sailed from Plymouth, himself in a ship called the *Pascha*, of the burden of seventy tons, and his brother John Drake in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons burden, their whole strength consisting of no more than twenty-three men and boys; and with this inconsiderable force, on the 22d of July<sup>6</sup>, he attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes (though not so conveniently) as

<sup>2</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 807.

<sup>3</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 807. Camdeni annales, p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Francis Drake revived by Philip Nichols, preacher, a 4to of 94 pages in black letter, published by Sir Francis Drake, baronet, his nephew.

<sup>6</sup> This is one of those facts which prove, that things really happen, which are altogether improbable, and which, but for the weight of evidence which attend them, would not only be esteemed fiction but absurdities.

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those for which they now use Porto-Bello. He took it in a few hours by storm, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet upon the whole they were no great gainers, but after a very brisk action were obliged to betake themselves to their ships with very little booty. His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this scheme, too, he was disappointed. However, he attacked the town of Vera Cruz, carried it, and got some little booty. In their return they met unexpectedly with a string of fifty mules laden with plate, of which they carried off as much as they could, and buried the rest<sup>u</sup>. In these expeditions he was greatly assisted by the Simcrons, a nation of Indians who are engaged in a perpetual war with the Spaniards. The prince or captain of these people, whose name was Pedro, was presented by Captain Drake with a fine cut-las which he at that time wore, and to which he saw the Indian had a mind. Pedro in return gave him four large wedges of gold, which Captain Drake threw into the common stock, with this remarkable expression, "That he thought it but just, that such " as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage on his credit, " should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced." Then embarking his men with all the wealth he had obtained, which was very considerable, he bore away for England<sup>v</sup>, and was so fortunate as to sail in twenty-three days from Cape Florida to the isles of Scilly, and thence without any accident to Plymouth, where he arrived the ninth of August 1573<sup>x</sup>.

His success in this expedition, joined to his honourable behaviour towards his owners, gained him a high reputation, and the use he made of his riches still a greater; for, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Essex (the father of that unfortunate earl who was beheaded), he served as a volunteer, and did

<sup>u</sup> Captain Drake's conduct was in all respects equal to his courage; he proposed coming into these seas on the same errand again; and to this design, and the means that might accomplish it, all his actions point.

<sup>v</sup> At the distance of a century Sir William Davenant, poet-laureat in the reign of King Charles II. made this expedition the basis of a dramatic performance, called *THE HISTORY OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE*.

<sup>x</sup> See that relation, as also Camdeni annales, p. 351.

many glorious actions<sup>1</sup>. After the death of his noble patron he returned into England, where Sir Christopher Hatton, who was then vice-chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, privy counsellor, afterwards lord-chancellor, and a great favourite, took him under his protection, introduced him to her majesty, and procured him her countenance<sup>2</sup>. By this means he acquired a capacity of undertaking that glorious expedition, which will render his name immortal. The thing he first proposed was a voyage into the South-seas through the Straights of Magellan, which was what hitherto no Englishman ever attempted. This project was well received at court; and in a short time Captain Drake saw himself at the height of his wishes; for in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South-seas, he framed an ardent prayer to God, that he might sail an English ship in them, which he found now an opportunity of attempting, the queen's permission furnishing him with the means, and his own fame quickly drawing to him a force sufficient<sup>3</sup>.

The Squadron with which he sailed on this extraordinary undertaking, consisted of the following ships; the Pelican, commanded by himself, of the burden of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral; eighty tons, under Captain John Winter; the Marygold; a bark of thirty tons, commanded by Captain John Thomas; the Swan; a fly-boat of fifty tons, under Captain John Chester; and the Christopher; a pinnace of fifteen tons, under Captain Thomas Moon<sup>4</sup>. In this fleet were embarked no more than one hundred sixty-four able men, and all the necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which, however, was not openly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though all men suspected, and many knew he intended for America. Thus equipped, on the 15th of November 1577, about three in the afternoon, he sailed from Plymouth; but a heavy storm taking him as soon as he was out of port, forced him in a very bad condition into Falmouth, to refit, which having expeditiously performed, he again put to sea the

<sup>1</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 807.

<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 352.

Stowe's annals, p. 689. Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> Camdeni

annales, p. 354. Hakluyt's voyages, p. 730, 748. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 46.

13th of December following<sup>c</sup>. On the 25th of the same month he fell in with the coast of Barbary, and on the 29th with Cape Verd; the 13th of March he passed the equinoctial; the 5th of April he made the coast of Brazil in 30° N. L. and entered the river de la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his ships; but meeting them again, and having taken out of them all the provisions they had on board, he turned them a-drift. On the 29th of May he entered the port of St. Julian's, where he did the least commendable action of his life, in beheading, July 2, 1578, Mr. John Doughty, a man next in authority to himself, in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice<sup>d</sup>.

On the 20th of August he entered the Streights of Magellan; on the 25th of September he passed them, having then only his own ship, which in the South-seas he new-named the Hind. It may not be amiss to take notice here of a fact very little known, as appearing in no relation of this famous voyage. Sir Francis Drake himself reported to Sir Richard, son to Sir John Hawkins, that meeting with a violent tempest, in which his ship could bear no fail, he found, when the storm sunk, he was driven through or round the Streights into the latitude of 50 degrees. Here, lying close under an island, he went on shore, and, leaning his body over a promontory as far as he could safely, told his people, when he came on board, he had been farther south than any man living. This we find confirmed by one of our old chronicle-writers, who farther informs us, that he bestowed on this island the name of ELISABETHA, in honour of his royal mistress. On the 25th of November he came to Machao in the latitude of 30 degrees, where he had appointed a rendezvous in case his ships separated; but Captain Winter, having repassed the Streights, was returned to England. Thence he continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till his crew were fated with plunder; and then coasting North-America to the height of 48 degrees, he endeavoured to find a passage back into our seas on that side, which is the strongest proof of

<sup>c</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 354. The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1657, 4to, p. 3.

<sup>d</sup> See the relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 732. all which is omitted in the revised account in Purchas before referred to. See also the world encompassed by Sir F. Drake, p. 29—33.

his consummate skill, and invincible courage; for, if ever such a passage be found to the northward, this in all probability will be the method; and we can scarce conceive a clearer testimony of an undaunted spirit, than attempting discoveries after so long, so hazardous, and so fatiguing a voyage<sup>c</sup>. Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion, taking possession of it in the name, and for the use of Queen Elisabeth; and, having trimmed his ship, set sail from thence, on the twenty-ninth of September 1579, for the Moluccas.

The reason of Captain Drake's chusing this passage round, rather than returning by the Streights of Magellan, was partly the danger of being attacked at a great disadvantage by the Spaniards, and partly the lateness of the season, whence dangerous storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended<sup>d</sup>. On the thirteenth of October he fell in with certain islands, inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had sight of the Moluccas, and coming to Ternate was extremely well received by the king thereof, who appears, from the most authentic relations of this voyage, to have been a wise and polite prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes, where his ship unfortunately ran on a rock the ninth of January following, whence, beyond all expectation, and in a manner miraculously, they got off, and continued their course. On the sixteenth of March he arrived at Java Major, thence he intended to have proceeded for Malacca, but found himself obliged to alter his purpose, and think of returning directly home<sup>e</sup>.

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1580, he put this design in execution, and on the fifteenth of June he doubled the Cape of Good-Hope, having then on board his ship fifty-seven men,

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 400. See also some remarks on this passage in Dampier's voyages, vol. iv. p. 101. edit. 1729. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1568. Sir Richard Hawkins's observations, &c. p. 95.

<sup>d</sup> See all the relations before cited for the confirmation of this circumstance; but perhaps Captain Drake might be deterred by the confident, though false report of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be repassed.

<sup>e</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 743. Camdeni annales, p. 358. Holingshed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1568.

and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of July he passed the line, reached the coast of Guinea on the sixteenth, and there watered. On the eleventh of September he made the island of Tercera, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month entered the harbour of Plymouth. It is not a little strange there should be such variation as we find amongst the best writers, and those, too, his contemporaries, as to the day of his arrival. Sir William Monson fixes the twenty-fifth of September. Hoolingshed says the twenty-sixth. In Mr. Hakluyt's relation it is the third of November, which is followed by Camden and many others. But Stowe, and several that might be mentioned, content themselves with saying, he returned towards the close of the year; by which it is evident, that, at this distance, the exact time of his coming cannot be certainly determined.

In this voyage he completely surrounded the globe, which no commander in chief had ever done before<sup>a</sup>. His success in this enterprize, and the immense mass of wealth he brought home, raised much discourse throughout the kingdom, some highly commending, and some as loudly deprecating him. The former alledged, that his exploit was not only honourable to himself, and to his country; that it would establish our reputation for maritime skill amongst foreign nations, and raise a useful spirit of emulation at home; and that as to the money, our merchants having suffered deeply from the faithless practices of the Spaniards, there was nothing more just than that the nation should receive the benefit of Drake's reprisals. The other party alledged, that in fact he was no better than a pirate; that, of all others, it least became a trading nation to encourage such practices; that it was not only a direct breach of all our late treaties with Spain, but likewise of our old leagues with the house of Burgundy; and that the consequences of owning his proceedings, would be much more fatal than the benefits reaped from it could be advantageous. Things continued in this uncertainty during the remainder of that, and the spring of the succeeding year.

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742. Purchas, vol. i. p. 46—57. The world encompassed, &c. p. 108. Speed, p. 852.

At length they took a better turn; for on the fourth of April 1581, her majesty dining at Deptford in Kent, went on board Captain Drake's ship, where she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and declared her absolute approbation of all that he had done, to the confusion of his enemies, and to the great joy of his friends<sup>1</sup>. She likewise gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument of his own and his country's glory. In process of time the vessel decaying, it was broken up; but a chair made of the planks was presented to the University of Oxford, and is still preserved<sup>2</sup>.

In 1585, he concerted a scheme of a West Indian expedition with the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney. It was to be partly maritime, and partly in the style of invasion. The sea force was to be commanded absolutely by Sir Francis, the land troops by Sir Philip Sidney. The queen having required the latter to desist from his scheme, he failed notwithstanding to the West Indies, having under his command Captain Christopher Carlisle, Captain Martin Frobisher, Captain Francis Knollys, and many other officers of great reputation. In that expedition he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine, exceeding even the expectation of his friends, and the hopes of the common people, though both were sanguine to the last degree<sup>3</sup>. Yet the profits of this expedition were but moderate, the design of Sir Francis being rather to weaken the enemy, than to enrich himself<sup>4</sup>. It was, to do him justice, a maxim from which he never varied, to regard the service of his country first, next the profit of his proprietors, and his own interest (of which, however, he was far from being careless) he regarded last. Hence, though rich in wealth, he was richer still in reputation.

<sup>1</sup> Camden annales, p. 359. Sir William Monson's naval traills, p. 400. Stowe's annals, p. 689. Holingshed, Speed.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Cowley's poems, edit. 1680, p. 8, 42. A certain knight proposed to place it upon the top of St. Paul's.

<sup>3</sup> A summary and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, accompanied with Christopher Carlisle, Martin Frobisher, Francis Knollys, with many other captains and gentlemen, wherein were taken the towns of St. Jago, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine; London, 1652, 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 354. Sir W. Monson's naval traills, p. 169. Camden, p. 353. Stowe, p. 709.

In 1578, he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail, and having intelligence of a numerous fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, which was to have made part of the armada, he, with great courage, entered that port, and burnt there upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping, and after having performed all the service that the state could expect, he resolved to do his utmost to content the merchants of London, who had contributed, by a voluntary subscription to the fitting out of his fleet. With this view, having intelligence of a large carrack expected at Tercera from the East Indies, thither he sailed; and though his men were severely pinched through want of victuals, yet by fair words and large promises, he prevailed upon them to endure these hardships for a few days; within this space the East India ship arrived, which he took and carried home in triumph; so that throughout the whole war, there was no expedition so happily conducted as this, with respect to reputation or profit<sup>a</sup>; and therefore we need not wonder, that upon his return the mighty applause he received might render him somewhat elate, as his enemies report it did; but certain it is, that no man's pride had ever a happier turn, since it always vented itself in service to the public.

Thus at this time he undertook to bring water into the town of Plymouth, through the want of which till then it had been grievously distressed; and he performed it by conducting thither a stream from springs at eight miles distance, that is to say, in a straight line; for in the manner by which he brought it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles<sup>o</sup>. It was in consequence of the journals, charts and papers taken on board his East India prize, that it was judged practicable for us to enter into that trade; for promoting which, the queen by letters patent, in the forty-third year of her reign, erected our first India Company. To this we may also add, he first brought in tobacco, the use of which was much promoted by the practice of Sir Walter Raleigh. How much this nation has gained by

<sup>a</sup> See an original letter of Sir Francis Drake, dated the 27th of April 1587, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, acquainting him with his success at Cadiz, in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 451. Camden, p. 551. Sir W. Monson's naval tracts, p. 170. Risdon's survey of Devon. vol. iii. p. 261.

<sup>o</sup> Walscot's survey of Devonshire, MS. Stowe's annals, p. 808. Risdon's survey of Devon. vol. i. p. 69, 70.

these branches of commerce, of which he was properly the author, I leave to the intelligent reader's consideration <sup>p</sup>.

In 1558, Sir Francis Drake was appointed vice-admiral, under Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England; here his fortune favoured him as remarkable as ever; for he made prize of a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded on the bare mention of his name. In this vessel fifty thousand ducats were distributed among the seamen and soldiers, which preserved that love they had always borne to this their valiant commander. It must not, however, be dissembled, that through an oversight of his, the admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, he being in full pursuit of some hulks, belonging to the Hanse-towns, neglected it; which occasioned the admiral's following the Spanish lights, and remaining almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, his succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by that squadron under his command <sup>q</sup>.

The next year he was employed as admiral at sea, over the fleet sent to restore Don Antonio, king of Portugal; the command of the land-forces being given to Sir John Norris. They were hardly got out to sea before these commanders differed; though it is on all hands agreed, that there never was an admiral better disposed with respect to soldiers, than Sir Francis Drake. The ground of their difference was this; the general was bent on landing at the Groyne, whereas Sir Francis and the sea-officers were for sailing to Lisbon directly; in which, if their advice had been taken, without question their enterprize would have succeeded, and Don Antonio had been restored. For it afterwards appeared, on their invading Portugal, that the enemy had made use of the time they gave them, to so good purpose, that it was not possible to make any impression. Sir

<sup>p</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 445, 551. R. Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum, hist. lib. iv. p. 126. Winstanley's British worthies, p. 211. <sup>q</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 565, 573. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. i. p. 602. Sir W. Monson's naval tracts, p. 172. Stowe, p. 747. Speed, p. 860. Strype's annals, vol. iii.

John Norris indeed marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake very imprudently promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but, when he saw the consequences which would have attended the keeping of his word, he chose rather to break his promise than to hazard the queen's navy; for which he was grievously reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair was imputed to his failure in performing what he had undertaken. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return; for he made it manifest to the queen and council; that all the service that was done was performed by him, and that his failing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off; and; without reducing that, there was no taking the town'.

His next service was the fatal undertaking in conjunction with Sir John Hawkins, in 1594, for the destroying Nombre de Dios, of which I have already given an account, to the death of the last-mentioned commander, which, as we have shewn, was the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto-Rico. This was performed, with all the courage imaginable, on the 13th of November, 1595, and attended with great loss to the Spaniards, yet with very little advantage to the English; who, meeting with a more resolute resistance and much better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hacha, which he burnt to the ground, a church and a single house belonging to a lady only excepted. After this he destroyed some other villages, and then proceeded to Santa Martha, which he likewise burned. The like fate had the famous town of Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom any of these places, and the booty taken in them being very inconsiderable. On the 29th of December Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the second of January, finding the design of reducing that place to be wholly impracticable. This

<sup>r</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 601—806. Sir William Monson's naval tract, p. 174. Stowe's annals, p. 755. See Captain William Fennor's relation of this MISERABLE ACTION, (as he styles it), preserved in Dr. Birch's memoirs of that reign, vol. i. p. 58.

disappoint-

disappointment made such an impression on the admiral's mind, that it threw him into a lingering fever, attended with a flux, of which he died on the twenty-eighth, about four in the morning, though Sir William Monson hints, that there were great doubts whether it was barely his sickness that killed him. Such was the end of this great man, when he had lived about fifty years<sup>1</sup>; but his memory will survive as long as that world lasts which he first surrounded. Hitherto we have spoken of his public actions; let us now, as we have ample and excellent materials, discourse somewhat of his person and character.

He was low of stature, but well set; had a broad open chest, a very round head, his hair of a fine brown, his beard full and comely, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh, chearful, and very engaging countenance<sup>2</sup>. As navigation had been his whole study, so he understood it thoroughly, and was a perfect master in every branch, especially in astronomy, and in the application thereof to the nautic art. As all men have enemies, and all eminent men abundance of them, we need not wonder that Sir Francis Drake, who performed so many great things, should have as much ill spoken of him, as there was of any man of the age in which he lived. Those who disliked him, alledged that he was a man of low birth, haughty in his temper, ostentatious; self-sufficient, an immoderate speaker, and though indisputably a good seaman, no great general; in proof of which they took notice of his neglecting to furnish his fleet thoroughly in 1585; his not keeping either St. Domingo or Carthagenæ after he had taken them; the slender provision he made in his expedition to Portugal; his breaking his word to Sir John Norris, and the errors he committed in his last undertaking<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Relation of a voyage into the West Indies, made by Sir Francis Drake, accompanied with Sir John Hawkins, Sir Thomas Baskerville, Sir Nicholas Clifford and others, who set forth from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August 1595; London, 1652, 4to. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 583. Camden, p. 700. Roberti Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum historiz, lib. viii. p. 208. English hero, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Stowe, p. 808. Fuller's holy state, p. 130. See the relation, &c. just cited, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 399. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. vi. p. 1185. Stowe, p. 808. See his character, and a brief relation of some of the memorable actions of this worthy person, published in his lifetime, in Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1567, 1568.

In excuse of these it is said, that the glory of what he did, might very well remove the imputation of his mean descent; what was thought haughtiness in him, might be no more than a just concern for the support of his authority; his display of his great services, a thing incident to his profession; and his love of speaking, qualified by his wisdom and eloquence, which hindered him from ever dropping a weak or an ungraceful expression. In equipping his fleet, he was not so much in fault as those whom he trusted; sickness hindered his keeping the places he took in the West Indies; his councils were continually crossed by the land officers in his voyage to Portugal; and as to his last attempt, the Spaniards were certainly well acquainted with his design, at least as soon as he left England, if not before. His voyage round the world, however, remains an incontestible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, quick-sightedness, and public spirit, since therein he did every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own reputation or private gain\*.

The only act of his whole life that laid him open to just censure, was his severity towards Mr. John Doughty, which I have touched before, and which many reasons incline me to mention again. The cause, he alledged, was Doughty's attempting to raise some disturbance in the fleet, which, they say, was partly proved from his own confession, and partly from papers found in his custody\*. But in those days it was shrewdly suspected, that Doughty was sent abroad for no other purpose than to meet with his end; and this, because he had charged the great earl of Leicester with poisoning the earl of Essex†. A fact generally believed at that time, on account of the Earl's marrying in a short space Lettice, countess of Essex,

\* *Camdeni annales*, p. 351. *The world encompassed*, p. 208. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 399. *English hero*, p. 206. *Ridson's survey of Devonshire*, vol. ii. p. 260—262.

† This story is plainly and circumstantially told in the relation we have in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 733; and is also mentioned in Mr. Winter's account of his voyage, p. 752. but in the relation printed in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. I. p. 46. it is slipped over in one line.

‡ Winstanley's English worthies, in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

with whom the world held him to be too familiar before, and this to have made that Lord's death necessary.

The fullest account I know of this matter, is to be found in a poem called *Leicester's Ghost*; wherein there is a great deal of true, and I doubt not a little false history. The stanzas relating to this matter are as follow<sup>2</sup>:

I doubted, least that Doughtie would bewray  
My counsel, and with other party take;  
Wherefore, the sooner him to rid away,  
I sent him forth to sea with Captain Drake,  
Who knew how t' entertaine him for my sake.  
Before he went, his lot by me was cast;  
His death was plotted, and perform'd in haste.

He hoped well; but I did so dispose,  
That he at port St. Gillian lost his head;  
Having no time permitted to disclose  
The inward griefs that in his heart were bred;  
We need not fear the biting of the dead.  
Now let him go, transported to the seas,  
And tell my secrets to th' Antipodes,

Yet it may be offered in defence of Sir Francis Drake, that this man was openly put to death, after as fair a trial by a jury of twelve men, as the circumstances of time and place would permit; that he submitted patiently to his sentence, and received the sacrament with Drake, whom he embraced immediately before his execution. Besides these, there are two points which deserve particular consideration: First, that in such expeditions, strict discipline and legal severity are often absolutely necessary. Secondly, that as to the Earl of Essex, for whose death Doughty had expressed concern, he was Drake's first patron; and it is therefore very improbable he should destroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. Camden

<sup>2</sup> P. 22, 23. This is a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1641, and most of the facts contained in it are taken from *Leicester's Commonwealth*, written by Father Persons; as the reader may perceive, by comparing these stanzas with what is said of Doughty's death in that book, p. 49.

and Johnson mention the fact and the report<sup>a</sup>, but in such a manner as seems to justify Drake : and indeed, on the strictest review of the evidence, I can see no probable ground to condemn him.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live under the reign of a princefs, who never failed to distinguish merit, or to bestow her favours where she saw desert. Sir Francis Drake was always her favourite, and she gave a very lucky proof of it in respect to a quarrel he had with his countryman, afterwards Sir Bernard Drake, whose arms Sir Francis had assumed ; which so provoked the other, who was a seaman, and an enterprizing seaman likewise, that he gave him a box on the ear. The queen took up the quarrel, and gave Sir Francis a new coat ; which is thus blazoned ; Sable a fess wavy between two pole-stars argent ; for his crest, A ship on a globe under ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds ; over it this motto, *AUXILIO DIVINO* ; underneath, *SIC PARVIS MAGNA* ; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a wivern, gules, which was the arms of Sir Bernard Drake<sup>b</sup>. Her majesty's kindness, however, did not extend beyond the grave ; for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake, the companion of his dangers, whom he made his heir, to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which not a little diminished the advantages he would otherwise have reaped from his brother's succession<sup>c</sup>.

It would swell this work beyond its intended bulk, if we should enter particularly into the history of all the remarkable commanders who flourished in the reign of Queen Elisabeth, and therefore we shall be more concise in our accounts of such heroes as are yet to mention, and whose actions it would be however injurious to the reader to pass over in absolute silence.

**SIR MARTIN FROBISHER**, or, as in many writers he is called, **FORBISHER**, was a native of Yorkshire, born near Doncaster,

<sup>a</sup> Camdeni annales, vol. ii. p. 355. Johnsoni rerum Britannicarum hist. lib. ii. p. 67. Dr. Thomas Fuller had a MS. of Mr. George Fortescue, who went the voyage with Drake, but he says nothing of Captain Doughty.

<sup>b</sup> This story is related by Prince from the mouth of Sir John Drake, Bart. a direct descendant from Sir Bernard. The glory of generosity, by John Ferne, London, 1586, 4to. p. 144, 145. <sup>c</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tract, p. 400.

of mean parents, who bred him to the sea<sup>d</sup>. We have very little account of his junior years, or the manner in which they were spent. He distinguished himself first by undertaking the discovery of the north-west passage in 1576, and made a voyage that year, wherein though he had no success, yet it gained him great reputation<sup>e</sup>. In the year 1577 he undertook a second expedition, and in 1578 a third, in all which he gave the highest proofs of his courage and conduct in providing for the safety of his men, and yet pushing the discovery he went upon as far as it was possible; so that, notwithstanding his disappointment, he still preserved his credit, and this in spite of a little accident, which would certainly have overturned the good opinion entertained of a less esteemed commander. He brought from the straits, which he discovered, and which are still known by his name, a large quantity of black, soft stone, full of yellow shining grains, which he supposed to be gold ore; but after numberless trials it was reported to be worth nothing, and so thrown away<sup>f</sup>. On this occasion I cannot help taking notice of an accident of the like nature which happened to the mate of a vessel belonging to the Greenland company, sent to make discoveries to the north-west. He brought home likewise a quantity of shining sand, which he apprehended contained gold, but upon trial it was judged to be of no value, and the ill usage, which on account of this supposed mistake the poor man met with, broke his heart. Many years afterwards the chancellor of Denmark shewed a small parcel of this kind of sand from Norway to an intelligent chymist, (the rest by his express orders having been all thrown into the sea); and this extracted a quantity of pure gold out of that sand<sup>g</sup>, in which also the Copenhagen artist could find none.

But to return to Frobisher; he commanded her majesty's ship the *Triumph* in the famous sea-fight with the Spanish armada, and therein did such excellent service, that he was among the number of the few knights made by the lord high-admiral on

<sup>d</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 808.

<sup>e</sup> A very full account of his voyages above-mentioned may be found in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 26—96.

<sup>f</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 680, 681, 685. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1262, 1270, 1271. Speed, p. 852.

<sup>g</sup> La Peyrere, relation du Groenland, a M. la Mothe le Vayer, p. 67. Churchill's voyages (where this is translated), vol. i. p. 558. Egede's natural history of Groenland, chap. ii. p. 27, 32. chap. iii. p. 47, 48, 49.

that

that signal occasion<sup>b</sup>. In 1590 he commanded a squadron on the coast of Spain, which hindered the coming home of the plate-fleet. In 1592 Sir Martin Frobisher took the charge of a fleet fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, which went to the coast of Spain; and though he had but three ships, yet he made a shift to burn one rich galleon and bring home another<sup>c</sup>. In 1594 he failed to the coast of France to assist in retaking Brest, which was regularly attacked on the land-side by Sir John Norris with three thousand English forces, at the same time that our admiral blocked up the port. The garrison defended themselves bravely, till such time as Sir Martin landed his sailors, and, desperately storming the place, carried it at once, but with the loss of several captains, Sir Martin himself receiving a shot in his side; and this, through want of skill in his surgeon, proved the cause of his death, which happened at Plymouth within a few days after his return<sup>d</sup>. He was one of the most able seamen of his time; of undaunted courage, great presence of mind, and equal to almost any undertaking; yet in his carriage blunt, and a very strict observer of discipline, even to a degree of severity which hindered his being beloved<sup>e</sup>.

THOMAS CAVENDISH of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, Esq; was a gentleman (in my conception) of the original house of that great name, though most writers say, descended from a noble family of the same name in Devonshire, but certainly possessed of a very plentiful estate, which he, being a man of wit and great good humour, hurt pretty deeply by his expences at court. Upon this he took it in his head to repair his shattered fortune (according to the mode of those times) at the expence of the Spaniards<sup>f</sup>.

With which view he built two ships from the stocks, one of a hundred and twenty, the other of threescore tons; and with

<sup>b</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 576.

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Monson's naval traſts, p. 177.

<sup>k</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr. Oldys, p. 63—65.

<sup>l</sup> Camdeni annales,

p. 680. Stowe, p. 809. Fuller's worthies in Yorkshire, p. 203.

<sup>m</sup> Stowe's

annals, p. 808. Sir William Monson's naval traſts, p. 181. R. Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum hiſt. p. 203. The memorable ſervice of Sir John Norris at Brest in Bretagne, by Thomas Churchyard, London, 1601, 4to, p. 135—141. Fuller's worthies in Yorkshire, p. 202, 203.

<sup>n</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 552.

Stowe's annals, p. 808. Sir William Monson's naval traſts, p. 401.

these, and a bark of forty tons, he sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586. He first made the coast of Barbary, then steered for Brazil, and entered the straits of Magellan the 5th of January, 1587, and passed them very happily; then, coasting along Chili and Peru, he took abundance of rich prizes, continuing his course as high as California; he there took the *St. Anne*, which Mr. Cavendish, in a letter to my Lord Hunsdon, rightly calls an *Acapulco* ship, though in most of the relations of his voyage she is styled the *admiral of the South-seas*. Her cargo was of immense value, which his ships being too small to carry, he was forced to burn, taking out of her however as much gold as was worth sixty thousand pounds. He then steered for the Philippine islands, where he safely arrived, and proceeded from them to Java Major, which he reached the first of March, 1588. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope the first of June, and so without any remarkable accident returned safe to Plymouth the ninth of September in the same year, having sailed completely round the globe, and brought home what was in that age considered as an amazing fortune<sup>o</sup>.

This, however, as his patrimony before, he quickly wasted, and in the year 1591 was compelled to think of another voyage, which was far from being so successful as the former. He left Plymouth the 26th of August, 1591, with three stout ships, and two barks. On the eighth of April, 1592, he fell in with the straits of Magellan, and continued in them to the fifteenth of May, when, on account of the badness of the weather, he determined to return, which accordingly he did to the coast of Brazil, and there died of grief. One of his ships, the *Desire*, under the command of Mr. John Davis, actually passed the straits<sup>p</sup>.

ANOTHER great adventurer by sea was Mr. EDWARD FENTON, a gentleman who distinguished himself by several gallant exploits, in this active and busy reign. He was descended from

<sup>o</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 803. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 57. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 401. Camdeni annales, p. 552. where he refers his reader to Hakluyt. Roberti Johnstoni rerum Britannicarum, hist. lib. iv. p. 126. <sup>p</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 842. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1182.

a very worthy family<sup>a</sup> in Nottinghamshire, in which county he possessed a small estate, of which himself and his younger brother disposed, inclining rather to trust to their own abilities, than to that slender provision which devolved to them by descent from their ancestors; and they are among the very few of those who did not live afterwards to repent so extraordinary a procedure. Being naturally inclined to a military life, he courted the favour of Robert earl of Leicester<sup>b</sup>, and his brother Ambrose, earl of Warwick, and was so happy as to obtain their protection and countenance. In 1577 he engaged with Sir Martin Frobisher<sup>c</sup>, in his design of discovering a north-west passage into the South-seas, having before served some time in Ireland with reputation. In this expedition he was captain of the *Gabriel*, a little bark of twenty-five tons, and accompanied that famous seaman in his voyage to the streights (which bear his name), in the summer of this year, though in their return he was unluckily separated from him in a storm, notwithstanding which he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Bristol.

In 1578 he commanded the *Judith*, one of the fifteen sail of which Sir Martin's Squadron was composed, in a third expedition<sup>d</sup>, set on foot for the like purpose, with the title of rear-admiral; sailing from Harwich on the thirty-first of May, and returning to England the first of October following. This, like the two former attempts, proved wholly unsuccessful: Capt. Fenton, however, remained firmly persuaded that such a design was certainly practicable, and was continually suggesting of what prodigious importance the discovery of a passage to the north-west must be, to the commerce and navigation of this kingdom, and which might, notwithstanding the repeated disappointments it had been hitherto attended with, be again resumed with the highest probability of success. His frequent solicitations on this head, joined to the powerful interest of the earl of Leicester, at length procured him another opportunity of trying his fortune, and that in a way, and with such a force, as could not fail of gratifying his ambition to the utmost.

<sup>a</sup> Thoroton's history of Nottinghamshire, p. 415. Fuller's worthies in that county, p. 318.

<sup>b</sup> See the instructions given him on undertaking his last voyage, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 755.

<sup>c</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 681.

<sup>d</sup> Holingshed's chronicle, vol. ii. p. 1271.

Of this voyage, which was chiefly set forth at the expence of the earl of Cumberland; we have several authentic accounts, and yet it is not easy to apprehend the true design of it. The instructions given by the privy-council to Mr. Fenton, and which are still preserved; say expressly, that he should endeavour the discovery of a north-west passage, but by a new route, which is laid down to him, *viz.* he was to go by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies; and being arrived at the Moluccas, he was to go from thence to the South-seas; and to attempt his return by the so-long-sought north-west passage, and not by any means to think of passing the streights of Magellan, except in case of absolute necessity<sup>t</sup>. Notwithstanding these instructions, Sir William Monson tells us plainly, that Mr. Fenton was sent to try his fortune in the South-seas<sup>u</sup>; and so, most certainly, himself understood it. In the month of May, 1582, Mr. Fenton left the English coast, with three stout ships and a bark. With these he sailed; first to the coast of Africa, and then for that of Brazil directly, from whence he intended to have sailed for the streights of Magellan; but hearing there that the king of Spain, who had better intelligence, it seems, of his project and of his real intentions, than he would have obtained if he had read his instructions, had sent Don Diego Flores de Valdez, with a strong fleet into the streights to intercept him, he, upon mature deliberation, resolved to return. Putting into a Portuguese settlement to refit, he there met with three of the Spanish squadron; one of which was their vice-admiral, which he sunk, after a very brisk engagement, and then put to sea, in order to come home. His vice-admiral, Captain Luke Ward, after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived safely in England, on the thirty-first of May, 1583<sup>w</sup>.

Captain Fenton likewise returned safely to England, and, for any thing that appears, preserved his credit, though he had the mortification not to accomplish his purpose; and this is the more probable, as we find him again at sea in 1588, and entrusted with the command of one of the queen's ships, the *Antelope*,

<sup>t</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 704.    <sup>u</sup> Naval tracts, p. 402.    <sup>w</sup> We have an account of this voyage, written by this Captain Luke Ward, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 757. Sir Richard Hawkins, in his observations, § xxxv. p. 85. See also Dr. Birch's memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 39.

as some <sup>x</sup> write, though others <sup>y</sup> make him captain of the *Mary Rose*; whichever ship it was, he is allowed on all hands to have behaved with a becoming spirit <sup>z</sup>, and to have given very singular marks of courage, in that famous action. He passed the latter part of his life, at or near Deptford, deceasing in the spring of the year 1603, and lies buried in the parish-church of that place, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory by the great earl of Corke, who married his niece, with a very elegant inscription thereon <sup>a</sup>.

Notwithstanding the disappointment which this gentleman met with, fresh attempts were made for the discovery of this so-much-desired passage to the north-west, in which Captain John Davis, a most knowing and active seaman, was employed. The first was in 1585; a second time he failed in 1586; but in both voyages atchieved nothing beyond raising of his own reputation, which continued to be very great for upwards of thirty years <sup>b</sup>. Sir William Monson tells us, that he conferred with this Mr. Davis, as well as Sir Martin Frobisher, on this subject, and that they were able to give him no more assurance, than those who had never gone so far; though he confesses, they did offer him (which was all he could expect) some very plausible reasons to prove, that such a passage there was. In his discourse on this subject, he labours hard to represent the undertaking as, in its nature, impracticable; but, admitting it were not so, he pretends to shew, that no such mighty advantages as are expected could be reaped from this discovery. He concludes his discourse with hinting, that a more profitable, and at the same time a more probable attempt, might be made by sailing due north directly under the pole, which he supposes would render the passage between us and China, no more than fifteen hundred leagues <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Stowe, *Strype*.

<sup>y</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 171.

<sup>z</sup> Camden, tome ii. p. 574. Ubalduino's discourse of the Spanish fleet invading England, p. 26, 27. Bishop Carleton's remembrancer, p. 154.

<sup>a</sup> See the inscription at large in Fuller; in which he is said to have been equire of the body to Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>b</sup> We have an account of all the voyages in Hakluyt, as also of a voyage of his to the East Indies, in 1604. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 132.

<sup>c</sup> Naval tracts, p. 426.

AMONGST the naval heroes of this glorious reign, we must not forget **GEORGE CLIFFORD**, earl of Cumberland, who undertook many expeditions, both in Europe and the West Indies, at his own expence, and in several hazarded his person, merely to serve his queen and country, and thereby acquire a just right to fame. In some of those voyages Sir William Monson assisted, and has left us accounts of them, and of the rest we have many relations extant. It does not appear, however, that the earl added any thing to his private fortune, by these testimonies of his public spirit; and therefore the queen, to shew how just a sense she had of his zeal and resolution, honoured him, in the year 1592, with a garter, which, in her reign, was never bestowed till it had been deserved by signal services to the public. This noble peer survived the queen, and was in great favour, and in very high esteem with her successor. He deceased in 1605, and was the last heir-male of his noble family<sup>d</sup>.

Sir **ROBERT DUDLEY**, son to the great earl of Leicester, by the Lady Douglas Sheffield, daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, distinguished himself by his application to maritime affairs, by his great skill in them, and by his known encouragement to eminent seamen, as well as by his personal exploits, which were such as deserve to be remembered. He was born at Sheen in Surry, in 1573<sup>e</sup>, and having received the first tincture of letters from one Mr. Owen Jones, at Offington in Suffex, to whose care and diligence, in that respect, he had been committed by his father<sup>f</sup>, he was sent to Oxford in 1587, and entered of Christ-Church, being recommended to the inspection of Mr. Chaloner, afterwards the learned Sir Thomas Chaloner, and tutor to Prince Henry, under whom he profited so well in his studies, as to raise the highest expectations, and which he lived abundantly to fulfil. By the demise of his father, who breathed his last September the 4th, 1588<sup>g</sup>, at his house at Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, Sir Robert became intitled, on the

<sup>d</sup> Camden, Stowe, Speed, Holingshed.  
lib. ii. p. 275.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. antiq. univers. Oxon.

<sup>f</sup> Dugdale's antiquities of Warwickshire, edit. 1656. p.

167.

<sup>g</sup> The celebrated Lord Burleigh's diary of the queen's reign, in Murdin's collection of state papers, p. 788. Stowe's annals, p. 750.

death of his uncle Ambrose, earl of Warwick, to the princely castle of Kenilworth in Warwickshire, and other large estates<sup>a</sup>. He was considered, at this time, as one of the most accomplished young gentlemen in the kingdom, having a very agreeable person, tall, finely shaped, an admirable complexion, his hair inclining to red; a very graceful air, and learned beyond his years, particularly in the mathematics; very expert in his exercises, such as tilting, riding the great horse, and other manly feats, in which he is reported to have excelled most of his rank<sup>b</sup>. Having, from his earliest youth, a particular turn to navigation, he took a resolution, when he was scarce two and twenty years of age, of making a voyage into the South-sea, for which great preparations were made; but, before he could put it in execution, the queen and her ministers interposing, the project was dropped<sup>c</sup>.

In 1594 he fitted out a squadron of four sail, at his own expence, and leaving Southampton on the sixth of November, proceeded for the coast of Spain, where he lost the company of the other three ships. This, however, did not hinder him from continuing his voyage to the West Indies; and, in doing this, he took two large ships, though of no great value. After remaining some time about the island of Trinidad, he found himself under a necessity of returning home, in a much worse condition than he went out; and yet, coming up, in his passage, with a Spanish ship of 600 tons, his own vessel being of no greater burden than 200, he engaged her, fought two whole days, till his powder was quite exhausted, and then left her, but in so torn and shattered a condition, that she afterwards sunk. This made the ninth ship which he had either taken, sunk, or burnt, in his voyage<sup>d</sup>.

He accompanied the earl of Essex and the lord high-admiral Howard in the beginning of June 1596 in the famous expedition to Cadiz, and received the honour of knighthood on the 8th of August following for the signal services he there performed<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See the last will of Robert earl of Leicester, in Mr. Collins's memoirs of the Sidneys prefixed to the first volume of the Sidney papers, p. 70.    <sup>b</sup> Wood's athen. Oxen. vol. ii. col. 127.

<sup>c</sup> See the introduction to his voyage to the island of Trinidad, written by himself at the request of Mr. Richard Hakluyt.    <sup>d</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 574.

<sup>e</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 771.    Speed, p. 869.

Endeavouring some years after to prove the legitimacy of his birth, he met with so many obstacles in his attempt, that, conceiving himself highly injured thereby, he determined to quit England<sup>a</sup>, and embarking for Italy, fixed upon Florence for the place of his retreat, where he met with a most distinguished reception from the then reigning grand duke of Tuscany, and the Archduchess Magdalen of Austria, sister to the Emperor Ferdinand II.<sup>o</sup>

In this his delightful retirement he became so much admired, and gave such shining proofs of his great abilities, particularly in devising several methods for the improvement of shipping, introducing various manufactures, instructing the natives how to enlarge their foreign commerce, and other affairs of like consequence, that the emperor, at the request of the archduchess, to whom Sir Robert had some time before been appointed great chamberlain, was pleased, by letters-patent bearing date at Vienna, March 9, 1620, to create him a duke and count of the empire, by the title of duke of Northumberland and earl of Watwick<sup>b</sup>; and in 1630 he was by his Holiness Pope Urban VIII. enrolled among the nobility of Rome<sup>c</sup>. It was during his residence in this country that he formed his great design of making Leghorn a free port, which has been of such prodigious importance to the dukes of Tuscany ever since<sup>d</sup>. In acknowledgment of such infinite merit the grand duke assigned him a very liberal pension, made him a present of the castle of Carbello, a most magnificent villa three miles from Florence, which he so adorned and beautified as to render it one of the fairest and finest palaces in Italy, and in which he paid his last debt to nature in the month of September, 1649, in the 76th year of his age, having acquired a very extensive reputation in the republic of letters by his learned writings, more especially from the following curious work,

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale's antiquities of Warwickshire, p. 166.  
vol. ii. col. 127.

<sup>o</sup> Wood's athen. Oxon.

<sup>b</sup> The letters patent at large, under the golden seal of the empire, are prefixed to the first volume of that elaborate performance mentioned in the text.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

<sup>d</sup> Fuller's worthies in Surrey, p. 84.

Bishop Burnet's travels through Switzerland, letter v. Lloyd's state-worthies, p. 761.

which

which is exceeding rare, and of which there are very few copies in this kingdom<sup>c</sup>.

The title runs thus: "Arcano del mare di D. Ruberto Dudo-  
"leo duca di Northumbria, e conte di Warwich. Diviso in libri  
"sei. Nel primo de quali si tratta della longitudine praticabile  
"in diversi modi, d'invenzione dell' autore. Nel secondo, delle  
"carte sue generali e de portolani rettificati in longitudine, e  
"latitudine nel Terzo, della disciplina sua marittima e militare.  
"Nel quarto, dell' architettura sua nautica di vascelli da guer-  
"ra. Nel quinta, della navigazione scientifica, e perfetta, cive  
"spirale, o di gran Circoli. Nel sesto, delle carte sue geografiche,  
"e particolari. Impressione seconda. Corretta et accresciuta,  
"secondo l'originale del medesimo eccellentiss. Signor Duca,  
"che si conserva nella libreria del convento di Firenze della  
"Pace, de monaci di S. Bernardo dell' ordine Fulienfe. Con  
"l'Indicè de capitoli, e delle figure, et istruzione à librai per  
"legarle. Al serenissimo Ferdinando Secondo granduca di  
"Toscana. In Fiorenza, 1661-2, tom. fol."

It is elegantly printed on very large imperial paper, enriched with upwards of six hundred fine plates, consisting of maps, charts, plans, and other authentic testimonies of the excellent genius of its illustrious author, admirably engraved. The chapters to the first five books, which compose the first volume, as well as those of the sixth, which comprehend the second, are again subdivided into several sections, and make in the whole one hundred and forty-three pages. Immediately after the title, page 20 the first volume appears a general index to the first five books; next the letters-patent of Ferdinand II.; then a short advertisement by the editor, addressed to the learned reader, setting forth the many advantages of this edition, with a brief index to the whole six books, which is followed by a proemial discourse or preface on the mathematical science as far as relates to his subject, intended as an introduction to his great work, by the duke of Northumberland. The first edition appeared in 1630 and 1646, the two volumes coming out at different periods<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. Oxon. vol. ii, col. 128. The copy at Oxford, Anthony Wood says, is kept as a rarity in the archives of the Bodleian library. <sup>d</sup> There is a copy (presented by Sir R. Moray) in the library of the royal society.

SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, son to the famous Sir John Hawkins of whom we have before briefly spoken, was born at Plymouth in Devonshire; and, as he was little inferior to his father in skill or courage, he resembled him also but too much in his misfortunes<sup>t</sup>. In 1593 he fitted out two large ships and a pinnace at his own expence, and had the queen's commission empowering him to infest the Spaniards in South-America. His expedition was unlucky from his very first setting out; and yet, notwithstanding a number of untoward accidents, he resolutely persisted in his design of passing the straits of Magellan, and surrounding the globe, as Drake and Cavendish had done. He shared, however, in none of their success, though he met with most of their difficulties. One Captain Tharleton, who had been very culpable in distressing Mr. Cavendish in his last voyage, was guilty of the like baseness towards Sir Richard Hawkins; for, though he knew his pinnace was burnt, he deserted him at the river of Plate, and returned home, leaving Sir Richard to pursue his voyage through the straits of Magellan with one ship only, which, with equal prudence and resolution, he performed in the spring of the year 1594, and, entering into the South-seas, took several prizes, one of which was of considerable value. On the coasts of Peru he was attacked by Don Bertrand de Castro, who had with him a squadron of eight sail, and two thousand choice men on board; yet Hawkins made a shift to disengage himself, after he had done the Spaniards incredible damage: but staying too long in the South-seas, in order to take more prizes, he was attacked a second time by Admiral de Castro, who was now stronger than before; yet Hawkins defended himself gallantly for three days and three nights; and then, most of his men being killed, his ship in a manner sinking under him, and himself dangerously wounded, he was prevailed on to surrender upon very honourable terms, *viz.* that himself and all on board should have a free passage to England as soon as might be.

After he was in the enemies hands, Don Bertrand de Castro shewed him a letter from the king of Spain to the viceroy of Peru, wherein was contained a very exact account of Hawkins's expedition, the number of his ships, their burden, men, guns,

<sup>t</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 391.

ammunition,

ammunition, &c. which demonstrated how close a correspondence his Catholic Majesty entertained with some who were too well acquainted with Queen Elizabeth's councils<sup>u</sup>. He continued a long time prisoner in America, where he was treated with great humanity by Admiral de Castro; but in the end, by order of the court of Spain, he was sent thither, instead of returning to England, and remained for several years a prisoner in Seville and Madrid. At length he was released, and returned to his native country, where he spent the latter part of his life in peace, leaving behind him a large account of his adventures to the time of his being taken by the Spaniards<sup>v</sup>, and intended to have written a second part, in which he was prevented by a sudden death; for, having some business which called him to attend the privy-council, he was struck with an apoplexy in one of the outer rooms. Mr. Westcot, speaking of this accident, says very justly of this gentleman and his father<sup>x</sup>, "That if fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any age." Some of his descendants are still remaining in Devonshire, but in an obscure condition<sup>y</sup>.

CAPTAIN JAMES (by many called JOHN) LANCASTER was fitted out by some merchants of London to cruize on the coast of Brazil, then in the hands of the Spaniards. He sailed from Dartmouth the 30th of November, 1594, with three ships; one of 140, another of 170, and the third of 60 tons: on board these were 275 men and boys. In the space of a few weeks they took thirty-nine Spanish ships, four of which they kept, and plundered the rest; and then, joining with Captain Venner at the isle of May, they steered for the coast of Brazil, where they took the city of Fernambuco on the 20th of March, 1595, in a manner scarce to be paralleled in history; for Captain Lancaster

<sup>u</sup> Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, p. 122, 143, 154, 169.      <sup>v</sup> This book was put to the press in his lifetime, but was published by a friend, after his decease, in 1562, in folio, under the title of "The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, in his voyage to the South-sea, A. D. 1593. printed for John Jaggard at the hand and star in Fleet-street." See also Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1367. and Captain Ellis's account, p. 1475.      <sup>x</sup> Description of Devonshire, Art. Plymouth, M. S.      <sup>y</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 392.

ordered his fine new pinnace, in which he landed his men, to be beat to pieces on the shore, and sunk his boats, that his men might see, they must either die or conquer; the sight of which so frightened the Spaniards and Portuguese, that, after a very poor defence, they abandoned the lower town. This the English held for thirty days, in which space they were attacked eleven times by the enemy<sup>a</sup>. The spoil was exceeding rich, and amounted to so great a quantity, that Captain Lancaster hired three sail of large Dutch ships, and four Frenchmen to carry it home; and, having thus increased his fleet to fifteen ships, he brought them safely into the Downs in the month of July, 1595. This was the most lucrative adventure, on a private account, throughout the whole war; and the courage and conduct of the commander appears so conspicuously therein, that he deserves to be ever remembered with honour<sup>a</sup>, even supposing he had performed nothing more. But it appears from several circumstances in the relations, that he was the same who opened the trade to the Indies.

We have already taken notice of the patent granted to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth in the year 1600. Their first stock consisted of seventy-two thousand pounds; and the first fleet they fitted out as a company consisted of four large ships which sailed from London, February 13, 1600, under the command of this Mr. James Lancaster, who was afterwards knighted, and who performed his voyage to Achen very successfully, and established the English trade throughout the Indies as happily and prudently as could be wished. In his return his ship, which was the *Dragon*, was in the utmost peril off the Cape of Good Hope, having lost her rudder, and being otherwise much damaged; yet he refused to go on board the *Hector*, contenting himself with writing a short letter to the company, wherein he told them, they might be sure he would do his utmost to save the ship and cargo, by thus venturing his own life and the lives of those who were with him, adding this remarkable postscript in the midst of his confusion:

“ The passage to the East Indies lies in 62 degrees, 30 minutes,  
“ by the north-west, on the America side.”

<sup>a</sup> Camdeni annales, p. 693.

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 708.

He had, however, the good fortune to get into the port of St. Helena, where he repaired his weather-beaten ship as well as he could, brought her safely into the Downs the 11th of September, 1603, and lived near thirty years afterwards in an honourable affluence, acquired chiefly by this successful voyage<sup>b</sup>.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM PARKER of Plymouth was fitted out by certain merchants to cruize on the Spaniards in the West Indies in 1601. His whole strength consisted in two ships, one of 130, and the other of 60 tons, with about 220 men<sup>c</sup>. He sailed in the month of November, reduced St. Vincent, one of the cape de Verd islands; then, steering for the coast of America, he took the town of la Rancheria in the island of Cubagua, where the pearl-fishery is, and plundered it. He proceeded next to Porto-bello, which was then a very strong, well-built town: entering the port by moon-light, he passed without resistance, and attacked the place by surprise<sup>d</sup>. The governor Don Pedro Melendez made a gallant defence in the king's treasury, to which he retreated; but at length that too was carried by assault, and the governor taken. The booty was far from being considerable, and the best part of it Captain Parker distributed amongst his men. Notwithstanding this disappointment, our hero behaved most generously towards the enemy; he set Don Pedro at liberty, out of respect to his courage; he spared the place, because it was well built, and burning it could do him no good; he set his prisoners at large, because the money was really gone, and they had not wherewith to pay their ransom. Having done all this, he passed the forts at the mouth of the harbour, by the fire of which the Spaniards supposed they should infallibly have sunk his vessels, and returned with immortal glory to Plymouth sound the 6th of May 1602<sup>e</sup>. The Spaniards themselves mention his behaviour with honour and applause.

<sup>b</sup> Camden. annal. p. 639. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. i. p. 147.

collection of voyages, vol. i. p. 747.

Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1243.

<sup>c</sup> Prince's worthies of Devon.

<sup>d</sup> See the captain's relation in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1243.

<sup>e</sup> Life of Captain Parker in a supplement

THESE are the principal naval heroes who flourished in that glorious reign, wherein the foundation was strongly laid of the prodigious maritime power, and extensive commerce, which the English nation have since enjoyed. I shall conclude with wishing, that the same generous spirit may again arise with a force that may excite us to emulate the wisdom, courage, industry, and zeal for the public good; which animated our ancestors, and enabled them to surmount all difficulties, and to spread the reputation of their arms and virtues through the whole habitable world.

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L I V E S  
OF THE  
A D M I R A L S:  
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. XIII.

The Naval History of Great Britain, under the reign of King James I. including also an account of the progress of our trade, and the growth of our plantations; together with memoirs of the most eminent seamen who flourished in that space of time.

**T**HERE were many accidents that contributed to the peaceable accession of the king of Scots to the English throne, notwithstanding what had happened to his mother, and the known aversion of the nation to the dominion of strangers\*. On the one hand, the famous secretary Cecil and all his friends, who were in the principal posts of the government, had been for a long time secretly in King James's interest, though, to avoid the suspicion of their mistress, they had some-

\* *Johnstoni historiarum rerum Britannicarum, lib. x. p. 338. Spotswood's history of the church of Scotland, b. vi. p. 471. Stowe's chronicle continued, by Howes. p. 812, 817 Earl of Monmouth's memoirs, p. 175, 185. Camdeni annal. Elis. p. 912.*

times pretended an inclination to the Infanta's title<sup>b</sup>; which I suspect to have been the cause, why some persons of great quality, who sided with the Cecils against Essex, came afterwards to fall into intrigues with the court of Spain. On the other hand, the potent family of the Howards, with all such of the nobility and gentry as were inclined to the old religion, had an unfeigned affection for the king of Scots. The bulk of the people, too, were inclined to wish him for their king, out of respect for the memory of Essex, who was held to be his martyr, as well as out of dislike to some of Queen Elizabeth's ministry, who they believed would be instantly discarded, when he should be once seated on the throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful, though few open enemies to this succession, both abroad and at home. The Spaniards had views for themselves<sup>c</sup>, the French king had an aversion mixed with contempt for King James, and the Pope had many projects for restoring his power here, by bringing in some prince of his own religion<sup>d</sup>. There were, besides, some English pretenders, viz. such as claimed under the house of Suffolk, and had been competitors against Queen Mary<sup>e</sup>; and some again, as the Bassetts, who affected to derive themselves from the house of Plantagenet<sup>f</sup>; so that no

<sup>b</sup> State trials, vol. i. p. 205. The earl of Essex on his trial affirmed, that Sir Robert Cecil (afterwards earl of Salisbury) had declared, no body but the Infanta had a title to the crown of England.

<sup>c</sup> Camdeni annal. Elizabethæ, p. 673. Winwood's memorial, vol. i. p. 52. Osborne's traditional memoirs of Queen Elizabeth in his works, vol. ii. p. 59.

<sup>d</sup> Letters du Cardinal d'Orléans, tom. v. p. 52, 55, 59. Memoirs de Sully, tom. iv. liv. xiv. Birch's memoirs of the reign of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 506, 507.

<sup>e</sup> In order to have a just notion of these jarring claims, the reader may consult the famous treatise on successions, or, as the title runs in many editions, a conference about the next succession to the crown of England. This was published in 1594, by father Robert Parsons, a Jesuit, the most pestilent and pernicious book that was ever penned. His design was to weaken the title of King James, to expose the earls of Huntingdon, Derby, Hertford, &c. to the jealousy both of Queen Elizabeth and King James, and to cry up the title of the Infanta. He most insidiously dedicated it to the Earl of Essex to draw suspicion upon him, and assumed the name of R. Doleman, an inoffensive secular priest, whom he hated, and whom he would gladly have seen hanged for this production of his own, which it was made treason in Queen Elizabeth's reign for any one to have in his custody.

<sup>f</sup> Risdon's description of Devonshire, vol. i. p. 99, 101. Prince's worthies of Devonshire, p. 213, 214. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 366.

small precaution was necessary to prevent any disturbance on the death of Elizabeth, or opposition to the design the ministry had formed, of immediately proclaiming King James, and bringing him with all convenient speed to London.

In the methods made use of for this purpose, the wisdom of the great men by whom they were concerted was very conspicuous. For, in the first place, care was taken that the lieutenants in the northern counties, and all who had any authority in those parts, were such as were either well affected to King James, or absolute dependents on the then administration. As to the fleet, which was of mighty consequence at such a juncture, provision was made for its security without the least jealousy given that this was the council's intention. For, it having been found of great benefit to the nation to have a strong squadron of ships on the Spanish coast from February to November, there could be no umbrage taken at the increasing of these in the spring of the year 1602, because the war with Spain still continued; and though the lords had little confidence in Sir Richard Leveson, who for some years had been entrusted with this squadron, yet they would not remove him, but contented themselves with appointing Sir William Monson, on whom they could depend, his vice-admiral, giving him, however, the command of a better ship than the admiral himself had. They likewise intimated to Sir William, when he went to this service (the queen being then so low that her recovery was not expected), that, in case of any stir, Lord Thomas Howard should immediately come and take charge of the fleet, by entering Sir William Monson's ship, and Sir William go on board Sir Richard Leveson's, with a superseedeas to his commission<sup>a</sup>. But, as it fell out, there was no occasion for executing this project: the queen died, King James came in peaceably, was proclaimed the twenty-fourth of March 1602, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of July following; the fleet in the mean time keeping sometimes on the English, sometimes on the French coast, and

<sup>a</sup> Howes' continuation of Stowe's chronicle, p. 817. Speed, p. 844. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of James I. See the letter at length of the lords of the council, on whom the administration devolved by the death of the queen to that monarch, dated London, the twenty-fourth of March, 1603; in Spotiswood, p. 473—475.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 510.

thereby

thereby preventing any trouble from abroad, if any such had really been intended <sup>1</sup>.

King James, at his accession to the English throne, was about thirty-six years of age, and, if he had been a private person, would not have rendered himself very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to learning, he had enough, if he had known better how to use it. The greatest of his failings were timidity, dissimulation, and a high opinion of his own wisdom; which, however, were more excusable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we consider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the strange treatment he met with in Scotland from the several factions prevailing in that kingdom during his junior years, and the excessive flatteries that were heaped on him after he came hither by all ranks of people. The nature of this work does not lead me to speak of any part of his administration, except that which relates to maritime concerns, and therefore I shall content myself with observing, that, though it was impossible for him to have made himself much acquainted with such matters while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear that he was negligent of naval concerns, after he was once seated on the English throne, unless his hasty conclusion of a peace with Spain (which, however, was done by the advice of his council) may be reckoned an error in this respect; or his too great fear of engaging in any war afterwards, should be thought liable to the like censure.

The accession of King James gave a fair opportunity to the house of Austria to make an end of the long quarrel which had subsisted with England; because, during all that time, they had been in peace and amity with King James as king of Scots<sup>2</sup>. Immediately on his arrival at London, the arch-duke sent over a minister to the English court, and, in consequence of his negotiations, a peace was soon after concluded with Spain<sup>3</sup>. Some

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the earl of Monmouth. *Moyse's memoirs of the affairs of Scotland*, p. 310. Dr. Birch's *memoirs of Elizab.* vol. ii. p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Monson's *naval tracts*, p. 229. The duke de Sully, in his admirable memoirs, tom. iv. liv. xiv. and xv. where he discourses very copiously of the political affairs of England at this period. Wilson, p. 673.

<sup>3</sup> Stowe, p. 825. Speed, p. 884. Winwood's *memorials*, vol. ii. p. 3.

of the writers of those times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's ministers and favourites, especially to the countess of Suffolk, for her husband's interest, to the earl of Northumberland for his own; which gratuities, they would further persuade us, enabled them to build the two famous structures of Audley-end in Essex, and Northumberland-house in the Strand<sup>m</sup>; and, among others suspected as to this particular, there are those who insinuate, that the lord high-admiral Nottingham came in for his share on this occasion. It seems, however, more reasonable to conclude, that this peace was in reality the effect of the king's inclination, supported by the advice of his most eminent statesmen, some of whom were known to have been for this measure in the queen's time<sup>n</sup>. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both signed at London, the eighteenth of August 1604<sup>o</sup>, the constable of Castile, the greatest subject in Spain, being sent for that purpose. All the trading part of the nation were very well pleased with this proceeding, and would have been much more so, if the king had not taken a very strange step upon its conclusion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the Spanish commerce exclusively, which gave both an universal and very just offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had suffered thereby, it was but reasonable that the benefits of peace should be as diffusive. This evil, however, was of no long continuance; the parliament represented to the king so clearly the mischiefs that would inevitably attend such a monopoly, that his Majesty was content to dissolve the new-erected company, and to leave the Spanish trade entirely open<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Osborne's traditional memoirs of the reign of King James, in his works, vol. ii. p. 105. Sir A. W. Court and character of King James, p. 26, 27. See also an historical view of the negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels, from the MS. state-papers of Sir T. Edmondes, by Dr. Birch, p. 222, 223, 224.

<sup>n</sup> See the life of Lord Burleigh, written by one of his domestics, in the first volume of Peck's desiderata curiosa, p. 54. <sup>o</sup> Rymer's fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 579—596. Stowe's ann. p. 346.

<sup>p</sup> Detection of the court and state of England, by Roger Coke, Esq; p. 27. edit. 1696. See likewise the act 3 James I. c. vi. which recites, among other things, that such a monopoly tended to abate the prices of our wools and cloths, &c.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very strong party against making this peace, and who did not cease to publish their dislike and apprehensions concerning it, even after it was concluded<sup>a</sup>. The point was certainly of high importance, otherwise it would not have been so warmly canvassed in those days; and it must also have been pretty difficult, since the dispute has reached even to our days, modern writers differing as much about the wisdom of King James in this article, as those who lived in his time. To discuss the matter here, would require more room than we have to spare; to pass it entirely over would be amiss, considering the near relation it has to the subject of this work. I will therefore content myself with stating the best reasons that have been offered against the peace, as they were drawn up by the masterly hand of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the answers given to them; both which I shall leave to the reader's consideration, without fatiguing him with any comment of my own<sup>c</sup>. Sir Walter's reasons were five, turning chiefly on the inability of the king of Spain to continue the war, and the mighty profits he was likely to reap from the conclusion of the peace. 1. He alledged, "That his Catholic majesty had so exhausted his treasure, that he was no longer able to maintain the arch-duke's army in Flanders." To this it was answered, that the fact was very doubtful, especially if the king of Spain was in a condition to bestow those mighty bribes, that were said to be distributed at the time this peace was made. 2. "The interruption of his trade, and the losses of his merchants were so great, as to break both his banks at Seville." It is granted, that the subjects of the king of Spain suffered excessively by the continuance of this war, but it does not follow that we gained in proportion; neither is it clear, that if his Catholic majesty had been undone, the king of Great Britain or his subjects would have been gainers. 3. "He was afraid that the English and Netherlanders would plant in the West

<sup>a</sup> See Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 75, 93, 101. Wilson, Osborn, and all the memoir-writers of those times.

<sup>c</sup> These, which were possibly the very points of his memorial to the king against the treaty, are to be found in Sir Walter's dialogue between a recusant and a Jesuit, among the genuine remains, published at the end of an abridgment of his history of the world, by Philip Raleigh, Esq; 8vo. 1700.

"Indies." If this fear drove him to grant us better terms, it was our advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by settling in those parts of America which are claimed by Spain; and it was never pretended, that we made this war to extend the trade or to procure countries for the Dutch. 4. "The king of Spain makes this peace to recruit his coffers, and enable himself to break into war again." To judge by what was past, this could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be supposed that Spain would soon recover as great strength as she had at the commencement of the war, when yet she was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herself against us. 5. "The king of Spain took this step, that the English might decline and forget the passages and pilotage to the West Indies, and their sea-officers be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way; and seeing the Spaniards may hang up the English, or put them to death by torments, as they do, and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those parts, a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of the peace! it is certain that the English will give over that navigation, to the infinite advantage of the Spanish king, both present and future." Experience shewed, that, though this was a plausible, yet it was not a true deduction; for, in consequence of this peace, many plantations were settled by us, and our trade to America in particular, as well as our commerce in general, flourished beyond the example of former times. Instead of objections, which are easily framed against the best measures by men of quick parts and much political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpose to have shewn what advantages we were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at last, than by such a peace as was now made.

But if this treaty gave some dissatisfaction at home, it raised no less discontent abroad\*. The Hollanders, who were left to

\* View of the negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, by Dr. Birch, p. 287. Winwood's memorials, vol. II. p. 453, 454. By comparing these books the reader will see, that King James was not so pusillanimous a prince, in respect to foreign affairs, as he is generally represented, but had spirit enough to demand satisfaction for an insinuation of this sort by prince Maurice to the states, and steadiness enough to insist upon and to obtain it.

shift for themselves, and who had reaped so great advantages from the favour of Queen Elizabeth, were exceedingly exasperated at a step so much to their immediate disadvantage. But as they found themselves still strong enough not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater figure than most other nations at sea, they lost that respect which was due to the English flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the narrow seas. This was quickly represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monson, with instructions to maintain the honour of the English flag, and that superiority which was derived to him from his ancestors in the British seas<sup>†</sup>. This fleet put to sea in the spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same admiral, who appears to have been a man of great spirit and much experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he served in the first ship of war fitted out in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the last fleet she ever sent to sea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commission; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language and fair promises; but they minded them very little, taking our ships on very frivolous pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great severity, till such time as it appeared the admiral would not bear such usage, and began to make reprisals, threatening to hang as pirates people who shewed themselves very little better in their actions. There were also high contests about the flag, which began through some accidental civilities shewn to the Hollanders in the late reign, when they failed under the command of English admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her Majesty's own subjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent state<sup>‡</sup>. We have no matters of very great importance to treat in this reign, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to give

<sup>†</sup> Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 27, 34, 36, 55. Sir Anthony Weldon's court and character of King James, p. 48, 49. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 237. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 170.

<sup>‡</sup> See this matter stated in Seldeni mare clausum, lib. ii. cap. 26. Molloy de jure maritimo, tit. FLAC.

the reader an account in Sir William Monson's own words, of the spirit with which he insisted on satisfaction from the Dutch on this head, whereby the right of the English flag, which has been so much stood upon since, was established with regard to this republic; the rather, because I know there are many who will scarce believe, that matters of this nature were carried so far (perhaps as far as they were ever carried), under so pacific a prince.

"In my return from Calais," says Sir William, "the first of July 1605, with the emperor's ambassador, as I approached near Dover road, I perceived an increase of six ships to those I left there three days before, one of them being the admiral; their coming in shew was to beleague the Spaniards, who were then at Dover.

"As I drew near them the admiral struck his flag thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the other coast at such a time, caused me to make another construction than he pretended; and indeed it so fell out, for I conceived his arrival at that time was for no other end than to shew the ambassador, who he knew would spread it abroad throughout all Europe, as also the Spaniards, that they might have the less esteem of his Majesty's prerogative in the narrow seas, that by their wearing their flag, they might be reputed kings of the sea, as well as his Majesty. I hastened the ambassador ashore, and dispatched a gentleman to the admiral, to entreat his company the next day to dinner, which he willingly promised.

"The gentleman told him, I required him to take in his flag, as a duty due to his Majesty's ships: he answered, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought to be a very sufficient acknowledgment, and it was more than former admirals of the narrow seas had required at his hands.

"The gentleman replied, that he expected such an answer from him, and therefore he was prepared with what to say to that point. He told him, the times were altered; for when no more but striking the flag was required, England and Holland were both of them in hostility with Spain, which caused her Majesty to tolerate divers things in them; as, for instance, the admiral's wearing his flag in the expedition

dition to Cadiz, and the islands, where the lord admiral of England and the lord of Effex went as generals, and that courtsey they could not challenge by right, but by permission; and the wars being now ceased, his Majesty did require by me, his minister, such rights and duties as have formerly belonged to his progenitors.

The admiral refused to obey my command, saying, he expected more favour from me than from other admirals, in respect of our long and loving acquaintance; but he was answered that all obligations of private friendship must be laid aside, when the honour of one's king and country is at stake. The gentleman advised him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had commission to tell him, I meant to weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the force of our ships should determine the question; for, rather than I would suffer his flag to be worn in view of so many nations as were to behold it, I resolved to bury myself in the sea.

The admiral, it seems, upon better advice, took in his flag, and stood immediately off to sea, firing a gun for the rest of the fleet to follow him. And thus I lost my guest the next day at dinner, as he had promised.

This passage betwixt the admiral and me was observed from the shore, people beholding us to see the event. Upon my landing I met with Sciriago, the general of the Spaniards, who in the time of Queen Elifabeth was employed under Mendoza, the ambassador of Spain. He told me, that if the Hollanders had worn their flag, times had been strangely altered in England, since his old master King Philip the second was shot at by the lord admiral of England, for wearing his flag in the narrow seas, when he came to marry Queen Mary<sup>w</sup>.

These disputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of admiral Monson, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty at sea were thoroughly maintained; yet the republic of Holland still kept up a spirit of resentment, which

<sup>w</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 242, 243.

broke out in such acts of violence, as would not have been past by in the days of Queen Elizabeth; yet our admiral does not seem to charge the king or his ministry in general, with want of inclination to do themselves justice; but lays it expressly at the door of secretary Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury; who thought it, he says, good policy to pass by such kind of offences<sup>x</sup>, but he does not report any reasons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not absolutely, or constantly prevail, even in the councils of King James; for upon some surmises that foreigners took unreasonable liberties in fishing in our seas, a proclamation was published in the year 1608, roundly asserting the king's sovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the British coast; this, though general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themselves so far affected thereby, especially when the king appointed commissioners at London for granting licences to such foreigners as would fish on the English coast; and at Edinburgh, for granting licences of the like nature to such as would fish in the northern sea; and to these regulations, though with great reluctance, they submitted for the present; the reason of which seems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to manage with the court of Great Britain<sup>y</sup>. In these important concerns, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded, and two treaties were concluded on the twenty-sixth of June, 1608, between the crown of Great Britain, and the States-General; the one of peace and alliance, the other for stating and settling the debt due to King James<sup>z</sup>. One would have

<sup>x</sup> The reader may consult the dispatches of this great minister, in Winwood's memorials. The grand point upon which the Hollanders stood, was our old treaties with the house of Burgundy, which, they said, should be observed towards them. The reason, probably, of Salisbury's countenancing them was this, that his father had advised Queen Elizabeth to insist on those treaties as sufficient to justify her assisting the provinces, notwithstanding her leagues with Spain. Sir William Monson's naval tract, p. 244.

<sup>y</sup> Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 358, 359. See a very scarce and curious tract, intitled, England's way to win wealth, &c. by Tobias Gentleman, London, 1614, 4to, dedicated to the earl of Northampton, where the injuries the British nation suffered by the Dutch fishing in our seas are described at large.

<sup>z</sup> Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 674, *et seq.*

imagined,

imagined, that the advantages obtained by these treaties should have brought the republic to a better temper in respect to other matters; but it did not, for within a short time after, they disputed paying the assize-herring in Scotland, the licence-money in England; and, to protect their subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring buxses<sup>a</sup>. These facts, as they are incontestible, I think myself obliged to relate, though without the least prejudice against the Dutch, who are a people certainly to be commended for all such instances of their public spirit, as appear to be consistent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations<sup>b</sup>.

But at this time of day, ministers were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of losing any of the nation's rights, for want of insisting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republish his proclamation (which follows), that a parliament, whenever they met, might see they had done their duty, and advise the king thereupon as they should think fit.

### The Proclamation concerning Fishing.

**W**HEREAS, we have been contented, since our coming to the crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiscuous kind of liberty, to all our friends whatsoever, to fish within our streams, and upon any of our coasts of Great Britain, Ireland, and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the permission, or use thereof, might not redound to the impeachment of our prerogative royal, or to the hurt and damage of our loving subjects, whose preservation and flourishing estate, we hold ourselves principally bound to advance before all worldly respects: so finding, that our continuance therein, hath not only given occasion of over-great encroachments upon our regalities, or rather questioning of our right, but hath been a means of daily wrongs to our own people, that exercise the trade of fishing,

<sup>a</sup> Seldeni mare claus. lib. ii. cap. 31. ex Rot. Parliament. 4 Jac. 6. cap. 60. & Rot. Parliament, 6 ejusdem cap. 86.

<sup>b</sup> The vouchers for these facts may all be found in the paper-office.

as (either by the multitude of strangers, which do pre-occupy those places, or by the injuries which they receive most commonly at their hands) our subjects are constrained to abandon their fishing, or at least are become so discouraged in the same, as they hold it better for them to betake themselves to some other course of living, whereby not only divers of our coast towns are much decayed, but the number of our mariners daily diminished, which is a matter of great consequence to our estate, considering how much the strength thereof consisteth in the power of shipping and use of navigation; we have thought it now both just and necessary, in respect that we are now, by God's favours, lineally and lawfully possessed, as well of the island of Great Britain, as of Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent; to bethink ourselves of good and lawful means to prevent those inconveniencies, and many others depending on the same. In consideration whereof, as we are desirous that the world may take notice, that we have no intention to deny our neighbours and allies those fruits and benefits of peace and friendship, which may be justly expected at our hands, in honour and reason, or are afforded by other princes mutually in the point of commerce, and exchange of those things which may not prove prejudicial to them; so because some such convenient order may be taken in this matter, as may sufficiently provide for all those important considerations which depend thereupon; we have resolved, first, to give notice to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that from the beginning of the month of August next coming, no person, of what nation or quality soever, being not our natural-born subjects, be permitted to fish upon any of our coasts and seas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained licences from us, or such our commissioners as we have authorised in that behalf, viz. at London for our realms of England and Ireland, and at Edinburgh for our realm of Scotland, which licences our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for so many vessels and ships, and the tonnage thereof, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of our coasts and seas, as aforesaid, upon  
pain

pain of such chastisement, as shall be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilfully offenders.

Given at our palace of Westminster, the 6th day of May, in the 7th year of our reign of Great Britain, *anno Dom.* 1609.

There were also some struggles in this reign with the French, about the same rights of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea, in which, through the vigorous measures taken by Sir William Monson, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to desist from their practices of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation<sup>c</sup>. In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the Scots and Irish seas, which were much infested with pirates. We need not much wonder at this, if we consider, that, till King James's accession to the throne of England, there was little, indeed scarce any naval strength in his own country, and that in Ireland, the Spaniards, by frequently practising this piratical trade during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants such a relish of it, that they could not forsake it in time of peace. The noise, however, of their depredations far exceeded the damage; for when, on the first of June, Sir William Monson made the coast of Caithness, the most northern part of Scotland, he found that, instead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in those parts, there were in fact but two, one of whom immediately surrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coast of Ireland; where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the sea-coast from their scandalous way of living, by affording shelter and protection to pirates, furnishing them with provisions, and taking their plunder in exchange. This service Sir William performed in three months<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 143. Gentleman's England's way to win wealth, p. 34.

<sup>d</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 247, 251. The Dutch ambassador, by order of the States, had complained loudly of these pirates in 1611, and had even desired the king's permission to pursue them into the very haven of that kingdom (Ireland). Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 285, 286.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and had a commission from the king to discover and take possession of any countries in the south of America, which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce and the propagation of religion<sup>e</sup>; in the undertaking which expedition, his expences were borne by himself, his friends, and such merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His design has been variously represented, and I shall be at liberty to examine it hereafter more at large, in its proper place. At present, I am to speak of it only as a public concern, in which light it was justifiable beyond all question, notwithstanding the outcries that were made against it by the Spaniards. It is indeed pretty evident, that the complaints of their minister Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, so well known afterwards by the title of Count Gondemar, were not so much grounded on any notions he himself had of the injustice of this design, as on a piece of Spanish policy, by raising a clamour on false pretences, to discover the true scope and intent of Sir Walter's voyage. In this he was but too successful; for, upon his representations, that excellent person was obliged to give a distinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the design he was to execute; and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an opportunity, first of disappointing him in America, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the lasting dishonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation; for, without all doubt, this project of Sir Walter Raleigh's, for settling in Guiana, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to Britain as Brazil is to Portugal.

The disputes with the states of Holland<sup>e</sup>, in reference to the right of fishing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the

<sup>e</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. p. 789.

<sup>f</sup> See Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 96.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. Camden, in his annals of the reign of this prince, says, that the deputies of the states, at their audience of the king, on the thirty-first of December, 1618, intreated that nothing might be done in respect to the herring-fishing, as it was the great support of their commonwealth, and the only succour and relief of the common people, in regard to the troubles then amongst them.

old causes, which were plainly a very high presumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impossible, that they had a great opinion likewise of their minister's capacity, and that sooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negotiation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretensions, or repeat their own ill-founded excuses so often, till in the close they gained credit. At this time, those who hated the English ministry, treated these differences with that republic as rather criminal than honourable; but the same men living long enough to get the supreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, caused the letters of state written at that juncture to be drawn out of the dust and rubbish, and made them, without the smallest scruple, the foundation of that quarrel, which they prosecuted with force of arms. It is to be hoped, that no occasion of the like nature will ever happen; but, nevertheless, as those letters are very curious, and much to the purpose, a few extracts from them cannot but be acceptable, and may be useful.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Secretary Naunton to Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the States-General, dated the 21st of December, 1618.

" I MUST now let your lordship know, that the states commissioners and deputies both, having attended his Majesty at Newmarket, and there presented their letters of credence, returned to London on Saturday was se'ennight, and, upon Tuesday, had audience in the council-chamber, where, being required to communicate the points of their commission, they delivered their meditated answer at length. The lords, upon perusal of it, appointed my Lord Bining and me to attend his Majesty for directions, what reply to return to this answer of theirs, which we represented to their lordships yesterday to this effect; That his Majesty found it strange, that they, having been so often required by your lordship, his Majesty's ambassador, as from himself in their public assemblies, to send over commissioners fully authorised to treat and conclude, not only of all differences grown between the subjects

“ of both states, touching the trade to the East Indies, and the  
 “ whale-fishing, and to regulate and settle a joint and an even  
 “ traffic in those quarters; but withal, to take order for a  
 “ more indifferent course of determining other questions, grow-  
 “ ing between our merchants and them, about their draperies  
 “ and the tare; and more especially, to determine his Majesty’s  
 “ right for the sole fishing, upon all the coasts of his three  
 “ kingdoms, into which they had of late times incroached far-  
 “ ther than of right they could; and, lastly, for the reglement  
 “ and reducing of their coins, to such a proportion and cor-  
 “ respondence with those of his Majesty and other states, that  
 “ their subjects might make no advantage to transport our mo-  
 “ nies by enhancing their valuation there. All which they con-  
 “ fessed your lordship had instanced them for in his Majesty’s  
 “ name; that after all this attent on his Majesty’s part, and so  
 “ long deliberation on theirs, they were come at last with a  
 “ proposition, to speak only to the two first points, and in-  
 “ trusted thereunto with bare letters of credence only, which  
 “ his Majesty takes for an imperious fashion of proceeding in  
 “ them, as if they were come hither to treat of what themselves  
 “ pleased, and to give law to his Majesty in his own kingdom,  
 “ and to propose and admit of nothing but what should tend  
 “ merely to their own ends.

“ To the second, whereas they would decline all debate of  
 “ the fishing upon his Majesty’s coasts first, by allegations of  
 “ their great losses, and the fear of an esmeute of their people,  
 “ who are all interested in that question, and would belike  
 “ break out into some combustion to the hazard of their state,  
 “ which hath lately scaped naufrage, and is not yet altogether  
 “ calmed. What is this, but to raise an advantage to them-  
 “ selves out of their disadvantage? But afterwards, they pro-  
 “ fessed their lothness to call it into doubt or question, claiming  
 “ an immemorial possession, seconded by the law of nations;  
 “ to which his Majesty will have them told, that the kings of  
 “ Spain have sought leave to fish there by treaty from this  
 “ crown, and that the king of France, a nearer neighbour to  
 “ our coasts than they, to this day requests leave for a few  
 “ vessels to fish for provision of his own household; that they,  
 “ being a state of so late date, should be the first that would  
 “ presume

“ presume to question his Majesty’s ancient right, so many hun-  
 “ dred years inviolably possessed by his progenitors, and ac-  
 “ knowledged by all other ancient states and princes. That  
 “ themselves, in their public letters of the last of June, sent by  
 “ your lordship, seemed then to confirm their immemorial pos-  
 “ session, as they term it, with divers treaties, as are that of the  
 “ year 1550, and another between his Majesty’s predecessors  
 “ and Charles V. as prince of those provinces, and not by the  
 “ law of nations. To which, their last plea, his Majesty would  
 “ have them told, that he, being an islander prince, is not ig-  
 “ norant of the laws and rights of his own kingdom, nor doth  
 “ expect to be taught the law of nations by them, or their  
 “ Grotius, whose ill thriving might rather teach others to dis-  
 “ avow his positions; and his honesty called in question by  
 “ themselves, might render his learning as much suspected to  
 “ them as his person. This his Majesty takes for an high point  
 “ of his sovereignty, and will not have it slighted over in any  
 “ fashion whatsoever.

“ Thus I have particulated unto you the manner of our  
 “ proceeding with them. Let them advise to seek leave from  
 “ his Majesty, and acknowledge in him his right, as other  
 “ princes have done, and do, or it may well come to pass, that  
 “ they that will needs bear all the world before them, by their  
 “ *mare liberum*, may soon come to have neither *terram* & *so-*  
 “ *lum*, nor *republicam liberam*.”

EXTRACT of a LETTER of the said ambassador to Secretary  
 Naunton, dated at the Hague, the thirtieth of December,  
 1618.

“ WHETHER the final resolution here will be according to  
 “ his Majesty’s desire, in that point concerning the fishing upon  
 “ the coasts of his three kingdoms, I cannot say; and by some-  
 “ what which fell from the Prince of Orange, by way of dis-  
 “ course, when he took leave of me on Monday last, at his  
 “ departure, I suspect it will not, in regard the magistrates of  
 “ these towns of Holland, being newly placed, and yet scarce  
 “ fast in their seats, who do authorize the deputies which come  
 “ hither to the assembly of the states, in all things they are to  
 “ treat

" treat and resolve, will not adventure, for fear of the people,  
 " to determine of a business on which the livelihood of fifty  
 " thousand of the inhabitants of this one single province doth  
 " depend. I told the prince, that howsoever his Majesty, both  
 " in honour of his crown and person, and interest of his king-  
 " doms, neither could nor would any longer desist from having  
 " his right acknowledged by this state, as well as by all other  
 " princes and commonwealths, especially finding the same open-  
 " ly oppugned, both by their statesmen and men of war, as  
 " the writings of Grotius, and the taking of John Brown the  
 " last year, may testify; yet this acknowledgment of a right  
 " and a due, was no exclusion of grace and favour, and that  
 " the people of this country paying that small tribute upon  
 " every one of their buffes, which is not so much as disputed  
 " by any other nation whatsoever, such was his Majesty's  
 " well-wishing to this state, that I presumed of his permission  
 " to suffer them to continue their course of fishing, which they  
 " might use thereby with more freedom and less apprehension  
 " of molestation and let than before, and likewise spare the  
 " cost of some of their men of war, which they yearly send  
 " out to maintain that by force, which they may have of cour-  
 " tesy.

" The prince answered, that for himself, at his return from  
 " Utrecht, he would do his best endeavours to procure his Ma-  
 " jesty's contentment; but he doubted the Hollanders would  
 " apprehend the same effect in their payment for fishing as they  
 " found in the passage of the Sound, where at first an easy mat-  
 " ter was demanded by the king of Denmark, but now more  
 " exacted than they can possibly bear; and touching their men  
 " of war he said, they must still be at the same charge with  
 " them, because of the pirates. Withal he cast out a question  
 " to me, whether this freedom of fishing might not be redeem-  
 " ed with a sum of money? To which I answered, it was a  
 " matter of royalty more than of utility, though princes were  
 " not to neglect their profit<sup>h</sup>.

## EXTRACT

" Yet, that we may perceive, whenever our court proceeded with due spirit,  
 it had its effect, and brought even these subtle negociators to make concessions,  
 which in reality destroyed all their pretensions at other times, will appear from

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Secretary Naunton to the Lord Ambassador Carleton, dated the twenty-first of January, 1618.

“ As I had dictated thus far, I received direction from his Majesty to signify to the states commissioners here, That albeit their earnest intreaty, and his gracious consideration of the present trouble of their church and state, had moved his Majesty to consent to delay the treaty of the great fishing till the time craved by the commissioners, yet understanding by new and fresh complaints of his mariners and fishers upon the coasts of Scotland, that, within these four or five last years, the Low-country fishers have taken so great advantages of his Majesty’s toleration, that they have grown nearer and nearer upon his Majesty’s coasts year by year, than they did in preceding times, without leaving any bounds for the country-people and natives to fish upon their prince’s coasts, and oppressed some of his subjects of intent to continue their pretended possession, and driven some of their great vessels through their nets, to deter others by fear of the like violence from fishing near them, &c. His Majesty cannot forbear to tell them, that he is so well persuaded of the equity of the states, and of the honourable respect they bear unto him, and to his subjects for his sake, that they will never allow so unjust and intolerable oppressions, for restraint whereof, and to prevent the inconveniencies which must ensue upon the continuance of the same, his Majesty hath by me desired them to write to their superiors to cause proclamation to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects to fish within fourteen miles of his Majesty’s coasts this year, or in any time hereafter, until orders be taken by commissioners to be authorised on both sides for

an EXTRACT of a LETTER dated January 14th, 1618, from the same ambassador to Secretary Naunton, in which he gives him to understand, “ That having been expostulated with, but in a friendly manner, by certain of the states about his late proposition as unreasonable and sharp, they said, they acknowledged their commissioners went beyond their limits in their terms of immemorial possession, immutable *droit des gens*, for which they had no order; that he then desired them to consider what a wrong it was to challenge that upon right, which those provinces had hitherto enjoyed either by connivance or courtesy, and yet never without claim on his Majesty’s side.”

“ a final

“ a final settling of the main business. His Majesty hath likewise directed me to command you from him to make the like declaration and instance to the states there, and to certify his Majesty of their answers with what convenient speed you may.”

What effect the ambassador's negotiation had with the states, appears by a letter of his from the Hague of the 6th of February, 1618, to King James himself.

“ I find likewise in the manner of proceeding, that, treating by way of proposition here, nothing can be expected but their wonted dilatory and evasive answers, their manner being to refer such propositions from the States-general to the states of Holland. The states of Holland take advice of a certain council residing at Delft, which they call the council of the fishery: from them such an answer commonly comes as may be expected from such an oracle. The way therefore (under correction) to effect your Majesty's intent, is to begin with fishers themselves, by publishing, against the time of their going out, your resolution at what distance you will permit them to fish, whereby they will be forced to have recourse to their council of fishery, that council to the states of Holland, and those of Holland to the States-general, who then, in place of being sought unto, will, for contentment of their subjects, seek unto your Majesty.”

THESE letters make it perfectly clear, that King James asserted his rights through the long course of this negociation as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible, and brought the states themselves to acknowledge, that these rights had a just foundation. If it should be inquired how it came to pass, that after carrying things so far, and to such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence and oblivion, the best answer that can be given to this question is, that in the midst of this dispute the Prince of Orange asked Sir Dudley Carleton a very shrewd question, *viz.* Whether this claim about the fishery might not be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who was afterwards created Viscount Dorchester, was certainly a man of honour, as fully appears from the advice given in the last letter we have cited; but whether some men in power might not find a method, by  
agents

agents of their own, to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than at this distance of time can be determined. Sir William Monson tells us, that, in reference to the disputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great earl of Salisbury; nor is it at all impossible, that they might also find an advocate in this important business of the fishery; but, if they did, this must have been a ministerial and not a national bargain, since we shall find, that in the next reign this claim was insisted upon as warmly, and with somewhat better effect, than in that of King James.

We shall for the same reason refer to another place, the disputes between us and the Dutch about the right of fishing for whales on the coasts of Spitzbergen, as called by the Dutch, but by us at that time New-Greenland, of which both nations claimed to be the first discoverers; in virtue of that each of them pretended a right of excluding the other, in consequence of which annual struggles ensued, not without some bloodshed. We shall also, for the same cause, refer the measures taken in this reign to support the dominion of the sea, by declaring in what manner the Spaniards and the Dutch were to prosecute their naval hostilities, without prejudice to the neutrality of English ports, or his Majesty's prerogative.

It may not be amiss, however, to observe here, that by whatever means things were settled and quieted at that time, in respect to the Dutch fishing, it could never affect the claim of right by the crown of Great Britain; for as Sir Dudley Carleton very wisely returned for answer to the question before-mentioned, that it was a royalty, so, beyond all doubt, those ancient and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and though treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjusting them with our neighbours, yet this must be always understood as done with a view to the maintaining them. These rights belong to the crown and not to the king, who, though bound by the duty of his office to support and vindicate them, yet is at the same time restrained by that duty from alienating them; and therefore whatever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances there may be in particular reigns, or from particular circumstances, these can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which always subsist, though they may not al-

ways be insisted upon. This doctrine the reader has before seen was particularly urged and applied by Sir William Monson in the case of the flag, when the Dutch were desirous of availing themselves of Queen Elizabeth's waving her right in a case where indeed it could not well be insisted upon, that is, where a Dutch squadron served as auxiliaries in a fleet commanded by an English admiral, and consequently during that time were treated as English subjects.

We come now to the only naval expedition of consequence, which was undertaken during the time this king sat upon the throne, I mean the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, seems not easy to be discovered. The common story is, that Count Gondemar, having gained an ascendancy over his Majesty's understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain<sup>1</sup>. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older standing; that the earl of Nottingham had solicited the king to such an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high-admiral; and that Sir Robert Mansel infused it into the head of his successor Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if such a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his administration. As Buckingham easily brought the king to consent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost probability, that it was by his influence this design was carried into execution; notwithstanding that, Sir William Monson, who has been consulted upon it, gave his judgment, supported by strong and clear arguments, that it was rash and ill-founded, and that, instead of raising the reputation of the British arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, because the whole world would take notice of the disappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real causes, and of the little reason there was to measure the naval strength of Britain thereby<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 34. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of King James under the year 1620. Willson's history of King James, p. 726.

<sup>2</sup> Naval tracts, p. 253.

In the month of October 1620, this fleet sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of six men of war, and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. Of these Sir Robert Mansel, then vice-admiral of England; had the command in chief, Sir Richard Hawkins was vice, and Sir Thomas Button rear-admiral; Sir Henry Palmer, Arthur Manwaring, Thomas Love, and Samuel Argall, Esqrs; were appointed to be members of the council of war, and Edward Clarke, Esq; was secretary. On the twenty-seventh of November, they came to an anchor in Algier-road, and saluted the town, but without receiving a single gun in answer. On the twenty-eighth, the admiral sent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkish viceroy know the cause of his coming; who returned him an answer by four commissioners, that he had orders from the Grand Seignior to use the English with the utmost respect, to suffer their men to come on shore; and to furnish them with what provisions they wanted. Upon this a negotiation ensued; in which it is hard to say, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refused to dismiss the gentleman first sent; unless an English consul was left at Algiers; and the latter, to rid himself of this difficulty, prevailed upon a seaman to put on a suit of good clothes, and to pass for a consul; this cheat not being discovered by the Turks; they sent forty English slaves on board the admiral, and promised to give him satisfaction as to his other demands; upon which, he sailed again for the Spanish coast, attended by six French men of war, the admiral of which squadron had struck to the English fleet on his first joining it; which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage, too, that attended this whole expedition<sup>1</sup>.

It had been well if this enterprize had ended thus; but after receiving a supply of provisions from England, it was resolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole<sup>m</sup>. Accordingly, in the

<sup>1</sup> Purchas's pilgrims, p. 881. See also an account of this expedition, published by authority, in 1621.

<sup>m</sup> See the relation of this expedition before referred to, which is almost the only authentic account we have of it; and yet it is an account only on one side, and was certainly written to justify the undertaking.

month of May the fleet left the coast of Majorca, and upon the twenty-first of the same month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this design. Two ships taken from the Turks, one of an hundred, the other of sixty tons, were fitted up for this purpose. They were filled with dry wood, oakum, pitch, rosin, tar, brimstone, and other combustible matter, and provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men; next followed the three brigantines, which the admiral bought at Alicant, with fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes to fasten their fire-works to the enemy's ships. They had also a gunlod, fitted up with fire-works, chains, and grappling-irons; the gunlod was to be fired in the midst of the ships in the mole, having likewise a boat to bring off her men. Seven armed boats followed to sustain those of the fire-ships, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered, by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a Christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay they put to sea, and in the month of June returned to England. This ill-concerted enterprize had no other effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the Algerines, who did a great deal of mischief, while we did them little or none; though two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under the command of the Lord Wilkoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh; but both did so small service, that very few of our histories take any notice of them.

them\*. Sir William Monson has made some severe but just observations upon these undertakings°, and particularly remarks, that notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit which vented itself afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623, happened the bloody affair of Amboyna, of which I shall give a short and fair account; because it gave birth to our national hatred of the Dutch, which subsisted so long, and had such fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United Provinces in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other things, that, to prevent farther disputes, the Dutch should enjoy two-thirds of the trade at Amboyna, and the English one. In pursuance of this, a factory was erected in that island as well as other places; yet, in the short space of two years, the Dutch grew weary of their company, and, under pretence of a plot, seized the principal persons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to death, and under a specious shew of clemency discharged the rest; seizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewise, which at that time the English had in the Spice-Islands, and thereby engrossing that most valuable trade to themselves. That this was really a contrivance, seems to be pretty plain, not to make use of a stronger word, from the following circumstances, which are incontestible. The English had only a house wherein their factory resided, whereas the Dutch were possessed of a very strong fort; the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrison soldiers in the castle, and eight stout ships riding in the port. The prisoners all denied it most solemnly at their deaths, and

\* In the continuation of Stowe's chronicle by Howes, there is not a word of it, and in many other books of the same kind, we are barely told when this fleet sailed, and when it came back.

° There are three discourses of his upon this subject, one addressed to the privy-council, on the properest method for attempting the ruin of Algiers; another dissuading from that enterprize; and the third on the mistakes in this expedition, wherein he observes, that during all the time they were out, they were but twenty days out at sea.

would have taken the sacrament on the truth of what they said; but that it was refused them by the Dutch<sup>p</sup>. That I may not be however suspected of injustice towards them, I will transcribe their own account of this matter. "This island," says a writer who addressed his work to the states of Holland<sup>q</sup>; "was a long time the subject of dispute between the Dutch and English. The East India Company, who had made themselves masters of it, entered into a treaty with the English, for driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards; and by one of the articles of this treaty it was agreed, that they should furnish ten men of war for this purpose. They neglecting this armament, the Indians of Ternate taking advantage of the weakness which this omission of theirs had occasioned, agreed to a suspension of arms with the Spaniards, and having made an alliance with the king of Tidore, who was an enemy to the Dutch, attacked several islands dependent on Amboyna, and having made themselves masters of them; resolved to attack the citadel; and the English are said to have been concerned with them in this design, which was discovered by a Japanese. The governor heard from all sides, that the English had taken his citadel. Astonished at these reports, though false, he put himself on his guard, and seized the Japanese, whom he suspected. This man confessed, that the English were engaged in a conspiracy against the governor; that, taking advantage of his absence, the citadel was to be seized, and that the Japanese in the island had engaged to execute this project. The governor without hesitation, arrested all who were accused of having any hand in this design. The English confessed, that their factor had sworn them upon the gospel never to reveal the secret; which, however, they did, and signed their confessions, some freely; and the rest constrained thereto by the violence of the torture. They were all executed; and this is what is commonly called the massacre of Amboyna. The English have

<sup>p</sup> See a pamphlet intitled, "A true relation of the unjust, cruel, and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna, published by authority. 1624, 4to," and several other tracts. <sup>q</sup> M. Bainsage in his *annales des provinces unies*, vol. i. p. 1294. Coke's detection of the court and state of England, p. 95, 97.

“ always maintained, that this crime was purely imaginary, and  
 “ only made use of as a pretext to sacrifice their nation to the  
 “ vengeance of a governor; and therefore they continued to  
 “ demand satisfaction for this loss from 1623 to 1672, when,  
 “ through the indifferent state of their affairs, they were glad  
 “ to depart from it.” This Dutch account, and indeed all the  
 accounts I have ever seen of their drawing up, sufficiently prove,  
 that there was more of policy than of any thing else in this  
 whole proceeding, and that what the Dutch in this black busi-  
 ness chiefly aimed at, was the excluding us from the spice-  
 trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

It is indeed strange, that, considering the strength of the  
 nation at sea at the time we received this insult, and the quick  
 sense which the English always have of any national affront, no  
 proper satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous measures en-  
 tered into, in order to exact it. But the wonder will in a great  
 measure cease, when we consider the state of the crown, and of  
 the people at that period. The king had been engaged for  
 many years in a tedious, dishonourable, and distasteful negocia-  
 tion, for the marriage of his son Prince Charles with the prin-  
 cess of Spain: to the chimerical advantages he proposed from  
 this, he sacrificed the interest of his family, the glory of his  
 government, and the affections of his people; and yet could  
 never bring the thing to bear, but was at last forced to break  
 off the treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a war,  
 to which he had been always averse, especially at the close of  
 his life and reign. Such was the situation of things when this  
 accident happened at Amboyna; and, therefore, though it  
 made a great noise, and occasioned much expostulation with  
 that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the proposed  
 war with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Pala-  
 tinate, joined to the necessity there was of managing the Dutch  
 at so critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther  
 than remonstrances, while our competitors kept exclusively so  
 very considerable a branch of trade. I have taken the more  
 pains to settle and clear up this matter, because it is a full proof  
 of a truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domestic dissen-  
 sions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation, and that it  
 is impossible for us to maintain our commerce in a flourishing  
 condition,

condition, if we do not at least enjoy peace, and with it unanimity at home, whatever our circumstances may be abroad.

I know of nothing relating to naval affairs in this reign of which I have not already spoken, except the sending a fleet to bring home Prince Charles from Spain may be reckoned in that number. It consisted, however, of a few ships only, but in good order, and well manned, so that the Spaniards are said to have expressed great satisfaction at the sight of it, which, however, true or false, is a matter of no great consequence. This voyage, though a short one, gave Prince Charles some idea of maritime affairs, which proved afterwards of benefit to the nation. The breaking the Spanish match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the satisfaction of the English; but, in the midst of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days at Theobald's, on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 23d of his reign<sup>r</sup>. His pacific temper occasioned our having but little to say in this part of our work; but, before we proceed to mention the eminent seamen who flourished in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a concise view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as well as a brief account of the colonies settled, while this prince sat upon the throne.

It has been already shewn, that, under the public-spirited administration of Queen Elizabeth, this nation first came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extensive commerce, and began to think of managing their own trade themselves, which down to that period had been almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner, as that it proved likewise of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen and of stout ships belonging to this kingdom: but after King James's accession, and the taking place of that peace, which they had so long and so earnestly expected, things took a new and strange turn. Our traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and stout ships, but, instead of building them, were content to freight those of their neighbours, because a little mo-

<sup>r</sup> Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 155. Stowe's chronicle continued by Stowe, p. 1036. Wilson and other historians.

ney was to be saved by this method. In consequence of this notion, our shipping decayed in proportion as our trade increased, till, in the year 1615, things were come to so strange a pass, that there were not ten ships of 200 tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this the Trinity-house petitioned the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful consequences it would have, with respect to our naval power, through the decay of seamen, and praying, that the king would put in execution some good old laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil, suggesting also the example of the state of Venice, who on a like occasion had prohibited their subjects to transport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimously opposed the mariners in this dispute, and, having at this juncture better interest at court, prevailed. Yet in a year's time the tables were turned, and the merchants, convinced of their own mistake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ships, each of the burden of 300 tons, came into the river of Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants residing here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders; they saw now, that through their own error they were come back to the very point from which they set out, and that, if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was issued, forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms\*.

When once people have entered into a course of industry, the benefits accruing from it will generally keep them in that road, and even the difficulties they meet with turn to their advantage. Thus, after the English merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them with artillery and other necessities, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades that were unthought of before; and, though for some time they suffered not a little by the Algerines and other pirates of Barbary, yet in the end they got more than they lost

\* Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 328.

by these accidents; for it put them upon building still larger ships, as well as taking more care in providing and manning small ones; which had such an effect in the space of seven years, that whereas ships of a hundred tons had been before esteemed very large vessels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the seas, now there were many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to several ports, and upwards of a hundred vessels, each of above 200 tons burthen, belonging to Newcastle alone, all built at home, and better built than elsewhere; and, before the death of King James, our trade was so far increased, that, in the opinion of Sir William Monson, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the Dutch<sup>c</sup>.

In respect to the encouragements given by the crown for promoting commerce and plantations in the East Indies and America, they were as great under this reign as under any succeeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the East India Company, and the king did not spare sending an ambassador into those parts for their service. Virginia and New England were in a great measure planted, Barbadoes possessed and settled, and Bermudas discovered in his time<sup>d</sup>. I do not know whether the attempts made for fixing colonies in Newfoundland, and Acadia, or New Scotland, deserve any commendation, because, as they were managed at that time, they could turn to little account; yet it must be allowed, that the government meant well by the encouragement given to these undertakings, which went so far as directing proposals for settling Newfoundland to be read in churches, that all who had any mind to be concerned in such attempts might have due notice<sup>e</sup>. Some benefits certainly accrued even from these abortive projects; they occasioned building a great many good ships, increased the Newfoundland fishery, added to the number of our sailors, and kept alive that spirit of

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 329, 350. Stowe's annals, p. 994. and the same facts are also to be met with in several of the treatises on commerce, which will be hereafter mentioned.

<sup>d</sup> See a declaration of the state of the colony of Virginia by his Majesty's council for Virginia, London, 1620, 4to. Captain Smith's general history of Virginia, New England, and the Summer-islands, London, 1627, fol. Purchas's pilgrims and pilgrimage.

<sup>e</sup> Order of the king in council at Theobald's, April 12th, 1622, printed with other things, and directed to be read in churches, London, 1622, 4to.

discovering which is essential to a beneficial commerce, since, whenever a nation comes to think it has trade enough, their trade will quickly decline. Besides, it engaged abundance of knowing and experienced persons to write upon all branches of traffic; and their books, which yet remain, sufficiently prove, that there were numbers in those days, who thoroughly understood all the arts necessary to promote manufactures, navigation, and useful commerce<sup>w</sup>.

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himself, as well as of his ministers. In most of our naval histories we have a list of nine ships added to the royal navy of England by this prince, which list is taken from Sir William Monson, and stands thus<sup>x</sup>:

SHIPS.	Men in harbour.	Men at sea.
Reformation, - - -	9	250
Happy Entrance, - - -	7	160
Garland, - - -	7	160
St. George, - - -	9	250
Mary Rose, - - -	6	120
Triumph, - - -	12	300
Swiftsure, - - -	9	250
Bonaventure, - - -	7	160
St. Andrew, - - -	9	250

But that this list is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greatest ship built in this king's reign, and built, too, by his express direction, of which we have so exact, and at the same time so authentic an account, that it may not be amiss to transcribe it.

<sup>w</sup> Such as, An essay of the means to make travel useful, profitable, and honourable, by Thomas Palmer, London, 1606, 4to. Virginia richly valued, by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609, 4to. The planter's plea, or the grounds of plantations examined, and objections answered, London, 1620, 4to. A discourse on the trade to the East Indies, by Thomas Mun. The maintenance of free trade, by George Malynes, merchant, London, 1622, 8vo. The centre of the circle of commerce, by the same hand, London, 1623, 4to. <sup>x</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 277.

" This year, 1610, the king built a most goodly ship for war, the keel whereof was 114 feet long, and the cross beam was forty-four feet in length; she will carry sixty-four pieces of great ordnance, and is of the burden of 1400 tons. This royal ship is double-built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest ship that ever was built in England; and this glorious ship the king gave unto his son Henry prince of Wales. The 24th of September the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the Lady Elisabeth, with many great lords, went unto Woolwich to see it launched; but, because of the narrowness of the dock, it could not then be launched; whereupon the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it after his own dignity, and called it The Prince. The great workmaster in building this ship was Mr. Phineas Pet, gentleman, some time master of arts of Emmanuel college in Cambridge<sup>1</sup>."

In the same author we have an account of the king's going on board the great East India ship of 1200 tons, which was built here, and seems to have been the first of that size launched in this kingdom. The king called it The Trade's Increase, and a pinnace of 250 tons, which was built at the same time, he called The Pepper-corn<sup>2</sup>. This shews that he was a favourer of navigation; and, though I cannot pretend to say exactly what additions he made to the English fleet, yet, from some authentic calculations I have seen, I think I may venture to affirm, that Queen Elisabeth's ships of war, at the time of her death, might contain somewhat more than 16,000 tons, and that, in the days of King James, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 tons<sup>3</sup>. The king also granted a commission of inquiry for reforming the abuses in the navy, the proceedings upon which are still preserved in the Cotton library<sup>4</sup>. He was liberal likewise to seamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, so in this he was too much governed by his favourites<sup>5</sup>. Bucking-

<sup>1</sup> Stowe's annals continued by Howes, p. 996. Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of King James under the year 1610.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 994.

<sup>3</sup> From some notes on Hakluyt, MS.

<sup>4</sup> Vitellius, E. B.

<sup>5</sup> Scammet, Echard, and Rapin.

<sup>6</sup> Wilfon, Baker,

ham managed the admiralty very indifferently, and, before his time, Gondomar had persuaded King James, against reason, law, the inclinations of his people, nay, against his own sense of things, to take off the head of the greatest man who flourished in his reign, and of whom I am now particularly to speak.

## MEMOIRS of Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Knt.

AS the fame of this gentleman's actions was sufficient to have established and given lustre to any family, so his descent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy, even in the high posts which he by his merit obtained. There were several families of the name of Raleigh in the west, and three particularly, which were seated in several parts of the country, and bore different arms. That from which this gentleman sprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the reign of King John, as the Raleighs in general are beyond the conquest<sup>d</sup>. His father was Walter Raleigh, Esq; of Fardel in the county of Devon. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The last was Catherine the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devonshire, Esq; by this lady Mr. Raleigh had two sons, Carew, who was afterwards knighted, and Walter, of whom we are treating, as also a daughter, Margaret, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that this gentleman was brother by the mother's side to those famous knights, Sir John, Sir Humphry, and Sir Adrian Gilbert<sup>e</sup>.

He was born in the year 1552, at a pleasant farm called Hayes, seated in that part of Devonshire which borders on the sea, and after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was sent to Oxford while a very young man; since, according to the best authority, he was there in 1568, and soon distinguished himself by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age<sup>f</sup>. When he came to, and how long he staid in Oriel col-

<sup>d</sup> See these points judiciously cleared by Mr. Oldys, in his life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>e</sup> Visitation of Devonshire, by William Hervey, Esq; clarendon, MS. in the herald's office,

<sup>f</sup> Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. I. col. 435.

lege is not very clear; neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently asserted, that he was afterwards of the Middle-Temple. This we may consider as sure, that, about 1569, he, in company with many young gentlemen of good families and martial dispositions, went over into France, as well to instruct themselves in the art of war, as to assist the Protestants in that kingdom, then grievously oppressed<sup>a</sup>. He served there some considerable time, and acquired both skill and reputation. The former is evident from many judicious observations on those wars which we meet with scattered through his works; and the latter is attested by contemporary and credible authors. It appears from a comparison of facts and dates, that he was somewhat more than five years thus employed, and having still an earnest desire to improve his military skill, and an eager thirst for glory, he passed next into the Netherlands, where he served likewise some time against the Spaniards<sup>b</sup>. In these transactions he followed, as it was natural for a young man to do, the fashion of the times. France and the Netherlands were in those days the schools of Mars; to which all were obliged to resort who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course, suffering their minds to be corrupted by the licence of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boisterous humour, which some take for a soldier-like freedom; Raleigh, on the contrary, made the true use of his service in a foreign country, increased his stock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his skill as a soldier by experience, and so completely polished his manner of address, that at his return he was considered as one of the best bred and most accomplished gentlemen in England, at a period when this was no singular character.

On Mr. Raleigh's coming back to his native soil, in 1578, he found his brother Sir Humphry Gilbert engaged in a design of making discoveries in North-America, for which he had obtained a patent; and for the furtherance of which he had procured

<sup>a</sup> Camden's annals, A. D. 1569. Jac. August. Thuani historiarum sui temporis, tom. ii. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

<sup>b</sup> Naunton's fragmenta regalis, p. 29.

the assistance of many friends. Raleigh was much taken with the design, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been warmly concerned drew back; Mr. Raleigh, however, not only continued firm to his engagements, but resolved to accompany his brother in person<sup>1</sup>. This after all proved an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frightened a man of less resolution than Raleigh from venturing to sea again; for they not only missed the great discoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the Spaniards in their return; and though they made a very gallant defence, had no reason to boast of success, losing one of the best ships in their small fleet, and in it a very gallant young gentleman, whose name was Miles Morgan<sup>2</sup>. From this unlucky adventure Mr. Raleigh arrived safe in England, in the spring of the year 1579, and had soon after thoughts of serving his queen and country in Ireland, where his holiness Pope Gregory VIII. and the Spaniards had sent men, money, and blessings, to comfort and assist such as, in breach of their oaths, would take arms against their lawful sovereign, and cut the throats of the innocent English<sup>3</sup>.

It is not very clear at what time our hero crossed the seas; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580, he had a captain's commission under the president of Munster, which was then a more honourable commission than now, because there were fewer soldiers, and consequently more care was taken in distributing commissions<sup>m</sup>. The next year Captain Raleigh served under the noble Earl of Ormonde, then governor of Ulster, a person conspicuous by his illustrious birth and near relation to Queen Elizabeth; but still more so by his virtues and steady adherence to his duty, in spite of greater temptations than any other man met with, and by whose directions Raleigh performed many signal services. The Spanish succours, under the command of an officer of their own, assisted by a choice body of their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified a castle,

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 173. Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1369. Hooker's dedication of his translation and continuation of the Irish chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> See Captain Hoyer's relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Hooker's supplement to the Irish chronicles, p. 154.

<sup>m</sup> Cox's history of Ireland, p. 366.

which

which they called *del Ore*, and which they intended should serve them for a place of retreat whenever they found themselves distressed, and prove also a key to admit fresh succours from abroad, which they daily expected, and for which it was mighty well situated, as standing upon the bay of Smerwick, or St. Mary Wick, in the county of Kerry. The then deputy of Ireland, Lord Grey, was a person of great courage and indefatigable industry, but withal of a very severe temper, and particularly prejudiced against the Irish, and who resolved at all hazards to dispossess them of this fort, which he accordingly besieged with his small army for some time. In this dangerous enterprize Captain Raleigh had his share, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at last forced to surrender at discretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greatest part of the garrison to be put to the sword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the captains Raleigh and Mackworth<sup>a</sup>. Many other services he performed in Ireland, of a nature not necessary for me to relate, and these very justly recommended him to the notice of the government, who, in 1581, honoured him with a joint-commission to be governor of Munster. In this character he continued to do the state many important services, which were amply rewarded by the grant of a large estate in the county he had subdued<sup>o</sup>.

Yet all his care, and all his services, did not hinder his having many enemies, and amongst them the Lord-deputy Grey, so that he seems to have been recalled in the latter end of the same year to England, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large share in her favour<sup>p</sup>; and as he was forward to distinguish himself in all public services of reputation, so on the return of the duke of Anjou into the Netherlands, he was one of those who accompanied him out of England, by the express command of Queen Elizabeth; and on his coming to England in 1582, he

<sup>a</sup> Stowe, p. 688. Camden, p. 334—339. Hooker's supplement to the Irish chronicle, fol. 171. Spenser's state of Ireland in his works, vol. vi. p. 158. where, however, he vindicates the lord-deputy warmly, and speaks as an eye and ear witness of all that passed.

<sup>o</sup> Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28, 29.

<sup>p</sup> Leicester's commonwealth, p. 37. Auble, coquin, p. 90.

brought

brought over the prince of Orange's letters to the queen<sup>a</sup>. Some months after this he resided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection even of contending statesmen, who were proud of shewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to Raleigh<sup>b</sup>. In 1583, he was concerned in his brother Gilbert's second attempt, and though he went not in person; yet he built a new ship, called the bark Raleigh, and furnished it completely for the voyage; the unsuccessful end of which it seemed to predict, by its untimely return in less than a week to Plymouth; through a contagious distemper which seized on the ship's crew<sup>c</sup>. Yet did not either this accident, or the unfortunate loss of his brother Sir Humphry, which has been heretofore related, drive from Raleigh's thoughts a scheme so beneficial to his country, as these northern discoveries seemed to be. He therefore digested into writing an account of the advantages which he supposed might attend the prosecution of such a design; and having laid his paper before the council, obtained her Majesty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the twenty-fifth of March 1584<sup>d</sup>. By this seasonable interposition, he kept alive that generous spirit of searching out, and planting distant countries, which has been ever since of such infinite service to the trade and navigation of England.

It was not long before Mr. Raleigh carried his patent into execution; for having made choice of two worthy commanders, Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Arthur Barlow, he fitted out their vessels with such expedition, though intirely at his own expence, that on the twenty-seventh of April following, they set sail from the west of England for the coast of North America, where they safely arrived in the beginning of the month of July, and took possession of that fine country, which has been since so famous by the name bestowed on it by Queen Elisabeth; and not given (as is generally surmised) by Sir Walter Raleigh, of Virginia<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's invention of shipping in his select essays, p. 36.

<sup>b</sup> Shirley's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19. Lloyd's state-worthies, p. 487.

<sup>c</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 149.

<sup>d</sup> Historical account of the voyages of Sir W. Raleigh, London, 1719, 8vo, p. 8. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243.

<sup>e</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 25.

About this time he was chosen knight of the shire for the county of Devon<sup>w</sup>, and making a considerable figure in parliament, he, upon some occasion, entering the royal presence, in his capacity as a member of the House of Commons, received the honour of knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known. In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a second fleet for Virginia, in which he had very good success, his ships in their return taking a Spanish prize, worth fifty thousand pounds<sup>x</sup>. He was likewise concerned in Captain Davis's undertaking, for the discovery of the north-west passage; for which reason a promontory in Davis's freights was called Mount Raleigh<sup>y</sup>. In respect to these public-spirited, and very expensive projects, the queen was pleased to make him some profitable grants; particularly two, the first of wine-licences<sup>z</sup>, and the other of a feigniory in Ireland, consisting of twelve thousand acres, which he planted at his own expence, and many years after sold to Richard Boyle, the first earl of Corke<sup>a</sup>. Encouraged by these favours, he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia, and two barks, to cruize on the Spaniards near the Azores, which had such success, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them<sup>b</sup>. This good fortune of his abroad, was so improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen, in the latter part of the year 1586, made him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the stanneries in Devonshire and Cornwall, which preferments, though no more than his merit deserved, yet exposed him to the malice of such as, having no deserts of their own, despaired of attaining by their intrigues, the like advantages<sup>c</sup>.

In the year 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out a fourth fleet for Virginia, at his own expence; and in 1588 a fifth; but neither had any great success, notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all respects, and to employ none in this service but men of resolution and repu-

<sup>w</sup> Willis's notitia parliamentaria, vol. ii. p. 254.  
iii. p. 251.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. p. 102.

Raleigh, p. 26.

<sup>a</sup> Cox's history of Ireland, p. 389—392.

vol. ii. part ii. p. 120.

<sup>c</sup> See Hooker's dedication of his Supplement to the Irish chronicles to Sir Walter Raleigh.

<sup>x</sup> Hakluyt, vol.

<sup>z</sup> Oldys's life of Sir Walter

<sup>b</sup> Hakluyt,

tion<sup>d</sup>. These disappointments, however, served only to shew the constancy of our hero's temper, and the firmness with which he pursued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good, how little soever it turned to his private advantage. With justice, therefore, was the wise Queen Elizabeth liberal to such a man, who, whatever he received from her bounty with one hand, bestowed it immediately in acts glorious to the nation with the other. The fertile field thus refunds the sun's golden beams, in a beautiful and copious harvest of golden ears.

When the nation was alarmed with the news of the king of Spain's famous armada, Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the council appointed to consider of ways and means for repulsing those invaders; and his application of his thoughts to this important question, at that time, produced such a scheme for defence, as may be of the greatest use to this island, while it remains such<sup>e</sup>. He did not, however, confine himself to this province of giving advice; but as he had often fitted out ships for his country's honour, and his own, so he now did the like for its defence; and not satisfied even with that, he exposed also his person, among the many noble volunteers, who went to sea upon that occasion, and performed such signal services in the attack and destruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the queen's favour, who granted him some additional advantages in his wine-office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal source of that wealth, which he employed so much to his honour in all public services<sup>f</sup>.

About this time he made an assignment of all his right, title, and interest in the colony of Virginia, to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, in hopes they might be able to carry on a settlement there, more successfully than he had done. He had already spent upwards of forty thousand pounds in his several attempts for that purpose; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a prospect of gain,

<sup>d</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 208.  
 Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 39.  
 gions, p. 244.

<sup>e</sup> See an extract of this piece in Oldys's

<sup>f</sup> Townshend's historical collec-

or through an unwillingness to run any further hazard; for instead of taking a consideration, he gave them, at the time of making the assignment, an hundred pounds towards their first expences, neither did he make any reserve, except the fifths of all gold and silver mines. All his view was, to engage such a number of joint adventurers, as by their concurring interests, and industry, might strengthen his infant colony, and enable it to reach the end which he had designed. With the same view he continued to assist the company with his advice and protection, whenever they desired it; and the difficulties they struggled with, for twenty years after, sufficiently shewed, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor Virginia did not sooner flourish, and that his wisdom and prudence were no less to be admired in this disposal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deserved applause, in first fixing upon so advantageous a spot, which has since proved itself worthy of all the care and expence employed in the support of it<sup>a</sup>.

When a proposition was made by Don Antonio, king of Portugal, to Queen Elisabeth, to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered appeared so reasonable, that her Majesty was content to bear a considerable share in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-spirited subjects to furnish the rest<sup>b</sup>. Her Majesty's quota consisted of six men of war, and three-score thousand pounds; to which the adventurers added a hundred and twenty sail of ships, and between fourteen and fifteen thousand men, soldiers and sailors. In the fitting out this fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh was deeply concerned, and took a share himself in the expedition, of which a large account has been given already<sup>c</sup>, and therefore there is no need of repeating it here; especially since we meet with no particulars, which personally respect Sir Walter worth mentioning, except it be taking some hulks belonging to the Hanse-towns, for which he, together with some other commanders,

<sup>a</sup> Hakluyt's voyages, first edit. p. 875.

ter to the treasurer, in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 536.

<sup>b</sup> See Don Antonio's letter to the treasurer, in Strype's annals, vol. iii. p. 536.

<sup>c</sup> See the naval history of Queen Elisabeth, p. 369.

received,

received, as a special mark of the queen's favour, a gold chain<sup>k</sup>. The next year he made a voyage to Ireland, and towards the latter end of it, formed a grand design of attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, taking the plate-fleet, and sacking Panama<sup>l</sup>.

This enterprize, like that of Portugal, was partly at the queen's charge, and partly at that of private persons, among whom the principal were Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir John Hawkins; the former intending to go in person as commander in chief of the fleet, which consisted of two of the queen's ships, and thirteen sail besides<sup>m</sup>. Many accidents happened, which detained these ships on the English coast for twelve weeks; but at last Sir Walter Raleigh sailed on the sixth of May, 1592. The very next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed, and overtook him with the queen's letter to recal him; but he, thinking his honour too deeply engaged, continued at sea, till all hopes of success, according to their intended scheme, was lost; and then returned, leaving the command of the fleet to Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Burgh (or Burrough), with orders to cruize on the coast of Spain, and the islands. In pursuance of these orders, Sir John Burgh happily made himself master of the *Madre de Dios*, or Mother of God, one of the greatest ships belonging to the crown of Portugal, which he brought safely into Dartmouth, on the 7th of September, in the same year<sup>n</sup>. This is said to have been the most considerable prize, till then, taken in this war, and therefore it may not be amiss to give a particular account of it.

This carrack was in burden no less than sixteen hundred tons, whereof nine hundred were merchandize; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks, seven storey, one main orlope, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck, of two floors a-piece. According to the observations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent geometrician, she was in length, from

<sup>k</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 50.  
part ii. p. 194.

<sup>l</sup> Hakluyt, vol. ii.

<sup>m</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 280.

<sup>n</sup> See a true report of the honourable service by Sir John Burrough, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepared by Sir Walter Raleigh, in Hakluyt, as before cited.

the beak-head to the stern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121 feet; its circuit at the partners, near eleven feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet<sup>o</sup>. As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall, the 15th of September this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelane, or china-ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergris, with many other commodities of inferior value. The caragison freighted ten of our ships for London, and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling<sup>p</sup>. When this vessel was first taken, both Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins judged it to be worth four times that sum<sup>q</sup>; and so in all probability she was: but in spite of all the care Sir John Burgh could take, the seamen embezzled a vast quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better situation, when she was brought home. Sir William Monson tells us the reason, and I chuse to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure," says he, "in this voyage, was only two ships, one of which, and the least of them too, was at the taking the carrack; which title joined to her royal authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the adventurers were forced to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently<sup>r</sup>." Thus it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that the queen, and not Sir Walter, was most benefited by this capture; and there is reason to believe the like happened upon other occasions, though Sir Walter was generally left to bear the blame.

While Sir Walter remained at home, his great genius displayed itself in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free state. He shone in the senate as a patriot, and the remains we have of his speeches, leave us in doubt which we ought most to admire, the beauty of his eloquence or the strength of his understanding<sup>s</sup>. He was, besides, the patron and protec-

<sup>o</sup> Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Affirmed in the close of the said account.

<sup>q</sup> This

original is still preserved in the Harleian collection, Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 65.

<sup>r</sup> Naval tracts, p. 181.

<sup>s</sup> Sir Simonds d'Ears

journal of Queen Elisabeth's parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Hayward Townshend's historical collections, fol. 65.

tor of learned men, the great encourager of all public undertakings, and one of the queen's declared favourites at court<sup>1</sup>. It was here that Sir Walter Raleigh found himself at a loss. In spite of all his wisdom and prudence he became enamoured of Mrs. Throckmorton, one of the queen's ladies of honour, and the consequences of this amour proved such as could not be concealed. The queen, though she had passed by errors of a like nature in Leicester and Essex, yet punished this mistake of Raleigh very severely; but whether led thereto by the insinuations of his enemies, or from a notion, that the greater a man's abilities the less his offences deserved pardon, I pretend not to determine<sup>2</sup>. However, the queen's frowns wrought, in this respect, a proper reformation. Sir Walter meditated in his retirement a greater design<sup>3</sup> than hitherto he had undertaken while in the queen's favour, and that was the discovery of the rich and spacious empire of Guiana, a noble country in South America, which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this day have never conquered.

From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever informations might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himself as much master of the subject as books could make him, he drew up instructions for Captain Whiddon, an old experienced officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the possibility of discovering and subduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards settled in its neighbourhood. This fixed Sir Walter in his resolution; and therefore, having provided a squadron of ships at his own expence, and those of his noble friends the Lord-high-admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, he prepared for this adventure<sup>4</sup>, which he also accomplished.

On the 6th of February, 1595, he sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at the isle of Trinidad on the 22d of March. He there made himself easily master of St. Joseph's, a small city, and took

<sup>1</sup> Naunton's fragments regalia. Lloyd's state worthies. <sup>2</sup> Camden, p. 697. Dr. Birch's memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 79. Naunton's fragments regalia. Lloyd's state worthies. <sup>3</sup> See the dedication prefixed to his own discourse hereafter mentioned. <sup>4</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Oldys, p. 77.

the Spanish governor Antonio Boreo prisoner, who gave him a full and exact description of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in those parts, unknown before to the English. On this information he left the ship at Trinidad, and with a hundred men, in several little barks, proceeded up the river Oronoque 400 miles in search of Guiana. Carrapana, one of the petty kings of the country, and several others of them, resigning their sovereignties into his hand for the queen's use. But the weather was so hot, and the rains so violent, that he was forced to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as crushed by the rage and power of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contribution he assigned them to pay to save the town, he fired it, as also St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha; which done, he returned home with glory and riches. Of the whole of his proceedings, the manner of his entering this hidden country, and making a farther progress there in a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the soil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold, Sir Walter has left us so fair, so copious, and so well written a relation<sup>a</sup>, that, if his subsequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a shade over so bright a prospect, we could scarce render a reason why Guiana should not at this time have been as thoroughly known, and as completely settled by the English as Virginia.

Whatever might be pretended by the deep and cunning statesmen of that age, as that many things fabulous, and more uncertain, were related in Sir Walter's account; and that it was hazarding too much to send a large fleet, well manned, into so sickly a climate; whatever, I say, of this kind was pretended (as wise men will never want pretences, even when their passions incline them to do weak things), yet envy was certainly the true cause why his proposals were postponed at first, and afterwards, notwithstanding all his pressing solicitations, absolutely rejected<sup>a</sup>. Sir Walter, however, to shew his own entire confidence in this

<sup>a</sup> Under the title of "The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden city Manao, called by the Spaniards El Derado, and performed in the year 1595 by Sir Walter Raleigh, imprinted at London by Robert Robinson, 4to, 1596."

<sup>a</sup> See Captain Kemeys's dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Scheme, and perhaps with a view to make things so plain, that even his detractors should have nothing to object, fitted out two ships at his own expence; the *Delight* and the *Discoverer*, and sent them under Captain Kemeys, who had served in the former enterprize to Guiana, as well to make farther inquiries, as in some measure to keep his word with the Indians, to whom he had promised, in the name of the queen his mistress, such assistance as might enable them to drive away the Spaniards, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than subdue them. This voyage Kemeys successfully performed, and at his return published such an account of his expedition<sup>b</sup> as might have converted, to Sir Walter Raleigh's opinion of Guiana, all whom invincible ignorance or over-weening prejudice, had not destined to remain infidels.

The next important expedition in which we find Sir Walter engaged, was that famous one to Cadiz, wherein the earl of Essex and the Lord-high-admiral Howard were joint commanders, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with many other persons of great military skill and prudence, appointed of their council<sup>c</sup>. We have already given a general account of the nature and design of this expedition, and here therefore we shall dwell only on such particulars as more immediately relate to the gentleman of whom we are speaking. The fleet sailed in the beginning of June 1596, and on the 20th of the same month they arrived before Cadiz. The Lord-admiral's opinion was to attack and take the town first, that the English fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the same time. The council of war, which he called upon this occasion, concurred with him in opinion, and so a resolution was taken instantly to attack the town<sup>d</sup>.

It so happened, that Sir Walter Raleigh was not at this council, and the earl of Essex was actually putting his men into boats before Raleigh was acquainted with the design. As soon as he knew it, he went to the earl, and protested against it, offering such weighty reasons for their falling first on the galleons, and

<sup>b</sup> A relation of the second voyage to Guiana, performed and written in 1596, by Lawrence Kemeys, gent. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 683. <sup>c</sup> Camden's annals, p. 720. <sup>d</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 184. Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 187. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 2929.

the ships in the harbour, that the earl was convinced of the necessity of doing it, and desired Sir Walter to dissuade the Lord-admiral from landing. Sir Walter undertook it, and prevailed with him to consent, that the fleet should first enter the port, and fall on the Spanish galleons and gallies. When he returned to the earl of Essex with the news, crying out aloud in his long-boat, *Entramos*, the earl flung his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir Walter gave the lord-admiral a draught of the manner in which he thought best to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been sufficiently battered by the queen's ships of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, Raleigh in the Warpight had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour and consisted of the *Mary Rose* commanded by Sir George Carew, the *Lyon* by Sir Robert Southwell, the *Rainbow* by Sir Francis Vere, the *Swiftsure* by Capt. Crofts, the *Dreadnought* by Sir Conyers Clifford, and the *Nonpareil* by Mr. Dudley. These were followed by the fly-boats and London hired ships, the Lord Thomas Howard leaving his own ship, the *Merc Honeur*, to go on board the *Nonpareil*. Yet the action did not commence that evening, because, being a matter of great importance, the council had not time to regulate the manner of it exactly<sup>c</sup>.

On the 22d of June, Sir Walter weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the Spanish fleet, which had thus disposed itself to resist the attack. Seventeen gallies were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the English ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort-Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and some culverins scoured the channel. When the Spanish admiral, the *St. Philip*, perceived the English approaching under sail, she also set sail, and with her the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Thomas*, the *St. Andrew*, the two great galleasses of Lisbon, three frigates, convoy to their plate-fleet from the Havannah, two ar-

<sup>c</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh's relation of the action at Cadiz, published by his grandson Philip Raleigh, Esq; at the end of an abridgment of Sir Walter Raleigh's history of the world, 1700, 8vo.. *Triumphs of Nassau*, and *Purchas's pilgrims*, before cited.

gofies, very strong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of Nueva Espanna, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. Of these the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Thomas, four capital ships came again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in the streight of the harbour which leads to Puerto-Real. On the starboard-side they placed the three frigates, behind them the two galleasses of Lisbon. The argosies, and the seventeen gallies, they posted to play on the English as they entered the harbour; and behind these the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet, hoping by this great strength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the streight from point to point, and was guarded by the fort of Puntal. Sir Walter, in the van of the English was saluted by Fort-Philip, by the cannon on the curtain, and by all the gallies in good order. Raleigh scorned their fire, and answered with a flourish of trumpets, without discharging a gun. The ships that followed him beat so thick on the gallies, that they presently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the streights. Sir Walter gave them several broadsides as they drove by him, and bore down on the St. Philip and St. Andrew, as more worthy of his fire. The Lord Thomas Howard came to an anchor by him; Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion did the same on the one side, and the Dreadnought and the Mary Rose on the other; the Rainbow lay on Puntal side; and thus they cannonaded each other for three hours. About ten o'clock the Earl of Essex, impatient to hear the noise of the guns and to be himself out of action, made through the fleet, headed the ships on the larboard-side of the Warspight, and anchored as near Sir Walter as possible. Raleigh kept always closest to the enemy, and stood single in the head of all. After they had played so long on the capital ships, Sir Walter went in his skiff to the admiral, desiring that the fly-boats which were promised him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ship, it being the same to him whether he sunk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his fate.

The Earl of Essex and the Lord Thomas Howard had assured him they would second him <sup>f</sup>.

After a long and desperate fight, Sir Walter despairing of the fly-boats, and depending on Lord Essex and Lord Thomas Howard's promises to assist him, prepared to board the Spanish admiral; which the latter no sooner perceived, than she, and the other capital ships following her example, ran ashore. The admiral and the St. Thomas they burnt; the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew were saved by the English boats before they took fire. The English were merciful after their victory; but the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the sword, till they were checked by the lord-admiral, and their cruelty restrained by Sir Walter Raleigh. The most remarkable circumstance in this whole affair seems to be the disproportion between the English and Spanish force, there being but seven ships of the former against seventy-one of the latter. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more easy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with such an impetuosity, as did less honour to the officers than to the soldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went ashore, though he was wounded, to have some share of this; but when he saw that all things were in confusion, he very wisely returned on board the fleet <sup>g</sup>.

The next morning Sir Walter sent to the lord-admiral for orders to follow the Spanish West India fleet outward bound, lying then in Puerto-Real, where they could not escape him; but in the hurry and confusion every one was in on the taking of the town, this opportunity was slipped, and no answer returned to his demand. In the afternoon the merchants of Seville and Cadiz offered two millions to save those ships; and while the bargain hung, the Duke of Medina Sidonia caused all that rich fleet to be burnt; and thus were all the galleons, gallies, frigates, argosies, and the fleets of New-Spain, royal and trading, consumed, except the St. Matthew and the St. Andrew, which were

<sup>f</sup> See the foregoing relations, and the voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's collection.

<sup>g</sup> Camden, *Triumphs of Nassau*, Hakluyt's account of the Cadiz voyage, Vere's commentaries, p. 39, and Sir Walter's own account before-mentioned.

in possession of the English. The town was very rich in merchandize and plate. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land-commanders, who were enriched by their ransom; some had ten, some sixteen, some twenty thousand ducats for their prisoners; others had houses and goods given them, and sold them to the owners for vast sums of money. Sir Walter got, to use his own words, "a lame leg and deformed; for the rest, " he either spoke too late, or 'twas otherwise resolved; he " wanted not good words, yet had possession of nought but poverty and pain<sup>b</sup>."

In their return home they took Faro in the kingdom of Algarve; and Essex proposed some other enterprises, in which he was opposed, and the point carried against him by the concurring opinions of the chief land and sea-officers. Yet on his return, Essex published some remarks, or, as he calls them, objections in relation to this voyage, wherein (as Mr. Oldys well observes, and therein justly censures Sir Henry Wotton) the earl questions every body's conduct but his own. The queen, however, taking time to inform herself, made a right judgment of the whole affair; in consequence of which, she paid a due respect to every man's merit, and greater to none than to that of Sir Walter Raleigh<sup>c</sup>.

Immediately after his return, our hero bethought himself of his favourite project, the settling Guiana. In order to further discoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he sent a stout pinnace, well freighted with every thing necessary, under the command of Captain Leonard Berrie, which safely arrived there in the month of March 1597; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coast, and learned from them very particular accounts of the present state and riches of the higher country, they returned again to the port of Plymouth the 28th of June following. This expedition seems to be an indubitable proof of two things: first, that Sir Walter himself was in earnest in this discovery, otherwise there can be no cause assigned, why, having so many matters of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind.

<sup>b</sup> Camden, *Vere's commentaries*, p. 42. and Sir Walter's relation.

<sup>c</sup> Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 106.

Secondly,

Secondly, that Sir Walter's hopes were as well founded as it was possible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, since the account given us of this voyage is such an one as is liable to no just objections<sup>k</sup>.

The next public service wherein we meet with Sir Walter Raleigh, is that called *The Island-Voyage*, of which we have also given a copious account formerly. In this undertaking, of which we have as full and clear memorials as of any in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, it very plainly appears, that Essex had the command, and Raleigh the abilities; which was the true reason why the former acquired so little honour, and the latter so much; though with a less jealous commander he had certainly attained more. Their disputes began early. A misfortune fell out in Raleigh's ship in the bay of Biscay, which obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of Lisbon, he met with a large number of ships and tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores. This signal service the creatures of Essex, by a sort of logic in which they were well practised, construed into a high offence; for they pretended, that these vessels had quitted the general, to wait on the rear-admiral; but Sir Walter having convinced the earl, that these ships came to the rock of Lisbon as the rendezvous appointed by himself, and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his Lordship, Essex had sense enough to be pacified for that time<sup>l</sup>: but soon after things went wrong again. It was agreed in a council of war, that the general and Sir Walter Raleigh should land jointly on the island of Fayall, where Raleigh waited four days for his lordship, and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was resolved, by such as were less concerned for Essex's honour than the nation's glory, that Sir Walter should attempt by himself, what it was settled they should jointly have performed. This resolution he executed, and shewed therein as much personal courage as any private soldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wise and experienced commander; so that we need not

<sup>k</sup> See the relation of this voyage by Mr. Thomas Mosham, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 692.

<sup>l</sup> See the accurate relation of all that passed in this voyage, by Sir Arthur Gorges, in Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1938.

wonder he met with success, and did all that he designed. Essex, on his arrival, forgot the public service, and thought of nothing but his own private disgrace, which vexed him so much, that he broke some of the officers who had behaved gallantly under Raleigh; and some talk there was of trying him, and taking off his head; but at last, by the mediation of Lord Thomas Howard, who was vice-admiral, and Sir Walter's condescending to excuse his having done so much, before his lordship did any thing, matters were made up once again. The cashiered officers were restored, Raleigh returned to his care of the public service, and Essex proceeded in his mistakes<sup>m</sup>. In consequence of these, they missed the West India fleet, though Raleigh had the good luck to take some prizes, the produce of which paid his men, so that he lost neither credit nor money by the voyage. On his return, though Essex is said to have found means to throw the miscarriage of all his pompous promises on inevitable accidents, with the mob, and some of his creatures imputed them to Sir Walter; yet these accusations would not pass with the queen, who shewed Raleigh more favour than ever; even though he took less pains to vindicate himself, and testified more respect for the great earl than perhaps any other man would have done<sup>n</sup>.

The next year we find him again in parliament, where he distinguished himself, by uniting what of late have been thought opposite characters, the patriot and the servant of the crown, but which he shewed to be very consistent. By his interest with the queen, he procured some griping projects to be discountenanced; by his weight in the house, he promoted supplies; he also obtained some indulgences for the tinnors in Cornwall, and shewed himself, upon all occasions, a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleased to sit out, in the space of a fortnight, so great a navy as struck her neighbours with awe, Sir Walter was appointed vice-admiral; which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a single month, yet was a high mark of the queen's confidence, since at that time

<sup>m</sup> See an excellent account of this affair by Sir Walter himself, in his history of the world, b. v. c. i. § 9. and in the before mentioned relation.

<sup>n</sup> See Sir Arthur Gorges's account before referred to. Vere's commentaries, p. 65, 66, 67.

she was no less apprehensive of stir at home, than of an invasion from abroad. In 1600, the queen was pleased to send Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh to the Dutch, and after conferring with Prince Maurice of Nassau, Sir Walter returned again about the middle of the year, and, a little after, he was by the queen made governor of the island of Jersey; but she reserved three hundred pounds a-year out of that government to be disposed of as she thought fit<sup>o</sup>.

His next great service was against Essex, in his insurrection in the February following. It would be a great deal beside our purpose to enter into a long detail of that perplexed affair. Let it suffice then that we observe, after a due comparison of what contemporary writers have left us of this matter, that Lord Essex was his own enemy, and that he brought Sir Walter's name upon the carpet to screen his own designs. He gave out, that the cause of his arming was to defend himself against his personal enemies, pretending that Cobham and Raleigh had contrived a scheme to assassinate him: whereas Sir Christopher Blunt had in truth made a proposal of this sort to Essex, with respect to Raleigh; and when this was judged impracticable, advised the propagating the other story to colour their proceedings, as himself confessed. When the mischief broke out, Sir Walter did his duty, and no more than his duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that after the earl of Essex was condemned, he pressed the queen to sign a warrant for his execution, and that he shewed a particular pleasure in beholding his death; which, however, is not strictly true; for though he had placed himself near the scaffold before the earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his death, because the people seemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light: but this he afterwards repented; because, when the earl came to die, he expressed a great desire to have seen and spoke to him, from a foresight of which Sir Walter Raleigh had taken that post.

The point of fact, as to his sentiments upon this subject, has been effectually cleared since the publishing this work, by the appearance of the following letter, from Sir Walter Raleigh's original, now in the collection of manuscripts belonging to the right honourable the earl of Salisbury, and printed by Dr.

• Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 126—130.

Murdin. It makes no great alteration, in respect to what was before asserted; since Sir Walter, though he avowed a very high personal friendship for Sir Robert Cecil, yet at the same time established his advice on his concern for the queen's safety. In this, which is a little strange, he had the earl of Essex's concurrence; who declared to the preacher, sent to attend, and to worm out his secrets, in prison, that the queen could never be safe while he lived. But to come to the letter, thus it runs :

“ SIR,

“ I AM not wise enough to give you advice; but if you take  
 “ It for a good counsel to relent towards this tyrant, you will  
 “ repent it when it shall be too late. His malice is fixt, and  
 “ will not evaporate by any of your mild courses, for he will  
 “ ascribe the alteration to her Majesty's pusillanimity, and not  
 “ to your good-nature; knowing that you work but upon her  
 “ humour, and not out of any love towards him. The less  
 “ you make him, the less he shall be able to harm you and  
 “ yours. And if her Majesty's favour faile him, he will againe  
 “ decline to a common person. For after-revenges fear them  
 “ not. For your own father, that was esteemed to be the  
 “ contriver of Norfolk's ruin; yet his son followeth your fa-  
 “ ther's son; and loveth him. Humours of men succeed not,  
 “ but grow by occasions; and accidents of time and power.  
 “ Somerset made no revenge on the duke of Northumberland's  
 “ hearers: Northumberland that now is, thinks not of Hat-  
 “ ton's issue. Kelloway lives that murdered the brother of  
 “ Horsey, and Horsey let him go by all his lifetime. I could  
 “ name you a thousand of those, and therefore after-fears are  
 “ but prophecies, or rather conjectures from causes remote.  
 “ Look to the present, and you do wisely. His son shall be  
 “ the youngest earl of England but one, and if his father be  
 “ now kept down, Will Cecil shall be able to keep as many  
 “ men at his heels as he, and more too. He may also matche  
 “ in a better house than his, and so that fear is not worth the  
 “ fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break  
 “ the branches, and pull up the tree root and all. Lose not  
 “ your advantage; if you do I note your destiny.

VOL. I.

3 S

“ Let

" Let the queen hold Bothwell while she hath him. He  
 " will ever be the canker of her estate and faulty. Princes  
 " are lost by security, and preserved by prevention. I have  
 " seen the last of her good days, and all our's, after his li-  
 " bertye.

" Yours, &c. W. R.<sup>4</sup>

Sir W. R. to Sir R. C. 1601.

There is nothing more shrewd and sensible in this letter, than the giving Essex the name of Bothwell. This singular person was, in a bastard line, the grandson of James V. king of Scots. He came to the court of King James then reigning, by the name of Captain Francis Stuart, grew into favour, was created earl of Bothwell, and made lord high-admiral of Scotland. He was not only a person of boundless arrogance and ambition, but of so restless and unruly a spirit, that he kept the king and kingdom in continual confusion. He was forfeited over and over, but by his factious connection with some of the nobility, was as often recalled and pardoned. He surprised and forced the royal palace of Holy-Rood-House, he had invested the castle of Fawkland, he had entered sword in hand into the king's bed-chamber, and took him out in his shirt, but eight years before, and all this purely from a spirit of dominion, and contempt of his master's ministers, which facts, then recent and notorious, must occur to Cecil's remembrance on reading his name<sup>4</sup>.

It is evident, that Sir Walter, by this admonition, meant to confirm Sir Robert Cecil in his design to crush Essex absolutely; but whether it clearly dissuades the sparing his life, the reader may judge. Raleigh's own life had been in great danger, which was the reason when Sir Christopher Blunt came to die, he actually begged Sir Walter's pardon, and confessed the wrong that had been done him, in the reports spread to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confession

<sup>3</sup> Murdin's state papers, p. 811.

<sup>4</sup> Spotswood's history of the church of Scotland, p. 394, 395, 402, 407, 409. Moyser's memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 139, 154, 155, 179, 188, 206, 237. Winwood's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 95, 440, 487.

did not quash such reports; but from this time forward Raleigh had more enemies than ever; and, which was worse, the queen's successor was prejudiced against him, by such accounts as were transmitted to him in Scotland\*.

It is not at all impossible, that those artful statesmen, who had so much address as to make the populace then, and, by employing the pen of a learned historian, the world in general now believe, they were seconds only in these quarrels, and Essex and Raleigh principals, hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other; by inflaming Essex against Raleigh first, which induced him to write in his prejudice to King James, with whom, by the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon, he kept a constant correspondence, and after bringing him to the block, allowing the truth of those informations, that they might run no hazard (in a new reign) from Sir Walter Raleigh's abilities. The conjecture is rendered probable enough from the whole thread of the relation, nor would it be a very hard task to prove it was really so from incontestible authorities. So easy it is in courts, for malice and cunning to get the better of courage and sense.

In the summer of the year 1601, he attended the queen in her progress, and on the arrival of the duke de Biron, as ambassador from France, he received him, by her Majesty's appointment, and conferred with him on the subject of his embassy. In the last parliament of the queen, Sir Walter was a very active member, and distinguished himself upon all occasions, by opposing such bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppression of the meaner sort of people; such as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of a like nature. Nor was he less ready to countenance such laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private interest clashed with public benefit, and there was a necessity of hurting some, for the sake of doing good to all. This shews that he had a just notion of popularity, and knew how to distinguish between deserving and desiring it. An instance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the restraining the exporta-

\* Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133—139.

tion of ordnance, which, at that time, was of mighty advantage to such as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpressible detriment to the nation; because it was the source of the enemy's power at sea, the Spanish navy making use of none but English cannon.

In the point of monopolies, indeed, he was not altogether so clear; but he shewed that he made a moderate use of the grants he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to surrender his freely \*.

Upon the demise of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter was not without hopes of coming into favour with her successor, whose countenance he had sought by various presents, and other testimonies of respect, which he sent into Scotland, and from the reception they met with, had no reason at all to suspect that he stood upon ill terms with King James †. He was not ignorant, however, of the pains taken by Essex, to infuse into the king's mind prejudices against him, which, however, he thought to wear out by assiduous service. On the king's coming into England, he had, notwithstanding common reports, frequent access to him, and thereby an opportunity of discovering both his desire and his capacity of serving his Majesty. But he quickly found himself coolly treated, nor was he long at a loss for the reason. Sir Robert Cecil, who had been his friend and associate, so long as they were both in danger from Essex, foreseeing that, if ever Raleigh came into King James's confidence, his administration would not last long, drew such a character of him to that prince, as he thought most likely to disgust him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that Raleigh was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarrass him with his neighbours ‡. Sir Walter, in return for this good office, did him another; for he drew up a memorial, whercin he shewed plainly, that the affection of the Cecils for his Majesty was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of that family

\* Heyward Townshend's collections, and Sir Simonds d'Ewes's journal of Queen Elizabeth's parliaments.

† Dr. Peter Heylyn's examen. historicum, p. 170. A brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, p. 1.

‡ Baker's chronicle, Osborne's memorials of the reign of King James, &c.

his mother lost her head, and that they never thought of promoting his succession, till they saw it would take place in spite of them<sup>w</sup>. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected; nor indeed would he have expected them, if he had known King James thoroughly. That timorous prince saw the power of Cecil at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effects of his own favour, and so became dependent upon him, as he afterwards was upon Buckingham, whom for many years he trusted, but did not love<sup>x</sup>. This, with his aversion to all martial enterprizes, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to Sir Walter's proposals; and perhaps to do more than this, if we are so just to Cecil, as to suppose that he did not afterwards persecute Raleigh without a cause, I mean without personal offence given to him. However it was, Raleigh had the mortification to see himself, notwithstanding the pains he had taken, slighted and ill used at court: and this might probably determine him to keep company with some who were in the same situation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before; which, however, proved his ruin<sup>y</sup>.

Among these companions of his was Lord Cobham, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom Raleigh had a great ascendant, and with whom he lived in constant correspondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much discontented, had an intercourse with various sorts of people, and talked to each in such a style as he thought would be most agreeable to them. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth he had conferred with the duke of Aremberg, a Flemish nobleman in the king of Spain's service, and who was now in England as ambassador from the arch-duke; but, in truth, with a view to negotiate a peace with Spain. With him Cobham renewed his acquaintance, and in his name proposed giving Sir Walter a large sum of money, if instead of opposing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace<sup>z</sup>. In the mean time, some

<sup>w</sup> See Dr. Welwood's notes on Arthur Wilson's history of King James, as it is printed in Dr. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. i. p. 663, 664.    <sup>x</sup> See the Earl of Bristol's answer to the articles of high treason, exhibited against him in parliament, printed in Frankland's annals of King James and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.    <sup>y</sup> See Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.    <sup>z</sup> Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 97.

Popish priests, and other disaffected and designing persons, had framed a plot against the king and royal family, which was to be executed by seizing, if not destroying, his Majesty and his children, and with some of these people Cobham also had an intercourse, by the means of his brother Mr. Brooke. This last treason being discovered, and traced to the persons we have just mentioned, there grew a suspicion of Cobham, and in consequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, there arose some doubts also as to him. Upon this they were all apprehended, and Cobham, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge Sir Walter with several things in his confession<sup>a</sup>. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend these treasons together, though they, or at least Cecil, knew them to be distinct things; and so he states them in a letter to Mr. Winwood, wherein he shews his dislike to Sir Walter Raleigh, and his sense at the same time of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof, was made up in force and fraud. The priests, Watson and Clerk, were first tried and convicted; so was Mr. George Brooke, who had been their associate: and on the seventeenth of November 1603, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Winchester, and convicted of high-treason, by the influence of the court, and the bawling Billingsgate eloquence of the Attorney-general Coke, without any colour of evidence<sup>b</sup>. This is that treason which was so justly slighted in his days, and which has so much perplexed ours.

That there was really no truth in what was alledged against Sir Walter, may be proved to a demonstration, if we consider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the surprising treason or plot to seize the king and his family, was the hearsay testimony of George Brooke, that his brother Cobham should say, "That it would never be well till the fox and cubs were taken off;" and afterwards, speaking to this Brooke, "That he, Lord Grey, and others, were only on the bye, but Raleigh and himself were on the main;"

<sup>a</sup> See the whole proceedings in the first volume of state-trials.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Cecil's letter to Mr. Winwood, in Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 3. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 157.

intimating,

intimating, that they were only trusted with lesser matters, but that the capital scheme, before-mentioned, was concerted between him and Sir Walter<sup>c</sup>. Yet when Brooke came to die, as he did deservedly, upon his own confession he recalled and retracted this circumstance, owning, that he never heard his brother make use of that phrase about the fox and cubs<sup>d</sup>, which takes away consequently the credit of that other story grounded upon it: and this we have upon the best authority that can be, that of Lord Cecil (afterwards earl of Salisbury) himself, who commends Brooke for shewing this remorse in his last moments<sup>e</sup>. Thus, out of his capital enemy's mouth, I have proved the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who constantly and judiciously at his trial distinguished between the surprising treason and the conferences with Aremberg. The former he denied the least knowledge of, but, as to the latter, owned, that Cobham had talked to him of a large present, in case he would be for a peace with Spain, and complained of the hardship of dying for having once heard a vain man say a few idle things<sup>f</sup>.

Though the law made no distinction between Sir Walter Raleigh and the rest who were involved in this treason, yet the king made a great deal; for he never signed any warrant for his execution<sup>g</sup>, but on the contrary projected that strange tragic-comedy of bringing the two Lords Cobham and Grey, with Sir Griffin Markham, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to discover the truth of what Cobham had alledged against Raleigh, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two<sup>h</sup>. As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aside all thoughts of taking away his life; and, if Raleigh laboured some time under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adversaries, than to any ill intention in the king, of which I discern no signs, and of the contrary to which Sir Walter himself in his letters seems to be positive. Neither do I say this with any view of excusing King James, but purely out of respect to truth; and

<sup>c</sup> See Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of Sir Walter's arraignment, p. 12. <sup>d</sup> Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 8.

<sup>e</sup> In the before-cited letter of Lord Cecil to Mr. Winwood.

<sup>f</sup> Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 101, 106.

<sup>g</sup> Stowe's annals, p. 831.

<sup>h</sup> Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 11. Raleigh's remains, p. 192.

that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a prince who suffers himself to be absolutely directed by his ministers, since not only the vices of such a monarch are destructive, but even his virtues become useless.

As there seems to be a desire in the present age to know the certainty of things; without resting in that scrupulous report of facts, which cautious historians, from a strict regard to truth, are inclined to deliver, it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader, in few words, with what seems to be the reality of this mysterious business. Lord Cobham in the preceding reign had been connived at in carrying on a correspondence with one Lorenzi or Laurencie, a Flemish merchant at Antwerp, who was at this time in England, and through him Cobham corresponded with the duke of Aremberg. It is not my conjecture, but that of those who lived in these times, that it was this man disclosed the secret to Sir Robert Cecil, probably by Aremberg's direction, who thought this was the surest way of ruining Raleigh; and that the shortest method of coming at a peace. When Sir Walter was arrested, he saw his danger, but had no apprehension of his accuser, and therefore, in hopes of disintangling himself, directed Sir Robert Cecil by letter where to find Lorenzi and Lord Cobham. It was the shewing this letter that provoked Cobham to accuse Raleigh so deeply; but at the same time it is a proof of Sir Walter's innocence, of any thing more than that Cobham had corresponded with Aremberg; for if there had been any veracity in Cobham's charge, instead of giving up that lord and Lorenzi, Sir Walter Raleigh would in reality have been furnishing two witnesses against himself. The naked truth then seems to be, that the duke considered the plot as an idle impracticable undertaking, but at the same time judged, that he should render a very acceptable service to his court, in thus getting Sir Walter Raleigh involved in it; and in this light King James and his ministers seem afterwards to have considered it. There is no great doubt, that this heightened Sir Walter's hate to the Spaniards, which subsisted with the like force in them against him, till Count Gondomar, pursuing Duke Aremberg's blow, brought this unfortunate gentleman to the block. On many accounts, therefore, this treason might be styled, as it was in those times, **RALEIGH'S RIDDLE**, but in nothing more so than in this, that  
by

by the arts of two Spanish ministers the most inveterate enemy of Spain was brought to an untimely end, for having, as it was pretended, entered into a correspondence with Spain against a prince, who had seen through the whole contrivance so many years before he put him to death<sup>1</sup>.

In the month of December Raleigh was remanded to the Tower, and, upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the consolation of her company, and by degrees obtained still greater favours; for the king was pleased to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by Sir Walter's conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his lady and children<sup>2</sup>. In a reasonable space his estate followed his goods; and now he began to conceive himself in a fair way of being restored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was much mistaken; for a new court-favourite arising, who had a mind to enrich himself by such kind of grants, he discovered a flaw in the conveyance of Raleigh's estate to his son, which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was understood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. Upon an information in the court of exchequer, judgment was given for the crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite; who in 1609 had a complete grant of all that Sir Walter had forfeited<sup>3</sup>. This courtier was Sir Robert Carr, afterwards so well known to the world by the title of earl of Somerset, to whom Sir Walter wrote an excellent letter, wherein he stated the hardship of his own case without bitterness, expostulated freely and yet inoffensively about the wrong done him, and entreated the favourite's compassion without any unbecoming condescension<sup>4</sup>. All this, however, signified nothing; Sir Walter lost his estate, but not his hopes.

He spent a great part of his confinement in writing that shining and immortal monument of his parts and learning, THE

<sup>1</sup> Winwood's memorials, p. 8. Sir Anthony Weldon's court and character of King James, p. 31—41. Aulicus coquinariz, p. 74—97. Dr. Heylin's examination, p. 169—172. Osborne's works, vol. ii. p. 107. Ruthworth's historical collections, vol. i. p. p. State-trials, vol. i. p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Rymer's fœdera, tome xvi. p. 596. <sup>3</sup> A brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Printed from a MS. in Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 165.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD, wherein he has shewn that he consulted the wise rule of Horace, and fixed upon such a subject as suited with his genius, and under which, if we may guess from former and subsequent attempts, any genius but his must have sunk. He likewise devoted a part of his time to chymistry, to rational and useful chymistry, wherein he was no less successful, discovering that noble medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his cordial, though I think it is now doubtful, whether the true receipt of it be preserved or not<sup>a</sup>. Besides these, he turned his thoughts on various other subjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. Of these treatises many are printed, some are still preserved in MS. and not a few, I doubt, are lost. The patron of his studies was Prince Henry, the glory of the house of Stuart, the darling of the British nation while he lived, and the object of its sincere and universal lamentation by his untimely death. After his demise Sir Walter depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and steady protectress while the earl of Somerset's power lasted, whose hate was chiefly detrimental to Raleigh; for the king trusted him now, as he had Salisbury before, with implicit confidence, even after he had lost his affection: but he, by an intemperate use of his authority, having rendered himself obnoxious to the law, Sir Walter saw him his companion in the Tower, and his estates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown<sup>b</sup>. His enemies thus out of the court, Sir Walter was able to obtain the favour he had been long seeking, which was, after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the Tower, not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly spoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reasonable provision, but to spend the latter part of his days, as he had spent the first, in the pursuit of honour, and in the service of his country, or, as he him-

<sup>a</sup> See an excellent and copious account of his writings in the life before cited. Dr. Quincy in his dispensary, p. 445, 446. of the 11th edit. seems to undervalue this medicine chiefly on account of the number of ingredients, but Mr. Oldys shews in his life of Sir Walter, p. 169. that great liberties have been taken with this receipt, and the number of ingredients much heightened by physicians.

<sup>b</sup> Prince Henry endeavoured to obtain it for him: at last Sir Walter had 8000*l*. for it, as he tells us in his apology, p. 47.

self has with great dignity expressed it in a letter to Secretary Winwood, by whose interest chiefly this favour was obtained; “To die for the KING, and not by the KING, is all the ambition I have in the world <sup>p</sup>.”

The scheme he had now at heart was his old one of settling Guiana; a scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first wisely contrived, so he as constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when, considering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and indeed, so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded, and that, too, upon the best evidence in the world, his own eye-sight and judgment, that this was the richest country on the globe, and the worthiest of being settled for the benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that during his confinement he held a constant intercourse with Guiana, sending at his own charge every year, or every second year, a ship to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he had made them of coming to their assistance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower, and from whom, questionless, he received the clearest and most distinct intelligence of the situation and richness of the mines that he could possibly desire <sup>q</sup>. Upon these informations he offered the scheme, for prosecuting his discovery, to the court, three years before he undertook it in person; nor was there then any doubt either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulness, notwithstanding the peace made with Spain, otherwise the king would not have made such grants as he did even at that time; which shews that he was then convinced Sir Walter had in his first voyage discovered and taken possession of that country for the crown of England, and that consequently his subjects were justly intitled to any benefits that might accrue from this discovery, without the least respect had to the pretensions of the Spa-

<sup>p</sup> Raleigh's remains, p. 164. He had said the same before in regard to Queen Elizabeth. See his letter to Sir Robert Cecil in Murdin's collection of State-papers, p. 637.

<sup>q</sup> Raleigh's apology, p. 52, 55.

niards<sup>t</sup>. It may also deserve our notice, that at the time Sir Walter first moved the court upon this subject, the Spanish match was not thought of; but the wants of King James were then very pressing, and he may reasonably be presumed to have at this time placed as great hopes in this discovery, as he did in that match; though, when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew somewhat out of conceit with Sir Walter's; so that, if he had pleased, he might, for seven hundred pounds, have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquish his voyage: but he remaining firm to his purpose, and the king feeling his necessities daily increasing, was yet willing that he should proceed in his enterprize, in hopes of profiting thereby, without losing the prospect he then had of concluding the Spanish match. Such was the situation of Sir Walter, and such the disposition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his design, and was empowered by a royal commission (but at the expence of himself and his friends) to settle Guiana<sup>s</sup>.

It has been a great dispute, amongst writers, too, of some eminence, what sort of a commission that was with which Sir Walter was trusted. According to some, it should have been under the great seal of England, and directed, To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Walter Raleigh, knight<sup>t</sup>; according to others, and indeed according to the account given by King James himself, it was under the privy-seal, and without those expressions of trust or grace<sup>u</sup>. To end this dispute, I have consulted the most authentic collection we have of public instruments, and there I find a large commission to Sir Walter Raleigh, which agrees with that in the declaration<sup>w</sup>, and is dated the twenty-sixth of August, in the fourteenth year of the king's reign over England, and over Scotland the 50th. It is likewise said to be *per breve de privato sigillo*: yet I think that it is not impossible it might pass both seals, and I apprehend the conjecture is warranted by an expression in one of Sir Walter's letters<sup>x</sup>. However, the

<sup>r</sup> See Harcourt's voyage to Guiana, 4to, 1613.

King James, A. D. 1615, 1617.

<sup>t</sup> Coke's detection of the four last reigns, p. 85. Rapin's history of England, and Tindal's notes.

<sup>u</sup> See a declaration of the demeanour and carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, not. as well in his voyage, &c. 4to, 1618, p. 4.

<sup>w</sup> Rymer's fœdera, tom. xvi. p. 789.

<sup>x</sup> Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 193.

commission

commission was certainly a legal commission, and though the formal expressions of grace and trust are omitted, yet the powers granted him are very extensive in themselves, and as strongly drawn as words can express; so that Sir Walter had all the reason imaginable to conceive, that this patent implied a pardon. By one clause he is constituted general and commander in chief in this enterprize. By another he is appointed governor of the new country he is to settle; and this with ample authority. By a third, he has a power rarely intrusted with our admirals now, that of exercising martial law, in such a manner as the king's lieutenant-general by sea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England had. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive, that, when this commission was granted, Sir Walter Raleigh was looked upon as a condemned man; or that the lords of the privy-council, or the lord privy-seal, could think it reasonable for the king to grant such full power over the lives of others to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and therefore I think, that Sir Francis Bacon's opinion, when Sir Walter consulted him, whether it would not be advisable for him to give a round sum of money for a pardon in common form, answered like an honest man and a sound lawyer, "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers."

It is now time for us to inquire what force this gentleman had, when he sailed upon this expedition; for it appears clearly by the king's commission, that the whole expence of the undertaking was to be defrayed by him and his friends; which shews how sincere Sir Walter must have been in this matter; especially if we consider that he vested his whole fortune therein, and even prevailed upon his wife to sell her estate at Mitcham, for the promoting this design; in the issue of which he interested also all his friends; and how extensive his influence in this kind was, the following list of his fleet will sufficiently inform us. First, then, was the admiral, a fine, new, stout ship, built by Raleigh himself, called the *Destiny*, of the burden of four hun-

dred and forty tons; and carrying 36 pieces of cannon. On board it were Sir Walter Raleigh general, and his son Walter, captain, besides two hundred men, whereof eighty were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increased. Second, the *Jason* of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, Captain John Pennington vice-admiral, eighty men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the *Encounter*, one hundred sixty tons, seventeen pieces of ordnance, Edward Hastings captain, [no man more, except the master, mentioned]; but he dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the *Thunderer*, one hundred fifty tons, twenty pieces of ordnance, Sir Warham Sentleger captain, six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, and ten land-men. Fifth, the *Flying Joan*, one hundred twenty tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance, John Chidley captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the *Southampton*, eighty tons, six pieces of ordnance, John Bayly captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the *Page*, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of brass, James Barker captain, eight sailors. But before Raleigh left the coast of England, he was joined by as many ships more; so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, beside his own ship. And though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one ship, named the *Convertine*, was commanded by one Captain Keymis; another, called the *Confidence*, was under the charge of Captain Woolaston; there was a shallop, named the *Flying Hart*, under Sir John Ferne; two fly-boats, under Captain Samuel King and Captain Robert Smith; and a *Caravel*, with another named the *Chudley*, besides \*.

With part of this fleet Sir Walter sailed from the Thames on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617; but it was the month of July before he left Plymouth with his whole fleet; after which, he was forced to put into Corke through stress of weather, and remained there till the nineteenth of August. On the sixth of September he made the Canaries, where he obtained some refreshments, and an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved with great justice and equity. Thence he proceeded

\* Olojs's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 197.

to Guiana, where he arrived in the beginning of November. He was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the service that could be expected from them, but would have persuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the sovereignty of their country; which, however, he refused. His extreme sickness hindered him from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person, and obliged him to intrust that important service to Captain Keymis. For this purpose, he ordered, on the fourth of December, five small ships to sail into the river Oronoque; aboard these five vessels were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by Captain Parker, the second by Captain North, the third by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by Captain Prideaux, the fifth by Captain Chudley<sup>a</sup>; Keymis, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight persons, which Sir Walter thought too great a hazard, and therefore wrote him the following letter:

“ KEYMIS, whereas you were resolved, after your arrival  
 “ into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my cousin Herbert and six musqueteers, and to that end desired to have  
 “ Sir John Ferne’s shallop; I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly but that some Indians on the  
 “ river-side may discover you, who giving knowledge thereof  
 “ to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you recover your  
 “ boat. I therefore advise you to suffer the captains and companies of the English to pass up westward of the mountain  
 “ Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the  
 “ mine, and to encamp between the Spanish town and you, if  
 “ there is any town near it; that being so secured, you may  
 “ make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, or whether or no it will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the  
 “ serjeant-major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive  
 “ them as far as he can: but if you find the mine is not so rich  
 “ as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second  
 “ supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two, to satisfy  
 “ his Majesty that my design was not imaginary, but true,  
 “ though not answerable to his Majesty’s expectation; for the

<sup>a</sup> Raleigh’s apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 26.

“ quantity

“ quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could. On  
 “ the other side, if you shall find any great number of soldiers  
 “ are newly sent into the Oronoque, as the Cassique of Caliana  
 “ told us there were, and that the passages are already enforced,  
 “ so as without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and the other  
 “ captains, you cannot pass towards the mine; then be well  
 “ advised how you land, for I know (that a few gentlemen ex-  
 “ cepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not, for  
 “ all the world, receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dis-  
 “ honour of the nation<sup>b</sup>.”

In obedience to this order, Captain Keymis landed his men in the night, somewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They presently found the Spaniards had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They shot at the English both with their great and small arms, and the Spaniards being the aggressors, the English landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. Raleigh, the general's son, was killed in the action; he himself staid at Trinidad; with the other ships, resolving rather to burn than yield, had the Spanish Armada attacked him. Captain Keymis made up the river with his vessels; but in most places near the mine he could not get within a mile of the shore, the river was so shallow: and where they could have made a descent, volleys of musket-shot came from the woods on their boats; and Keymis did not proceed to the mine, saying in his excuse, that the English could not defend St. Thomas, the town they had taken; that the passages to the mine were thick and impassable woods; and that, supposing they had discovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For these reasons, he concluded it was best not to open it at all. The Spaniards themselves had several gold and silver mines near the town, which were useless for want of negroes<sup>c</sup>. At Keymis's return, Raleigh told him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery; which reproach affected him so deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence soon after the report of a pistol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and asking whether he knew whence it

<sup>b</sup> Raleigh's apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 21.  
 letter to his lady in his remains, p. 173. See also his apology, and Camden's  
 annals of the reign of King James.

<sup>c</sup> See Raleigh's

proceeded?

proceeded? he said he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About two hours after he was found dead, with a great deal of blood under him; and upon search it was discovered he had first shot himself, and the wound not proving mortal, he had thrust a knife after the ball<sup>d</sup>. Sir Walter, when he heard his son was slain, said, that he mattered not the losing of a hundred men, so his reputation had been saved. He was afraid of incurring the king's displeasure, and with grief and sickness brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himself, which his indisposition would not suffer him to do. Nine weeks was Keymis searching the river, all which time his master staid at Punta de Gallo, nearer death than life: yet the misfortunes and disappointments he met with did not alter his resolution of returning home, though several of his men were for landing and settling themselves at Newfoundland; others were for going to Holland; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to England, happen what would; so, rather like a prisoner than general, he arrived with his leaky ships, first at Kinsale in Ireland, and then at Plymouth<sup>e</sup>.

Immediately after his coming to Ireland, a proclamation issued, setting forth the king's disapprobation of Sir Walter's conduct, and requiring such as were acquainted with any particulars, relating either to his scheme, or to his practices, should give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the eleventh of June<sup>f</sup>, and though it pretends to refer to Sir Walter's commission, yet it plainly mentions things, which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of July, Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, and hearing of this proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but as he was on the road to London<sup>g</sup>, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley, vice-admiral of Devonshire, and his own kinsman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up as a prisoner<sup>h</sup>. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully,

<sup>d</sup> See Raleigh's apology, p. 39. and Howel's letters. apology, and King James's declaration.

<sup>e</sup> Raleigh's

<sup>f</sup> Rymer's *foedera*, tome xvii,

p. 92. <sup>g</sup> See Captain King's narrative, a MS. quoted by Mr. Oldys.

<sup>h</sup> Stucley's petition and information touching his own behaviour in the charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh, 4to, 1618. Camden's annals of K. James, A. D. 1618.

for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir Walter had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to Sir Walter, that he meant to convey himself to France, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the French king; but in reality all that Sir Walter intended, was to have gone back again to Guiana, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage, by a happier undertaking. On his second apprehension, he was carried to the Tower, from whence it was already settled he should never be released but by death. It was the earnestness of the Spanish court, by their instrument Count Gondomar, produced this heat in the English councils; and yet, if we strictly consider the matter, we shall find that the violence with which the Spanish court drove this prosecution, is one of the strongest proofs that can be alledged in favour of Sir Walter's scheme; for if Guiana was a place of no consequence, why were they so uneasy about it? If Sir Walter had been no more than a projector, who sought to restore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of those times suggested, why was not he let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the Spaniards would have reaped from its appearance, because it would have discountenanced all succeeding projects; but by thus contriving to murder him, they must, in the opinion of every impartial judge, raise the credit of his project, though they might fright people at that time from carrying it into execution. In short, the Spaniards knew what Sir Walter's friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were positive as he was; because they knew by experience, that Guiana was rich in gold, and that, if it was once thoroughly settled by the English, there would be an end of their empire in the West Indies<sup>1</sup>. But to return to Sir Walter.

It

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Walter Raleigh's speech at his death.

<sup>2</sup> For this the reader may find numerous authorities in Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> This I have great reason to say, having consulted many of the Spanish writers while I was composing the short history of SPANISH AMERICA. Francis Coreal, one of the best and latest Spanish travellers acknowledges the country

It was difficult, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal soever in the eyes of the court, was far from being so in the sight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treason, yet at that time of day it was not easy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon trust, would find him guilty. The commissioners, therefore, who had been appointed to inquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had passed in this late expedition<sup>m</sup>. Upon this, it was resolved to call him down to judgment upon his former sentence, which was accordingly done, with all the circumstances of iniquity and brutality that can well be conceived. He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and so brought to the bar of the court of King's Bench, where Sir Henry Montague, the chief justice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission, which was immediately over-ruled: next he would have justified his conduct in Guiana; but that the court would not hear; and so execution was awarded; and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been signed and sealed before-hand<sup>n</sup>. That this judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter was really murdered, has been often said, and I believe seldom doubted; but I think it has not been made so plain as it might be, and therefore, in respect to his memory, I will attempt it, by shewing that the judgment was absolutely illegal, as well as it was manifestly iniquitous.

country to be very rich; and in the map printed with his travels, the place is marked where the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa are supposed to be; and in the French translation printed at Amsterdam in 1722, Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyage to Guiana is added as a necessary supplement. Also in Sanfon's map, the lake of Parima, and city of Manoa are both visible; so that if what is reported of them be fabulous, yet the opinion is not hitherto exploded. In some of De Lisle's maps they are mentioned, for I have consulted several, and what is more, there are various mines marked in this country, of which the Spaniards are still suspiciously careful.

<sup>m</sup> Howel's letters, vol. ii, p. 372.  
p. 115.

<sup>n</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tome xvii.

It is a maxim in our law, that the king can do no wrong: and most certain it is, that no king can do legal wrong, that is to say, can employ the law to unjust purposes. Sir Walter Raleigh, after his conviction, was dead in law, and therefore if King James's commission to him had not the virtue of a pardon, what was it? Did it empower a dead man to act, and not only to act, but to have a power over the lives and estates of the living? It either conveyed authority, or it did not. If it did convey authority, then Sir Walter was capable of receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in law, or, in other words, he was pardoned. If it conveyed no authority, then this was an act of legal wrong. I cannot help the blunder; the absurdity is in the thing, and not in my expression. A commission under the privy, if not under the great seal, granted by the king, with the advice of his council, to a dead man; or, to put it otherwise, a lawful commission given to a man dead in law, is nonsense not to be endured; and therefore to avoid this, we must conceive, as Sir Francis Bacon, and every other lawyer did, that the commission included, or rather conveyed a pardon. Indeed the same thing may be made out in much fewer words. Grace is not so strong a mark of royal favour as trust; and therefore, where the latter appears, the law ought, and indeed does, presume the former. This judgment, therefore, did not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but in this instance subverted the constitution, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the basest prostitution, but as the most flagrant violation of justice that ever was committed.

As the method of bringing him to his death was violent and unjust, so the manner was hasty and inhuman. The very next day, being Thursday the 29th of October, and the Lord-mayor's day, Sir Walter was carried by the sheriffs of Middlesex to suffer in the Old Palace-yard. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by Dr. Robert Tounson, then dean of Westminster, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who assisted him in his last moments°. He tells us, that he had such

° This account is contained in a letter from Dean Tounson, to Sir John Isham of Lamport in Northamptonshire, dated Westminster-college, Nov. 9.

such a contempt of death, as surpris'd this divine, who expostulated with him thereupon. Sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then, for which he blessed God; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet for himself, he had rather die so, than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of Christian courage, he convinced the doctor himself; "and I think," says he, "all the spectators at his death." He said nothing as to the old plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been lately objected against him. The doctor having put him in mind of the earl of Essex, he said, that Lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the doctor privately, but is not set down by him. Sir Walter eat his breakfast heartily that morning, smoked his pipe, and made no more of death, says my author, than if he had been to take a journey<sup>p</sup>. On the scaffold he conversed freely with some of the nobility, who were there to see him die; justified himself clearly from all imputations, and, like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that pusillanimous prince who thus sacrificed him to the Spaniards<sup>q</sup>. Dean Tounson observes, that every body gave credit to what Sir Walter said at his death, which rendered Sir Lewis Stucley, and the Frenchman who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was caught in Whitehall, clipping the gold bestowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it, and having stripped himself to his shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a pardon, he went to hide himself in the island of Lundy, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in less than two years after Sir Walter Raleigh<sup>r</sup>.

1618, which is still preserved in the family. The Dean says, a very particular account of all that passed at Sir Walter's death, was written by one Mr. Crawford, and designed for the press, himself having read and approved it; but whether this ever was published, I cannot say.

<sup>p</sup> See an account of his death at the end of Sir Thomas Overbury's arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, as also joined to his remains; but the particulars above-mentioned are in Dean Tounson's account.

<sup>q</sup> The most accurate copy of this speech, is in Mr. Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 228.

<sup>r</sup> *Aulicus coquinarix*, p. 94. Frankland's annals of King James and King Charles I. p. 32. Howell's letters, vol. iii. p. 272. Clarendon's annals of King James, A. D. 1620.

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This end had our illustrious hero, when he had lived sixty-six years\*. We have insisted too long upon his life, to be under any necessity of dwelling upon his character, of which he who would frame a right opinion, must consider attentively his actions and his writings. He raised himself to honour while living, and has secured an endless reputation after death, by a series of noble and generous achievements; he acted in very different capacities, and excelled in all. He distinguished himself as a soldier by his courage, by his conduct as a commander; a bold sailor, a hearty friend to seamen, and yet no admiral maintained better discipline; a wise statesman, a profound scholar, a learned, and withal a practical philosopher. In regard to his private life, a beneficent master, a kind husband, an affectionate father, and in respect to the world, a warm friend, a pleasant companion, and a fine gentleman. In a word, he may be truly styled the English Xenophon; for no man of his age did things more worthy of being recorded, and no man was more able to record them than himself; insomuch, that we may say of him, as Scaliger did of Cæsar, "that he fought," and wrote, with the same inimitable spirit." And thus I take my leave of one, whom it is impossible to praise enough.

As to the other seamen of note in this reign, they are either such as have been already spoken of, or living also in the next, may more regularly be mentioned there. I shall therefore conclude this chapter with observing, that the death of Sir Walter Raleigh was so distasteful an act to the whole nation, that the court, to wipe off the odium, thought proper to publish a declaration†, wherein, as it pretended, the true motives and real causes of his death were contained. But this piece was so far from answering the end for which it was sent abroad, that it really served to justify Sir Walter, even beyond his own apology". After this, King James granted a new commission for settling Guiana, which shews his absolute sense of our having a right to it", and demonstrates also the falsehood of that re-

\* Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 539, &c. Camden's annals, A. D. 1618:

† A declaration of the demeanour of Sir Walter Raleigh, kn. 4to. 1618.

‡ Franc's Osborne's traditional memoirs of King James.

§ About a year after Sir Walter Raleigh's death, King James granted a commission to Captain Roger North, to settle a colony in Guiana, Mr. Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 223.

port, that Sir Walter devised his settlement to Guiana only to repair his losses through his imprisonment. In other cases, the king was kind enough to such as projected discoveries and settlements; but taking all things in the lights his several favourites set them, he was sometimes dilatory, and ever unsteady. As to Buckingham's management, within whose province, as lord high-admiral, these things principally lay, we shall be obliged to treat of it in the next chapter, to which it is time we should proceed,

LIVES

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L I V E S  
 OF THE  
 A D M I R A L S:  
 INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE  
 N A V A L H I S T O R Y.

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C H A P. XIV.

The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN, under the reign of Charles I. comprehending an account of our naval expeditions against the French and Spaniards, our differences with the Dutch about the right of fishing, and our dominion over the British sea; the progress of navigation and commerce, settling colonies, and other maritime transactions; together with an account of the eminent seamen who flourished within that period.

**U**PON the demise of King James, his only son Charles prince of Wales succeeded him, not only quietly, and without disturbance, but with the general approbation of his subjects<sup>a</sup>. He was in the flower of his age, had shewn himself a person of great abilities, and, after the breaking off the Spanish match, had rendered himself for a time very popu-

<sup>a</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 107. Clarendon's history of the rebellion, Oxford, 1712, 8vo. vol. i. p. 22, 24. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 165.

lar by his conduct <sup>b</sup>. His father left him in a situation much incumbered at the time of his decease; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with Spain was just begun, and his prime minister, the duke of Buckingham, who had been likewise his father's, was generally hated <sup>c</sup>. In this sad state of public affairs, every thing was subject to wrong constructions. Eight thousand men, raised for the service of the Palatinate, were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth, and, in their passage thither, coat and conduct money were demanded of the country to be repaid out of the Exchequer. The behaviour of these troops was very licentious, and the long continuance of peace made it appear still a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high, and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commission for executing martial law, which, instead of being considered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance more heavy than any of the rest <sup>d</sup>.

The truth was, that while Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him, and the nation was so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him was held a grievance; and though no man saw this more clearly than the king, yet, by an infatuation not easily to be accounted for, he trusted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The king's marriage with the Princess Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the lifetime of King James, and after his decease the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover; from thence she came to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated; and, on the 16th of the same month, their Majesties entered London privately, the plague daily increasing in

<sup>b</sup> Wilson's history of King James in Kennet, p. 779, 780. Frankland's annals, p. 93. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 228, 229. Sir P. Warwick's memoirs. See the parliamentary history of England, vol. vi. where the whole of the business relating to the Spanish match, the share the Prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham took therein in parliament, and the effects it produced, are very ably as well as accurately treated.

<sup>c</sup> Clarendon, vol. i. p. 25. Memoirs of the reign of King Charles I. by Sir Richard Bulstrode, p. 25. Sir P. Warwick's memoirs, p. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Rushworth, vol. i. p. 168. Whitlocke's memorials, p. 1. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 4.

the suburbs<sup>c</sup>. It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage disagreeable to the people; and, as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we shall therefore handle more at large, because in most of our general histories it is treated very confusedly.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambassador from France to King James, had represented to his Majesty, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his master was equally inclined with his Britannic Majesty to curtail it, but, wanting a sufficient maritime force, was desirous of borrowing from his Majesty a few ships to enable him to execute the design he had formed against Genoa<sup>f</sup>. To this the king condescended, and it was agreed, that the *Great Neptune*, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and six merchant ships, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, should be lent to the French; but, soon after this agreement, the Rochellers made an application here, signifying, that they had just grounds to apprehend, that this English squadron would be employed for destroying the Protestant interest in France, instead of diminishing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little relished by Captain Pennington who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ships, he gave them private instructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle; but, upon their coming into a French port in the month of May, they were told by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to serve, and should serve against Rochelle; upon which the sailors on board the fleet signed what is called by them, a Round Robin, that is, a paper containing their resolution not to engage in that service, with their names subscribed in a circle, that it might not be discerned who signed first.

<sup>c</sup> Stowe's annals continued by Edmund Howes, p. 1041. History of Charles I. by Hammond L'Estrange, Esq; p. 6. Dupleix, *histoire de Louis le Juste*, p. 254. See a relation of the glorious triumphs and order of the ceremonies observed in the marriage of the high and mighty Charles, king of England, and the Lady Henrietta-Maria, sister to the present King of France, on May 8, 1625. London, 1625, 4to.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 21. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, book iii. p. 108. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 6. Rushworth's collection, tome i. p. 174. L'Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 56, 57.

Pennington upon this fairly sailed away with the whole squadron, and returned into the Downs in the beginning of July, from whence he sent a letter to the duke of Buckingham, desiring to be excused from that service. The duke, without acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed Lord Conway, then secretary of state, to write a letter to Captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the duke surreptitiously, and without the king's knowing any thing of the design upon Rochelle, procured his letter to Captain Pennington to the same effect. Upon this, in the month of August, he sailed a second time to Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchant-ships were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ship, weighed anchor, and put to sea: and so honest were all the seamen on board these ships, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England; but, as for the ships, they remained with the French, and were actually employed against Rochelle, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high dishonour of the nation. This affair made a great noise, and came at last to form an article in an impeachment against the duke of Buckingham <sup>e</sup>.

In the mean time the design still went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a stout fleet was provided for that purpose; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord-high-admiral, had the supreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not so much displeased at its miscarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and those who by his influence were intrusted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it <sup>b</sup>. The whole of this transaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of those who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs

<sup>e</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 156. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 6. See also Captain John Pennington's letter to the duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vanguard in the Downs, July 27, 1625, in the cabala, p. 350. But the most distinct account is to be gathered out of the seventh and eighth articles of the impeachment exhibited against the duke of Buckingham by the House of Commons in 1626, and the speech of Mr. Glanvill on the said articles.

<sup>b</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 114. Rushworth, Sir William Monson's naval traſſe, Kennet, Rapin,

remaining, and from these I shall give as concise and impartial a detail of the affair as I can, which will shew how dangerous a thing it is for princes to employ persons disagreeable to the greatest part of their subjects, an error by which they almost necessarily transfer the resentment attending their miscarriages upon themselves.

This war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buckingham's procuring, and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to Count Olivarez, than any solid or honourable motive; however, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been prosecuted, because, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it visibly served his own particular purposes, yet without question the nation had been grievously injured by the Spaniards, and there were therefore sufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as the weakness of the enemy, and their firm persuasion, that, whatever we might pretend, we should not actually proceed to hostilities. But though it was his own war, though he had engaged the king to prosecute it with much heat, to draw together a great fleet, and a considerable body of forces which were to embark on board it, yet when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of going to sea, the duke declined the command, and resolved to send another person in his stead, which had a very ill effect upon the whole design.

Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great Lord Burleigh, was the person of whom the duke made choice for this command; an old soldier, it is true, but no seaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the supreme direction of such an undertaking<sup>k</sup>. The earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of such quality, he was created baron of Putney, and viscount Wimbleson, and had likewise the rank of lord-marshal<sup>l</sup>. It was thought strange, that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansell, Sir William Monson, and others, yet

<sup>i</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 114. Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 196. Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 12, 13. Warwick's memoirs, p. 15. Whitlocke, p. 2. <sup>k</sup> Clarendon, vol. i. p. 40. Kennet, p. 12, 13. L'Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 17. <sup>l</sup> Dugdale's baronsage, vol. ii. p. 407. Kennet, p. 13. Frankland's annals.

none of them were intrusted, but (as if that could confer merit) merely such as were in the duke's favour, which was both an unreasonable and an impolitic thing.

The force employed was very considerable, viz. eighty ships, English and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it at all improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the king and his ministry. The Spanish plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and, if they had gone to Tercera, they must infallibly have been masters of them, and, by the destruction of fifty or sixty galleons, had disabled the maritime power of Spain for at least a century. But the fleet did not sail till October, and then they went upon no settled scheme, but all was left to the discretion of men, who in reality were no fit judges of such matters, and besides were very soon, in point of opinion, divided among themselves<sup>m</sup>.

The general sailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but, when the fleet had proceeded some leagues to sea, their ships were separated by a storm, so that they were many days before they came together to their appointed rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October a council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did on the 22d of October. The earl of Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; these he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port-Real, whither the lord-marshal did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntal was taken; after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town. The soldiers, unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to reembark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the Flota.

<sup>m</sup> See a copious account of the motives to, and miscarriages in this voyage, by Sir William Monson in his second book of naval tracts.

The men by this time grew sickly, and by the strangest management that ever was heard, that is, distributing the sick under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ship, the whole fleet was infected, and that to such a degree, as scarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour themselves<sup>a</sup>; all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England. On their return a charge was exhibited against the general by the earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction: Lord Wimbleton justified himself in a long answer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate, that want of experience, and, which was worse, want of unanimity, proved the ruin of this expedition<sup>c</sup>. These proceedings increased the people's discontents, exposed the duke, if possible, to still greater odium, and lessened the reputation of our naval force, which quickly produced, as under like circumstances will be always the case, numerous inconveniencies.

While the clamour still subsisted on the want of success attending the fleet abroad, the duke of Buckingham fell into another error in the execution of his office, as lord-high-admiral at home. He was vexed at the noise that had been made about the merchant ships put into the hands of the French, and employed against Rochelle<sup>d</sup>, and therefore took occasion, in the latter end of the year 1626, to cause a French ship, called the St. Peter, of Havre de Grace, to be arrested. The pretence was, that it was laden with Spanish effects; which, however, the French

<sup>a</sup> See the several accounts of this voyage in the authors before cited.

<sup>c</sup> Both the officer's charge and Lord Wimbleton's answer are printed in the genuine works in verse and prose of the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdowne, vol. iii. p. 197. edit. 1736, 12mo. The reader, who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this distaste of the duke towards the French. He says, that Cardinal Richlieu duped the Dutch and English both, by pretending to execute a very feasible scheme for preventing the Spaniards sending any supplies into Germany, and under that pretence procuring their ships, and then using them against the Rochellers.

denied,

denied, and asserted, that all the goods in the ship belonged to French merchants, or to English and Dutch<sup>q</sup>. Upon this a commission was granted to hear evidence as to that point, and it appearing plainly there was no just ground of seizure, the ship was ordered to be, and at last was released, but not before the French king made some reprisals, which so irritated the nation, that this also was made an article in the duke's impeachment<sup>r</sup>. The matter, however, was compromised between the two kings, and the good correspondence between their subjects for a time restored; but at the bottom there was no cordial reconciliation: and so this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again, with worse symptoms than before<sup>s</sup>.

The war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the restitution of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to send a squadron of ships to that king's assistance; and this being attended with small success, he was called upon for further supplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to assist him, because he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have recourse to such methods for supply as his lawyers assured him were justifiable. Amongst the rest, he obliged all the sea-ports to furnish him with ships: of the city of London he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion.

The inhabitants thought this so hard, that many who had no immediate dependence on trade were for quitting their residence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden still more intolerable upon those who staid behind, and the consequence of their remonstrances was a proclamation, requiring such as had quitted the sea-coast to return immediately to their former dwellings: and this it was gave rise to the first disturbances in this unfortunate reign<sup>t</sup>. They were quickly increased by the rash management of Buck-

<sup>q</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 28.

<sup>r</sup> It is the fifth article of the impeachment; and the duke, in his answer drawn by Sir Nicholas Hyde, justifies himself very plausibly.

<sup>s</sup> Rushworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.

<sup>t</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 28. Frankland's annals, p. 206, 207. Whitlocke, p. 7, 8. Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 415, 416.

ingham,

ingham, who, though he saw his master so deeply embarrassed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately, and against all the rules of true policy.

The queen's foreign servants, who were all bigotted Papists, had not only acted indiscreetly in matters relating to their religion; but had likewise drawn the queen to take some very wrong, to say the truth, some ridiculous and extravagant steps; upon which Buckingham engaged his Majesty to dismiss her French servants, which she did the first of July 1626, and then sent the Lord Carleton to represent his reasons for taking so quick a measure to the French king<sup>u</sup>. That monarch refused him audience, and, to shew his sense of the action, immediately seized one hundred and twenty of our ships, which were in his ports, and undertook the siege of Rochelle; though our king had acted but a little before as a mediator between him and his Protestant subjects<sup>w</sup>. Upon this the latter applied themselves to King Charles, who ordered a fleet of thirty sail to be equipped for their relief, and sent it under the command of the earl of Denbigh: but this being so late in the year as the month of October, his lordship found it impracticable to execute his commission, and so, after continuing some time at sea in hard weather, returned into port, which not only disappointed the king's intention, but also blemished his reputation; for the Rochellers began to suspect the sincerity of this design, and doubted whether he really intended to assist them or not<sup>x</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of seven thousand men to be put on board it, resolving to go himself as admiral and commander in chief. He sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the island of Rhe; though at first he intended to have made a descent on Oleron, and actually promised so much to the duke of Soubize, whom

<sup>u</sup> Hammond L' Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 58, 59. Bulstrode's memoirs, p. 31. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, b. iv. p. 129, 130. <sup>w</sup> Duplex histoire de Louis le Juste, p. 298. Le Gendre de histoire de France, tom. v. p. 174. Aubre histoire du Cardinal duc de Richlieu, Paris, 1660, fol. liv. ii. chap. xi. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 424. <sup>x</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 29. L' Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 62, 63. Frankland's annals.

He sent to Rochelle to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their relief. They received this message coldly; for the French king having corrupted some by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very succours they had demanded.

The duke landed his troops on the last of July, not without strong opposition from Mr. de Toyras, the French governor, whom he forced to retire, though with some loss. Upon this occasion the English fell into the very same errors in conduct which they had committed in the Cadiz expedition. The fort of la Pré, which covered the landing-place, they neglected, though the French themselves in their fright had slighted it; so that it might have been taken without any trouble, and was a place of so great consequence, that if it had been in the hands of the English it would have prevented the French from introducing any supplies. At first, it is certain, the French court was exceedingly alarmed, and, it is said, the king fell sick upon it; but their terrors quickly diminished, when they were informed that the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and withal too much pride to take advice.

The town of St. Martin's, however, was speedily taken by the English, and his grace then invested the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. At first, he quartered his troops about the place without entrenching, which at last, however, he was forced to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refusing to communicate the substance of them to his officers, discouraged his own people, and enabled the French to deceive him by a sham treaty; during which the fort received a considerable supply. By this time the Rochellers had declared for the English, their confidence being as unseasonable for themselves, as their suspicions had been before for their friends; for this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of succours from England, which were to be sent him under the command of the earl of Holland, engaged Buckingham to remain so long in his camp, that his troops were much diminished.

\* 7 Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 426. Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, b. 4. p. 132. See Sir Richard Grenville's journal of the expedition to the isle of Rhe, anno 1627, in Lord Lansdowne's works, vol. iii. p. 246.

At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general assault; when it appeared that the place was impregnable, at least to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after he resolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. It was made in the sight of an enemy as strong in foot, and more numerous in horse than themselves, over a narrow causeway, with salt-pits on each side: yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or so much as throwing up a retrenchment to cover the entrance of the passage; by which mistake and neglect the army was so much exposed, that abundance of brave men were killed, which the best accounts now extant sum up thus: fifty officers of all ranks, two thousand common soldiers, and thirty-five volunteers of note. With equal shame and loss, therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the 9th of the same month, and sending the poor Rochellers a solemn promise, that he would come back again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To complete his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth he met the earl of Holland with the promised succours sailing out, who now returned with him. There never was (its immediate effects and future consequences considered) a more fatal undertaking than this. It was highly prejudicial to the king, and intirely ruined the duke. The merchants were discouraged from carrying on trade by impressing their ships; and the treasury was so little in a condition to pay the seamen, that they came in crowds and clamoured at Whitehall<sup>2</sup>.

To remedy those evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there passed nothing but disputes between the king and the commons; so that at last it was prorogued without granting supplies. The king, however, exerted himself to the utmost, in preparing a naval force to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promised to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view, a fleet of fifty sail was assembled at Plymouth in the spring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of Denbigh, who was

<sup>2</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 38—40. Whitlocke, p. 9. L'Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 68—71. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 24—28. Sir Richard Bulstrode's memoirs.

brother-in-law to Buckingham, and who sailed from that port on the 17th of April; coming to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the 1st of May. On his arrival he found twenty sail of the French king's ships riding before the harbour, and being much superior in number and strength, he sent advice into the town, that he would sink the French ships as soon as the wind came west, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of May the wind and tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and solicited that deliverance. But the earl, without remembering his promise or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor and sailed away, suffering four of the French ships to pursue, as it were, the English fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of May.

This second inglorious expedition was still a greater discouragement to the poor Rochellers, and increased the fears and jealousies of a Popish interest at home. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but captain in the English fleet, gave in depositions before the mayor of Plymouth on the 16th of May, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of Plymouth, and the two burgeses of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table, from whence a letter was directed to the duke of Buckingham as lord high-admiral, dated the 30th of May, 1628, to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that the earl of Denbigh should return back to relieve the town of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ships prepared at Portsmouth and Plymouth. But, notwithstanding this order of council, no such return was made, nor any inquiry into the disobedience of the king's order for it<sup>a</sup>.

Notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the cries of the Rochellers; and the clamours of the people were so loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now, by a close siege reduced to the last extremity. The duke of Buckingham chose to command in person, and to that end came to Portsmouth; where, on the twenty-third of August, having

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 48. Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 171. Whitlocke, p. 10. Frankland's annals. Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 586, 587.

been at breakfast with Soubize, and the general officers, John Felton (late lieutenant of a company in a regiment of foot under Sir John Ramsay) placed himself in an entry through which the duke was to pass, who walking with Sir Thomas Frier, and inclining his ear to him in a posture of attention, Felton, with a back blow, stabbed him on the left side into the very heart, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke pulled out with his own hand, and then fell down, saying only, "The villain hath killed me!" Felton slipped away, and might have gone undiscovered, but that either his conscience or his insolence betrayed him; for while the general rumour was, that the murderer must be a Frenchman, and some began to suspect Soubize as a party in it, Felton stepped out, and said, "I am the man who did the deed; let no man suffer that is innocent." Upon which he was apprehended, and sent prisoner to London.

This accident did not prevent the king's prosecuting his design; the very next day his Majesty made the earl of Lindsey admiral, Monson and Mountjoy vice and rear-admirals; and, as an illustrious foreign writer assures us, his care and presence had such an effect in the preparing for this voyage, that more was dispatched now in ten or twelve days than in many weeks before<sup>b</sup>: which is a demonstrative proof of two things, of which many of our writers of history have affected to doubt, viz. that the king was hearty in his design, and that the Rochellers were convinced of it. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet sailed the 8th of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raised to block up the entrance of the port so strong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, so that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered the place on the 18th of October, the English fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to complete their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the sea made such a breach as would have opened an entrance for the largest ship in the English

<sup>b</sup> Duke of Rohan's memoirs, p. 188. His brother, the Duke of Soubize, was here at the time, and on the spot, and consequently witness of the great preparations made, as well as of the great diligence exerted on the occasion.

fleet<sup>c</sup>. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France, though a peace was not made till the succeeding year<sup>d</sup>.

From this time, the French began to be ambitious of raising a maritime power, and to be extremely uneasy at the growth of the English shipping. This was the effect of Richlieu's politics, who best understood the different interests of the several European powers, and how to manage them, so as to make them subservient to the ends of France, of any minister that nation ever had, or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of Christendom, will ever have. He brought in the Swedes to destroy the power of the House of Austria in Germany, and had address enough to engage us to assist in that design, upon the plausible pretence of favouring the Protestant interest<sup>e</sup>. Then his agents in Holland very dextrously infused a jealousy of our dominion over the narrow seas, our claim to the sole right of fishing, or permitting to fish in them, and expecting the honour of the flag, at a considerable distance from our own shores. After these notions had been a while the subjects of common discourse among the Dutch, the famous Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatise under the title of *MARE LIBERUM*, wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to shew the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea; which, according to his notion, was a gift from God, common to all nations<sup>f</sup>.

This was answered by Selden, in his famous treatise, intitled, *MARE CLAUSUM*; wherein he has effectually demonstrated,

<sup>c</sup> Frankland's annals, p. 338. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 49. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 635. L'Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 93. Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, p. 190.

<sup>d</sup> Rymer's *fœdera*, tome xix. p. 66—86. The duke of Rohan wrote a very long and pathetic letter to the king, which the reader will meet with in Rushworth's collections, under the year 1629, p. 4. imploring his further aid on the behalf of the reformed churches in France, prior to the treaty of peace; but his Majesty, as he informed that nobleman in his answer, having been constrained to dissolve the parliament, from whom he expected supplies, being in no condition to contribute any farther assistance thereto, recommended it to him, and those interested, to make the best terms they could with the court of France.

<sup>e</sup> This matter is very fairly stated by Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs, p. 37.

<sup>f</sup> The title of this book runs thus, *Mare Liberum; seu, de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercium*: Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo. reprinted about this time.

The apprehensions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French and Dutch were so heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of those two powers, and the intelligence he had, that France was shortly to declare war against Spain, and from thence to derive that occasion they had been so long seeking, to divide the Netherlands between themselves and their new allies, all whose pretensions, in respect to the right of fishing in, and using an unrestrained navigation in the seas, they had undertaken to support, that he resolved to be no longer passive<sup>1</sup>. In order to defeat this design, and maintain the sovereignty annexed to the English crown, as well as the nation's credit as a maritime power, the king saw that it was necessary to equip and put to sea a superior naval force.

This it seemed exceeding hard to do, without the assistance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been so great in former parliaments, that his Majesty was very doubtful of succeeding, if for this he trusted to a parliamentary supply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the case, and his deep distress, suggested to him, that upon this occasion he might have recourse to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be issued, for the levying of ship-money. These writs were, for the present, directed only to sea-ports, and such places as were near the coast, requiring them to furnish a certain number of ships, or to grant the king an aid equivalent thereto. The city of London was directed to provide seven ships for twenty-six days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation the more easy under this tax, the king directed that the money raised thereby, should be kept apart in the Exchequer, and that a distinct account should be given of the services to which it was applied. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the people murmured grievously; which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 289. Frankland's annals, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Whitlocke, p. 22, 24. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 51. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 68. Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 334, 335. Bulstrode's memoirs, p. 36, 37.

But as our neighbours were likely to be as much alarmed, from the equipping of so strong a fleet, as our people were disturbed at home by the method taken to defray the expence of it; secretary Coke, by the king's orders, wrote a letter to Sir William Boswell, then charged with his Majesty's affairs at the Hague, in order fully to explain what that fleet was to perform; which letter, for the honour of those times, shall be inserted here, and is as follows:

“SIR,

“By your letters, and otherwise, I perceive many jealousies, and discourses are raised upon the preparations of his Majesty's fleet, which is now in such forwardness, that we doubt not but within this month it will appear at sea. It is therefore expedient, both for your satisfaction and direction, to inform you particularly what was the occasion, and what is his Majesty's intention in this work.

“First, we hold it a principle not to be denied, that the king of Great Britain is a monarch at land and sea, to the full extent of his dominions; and that it concerneth him, as much to maintain his sovereignty in all the British seas, as within his three kingdoms; because without that, these cannot be kept safe, nor he preserve his honour, and due respect with other nations. But commanding the seas, he may cause his neighbours, and all countries, to stand upon their guard, whensoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted, that whosoever will encroach upon him by sea, will do it by land also, when they see their time. To such presumption, MARE LIBERUM gave the first warning piece, which must be answered with a defence of MARE CLAUSUM, not so much by discourses, as by the louder language of a powerful navy, to be better understood, when overstrained patience seeth no hope of preserving her right by other means.

“The degrees by which his Majesty's dominion at sea hath of later years been first impeached, and then questioned, are as considerable as notorious.

“First, to cherish, as it were, to nurse up our unthankful neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth and strength upon our coasts, in our ports, by our trade, and by our

“ people. Then they were glad to invite our merchants residence, with what privileges they could desire. Then they offered to us, even the sovereignty of their estates, and then they sued for licence to fish upon the coasts, and obtained it, under the great seal of Scotland, which now they suppress. And when thus by leave, or by connivance, they had possessed themselves of our fishing, not only in Scotland, but in Ireland and in England, and by our staple had raised a great stock of trade, by these means, they so increased their shipping and power at sea, that now they endure not to be kept at any distance; nay, they are grown to that confidence, to keep guards upon our seas, and then to project an office and company of assurance, for the advancement of trade, and withal prohibit us free commerce, even within our seas, and take our ships and goods, if we conform not to their placarts. What insolencies and cruelties they have committed against us heretofore, in Iceland, in Greenland, and in the Indies, is too well known to all the world. In all which, though our sufferings, and their wrong, may seem forgotten, yet the great interest of his Majesty's honour is still the same, and will refresh their memories as there shall be cause. For though charity must remit wrongs done to private men, yet the reflection upon the public, may make it a greater charity to do justice on crying crimes. All this, notwithstanding, you are not to conceive, that the work of this fleet is either revenge, or execution of justice for these great offences past, but chiefly for the future, to stop the violent current of that presumption, whereby the men of war and free-booters of all nations, abusing the favour of his Majesty's peaceable and gracious government, whereby he hath permitted all his friends and allies, to make use of his seas and ports, in a reasonable manner, and according to his treaties, have taken upon them the boldness, not only to come confidently, at all times, into all his ports and rivers, but to convey their merchant ships as high as his chief city, and then to cast anchor, close upon his magazines, and to condemn the commands of his officers, when they required a farther distance. But, which is more intolerable, have assaulted and taken one another within his Majesty's channels, and within his rivers, to  
“ the

“ the scorn and contempt of his dominion and power; and this  
“ being of late years an ordinary practice, which we have en-  
“ deavoured in vain to reform, by the ways of justice and trea-  
“ ties, the world, I think, will now be satisfied, that we have  
“ reason to look about us. And no wise man will doubt, that  
“ it is high time to put ourselves in this equipage upon the seas,  
“ and not to suffer that stage of action to be taken from us,  
“ for want of our appearance.

“ So you see the general ground upon which our counsels  
“ stand. In particular you may take notice and publish, as cause  
“ requires, that his Majesty by this fleet intendeth not a rupture  
“ with any prince or state, nor to infringe any point of his trea-  
“ ties, but resolveth to continue and maintain that happy peace  
“ wherewith God hath blessed his kingdom, and to which all  
“ his actions and negociations have hitherto tended, as by your  
“ own instructions you may fully understand. But withal, con-  
“ sidering that peace must be maintained by the arm of power,  
“ which only keeps down war by keeping up dominion, his Ma-  
“ jesty, thus provoked, finds it necessary, for his own defence  
“ and safety, to re-assume and keep his ancient and undoubted  
“ right in the dominion of these seas, and suffer no other prince  
“ or state to encroach upon him, thereby assuming to themselves,  
“ or their admirals, any sovereign command, but to force them  
“ to perform due homage to his admirals and ships, and to pay  
“ them acknowledgments as in former times they did. He will  
“ also set open and protect the free trade both of his subjects  
“ and allies, and give them such safe conduct and convoy as  
“ they shall reasonably require. He will suffer no other fleets,  
“ or men of war, to keep any guard upon these seas, or there  
“ to offer violence, or take prizes or booties, or to give inter-  
“ ruption to any lawful intercourse. In a word, his Majesty is  
“ resolved, as to do no wrong, so to do justice both to his sub-  
“ jects and friends within the limits of his seas. And this is the  
“ real and royal design of this fleet, whereof you may give part,  
“ as you find occasion, to our good neighbours in those parts,  
“ that no umbrage may be taken of any hostile act or purpose  
“ to their prejudice in any kind. So wishing you all health  
“ and happiness, I rest.

“ Whitehall, April 16, 1635.”

One would imagine, that less care had been taken to satisfy the minds of the people at home about the genuine intent of this tax, levied for the equipping of a fleet sufficient for these necessary purposes, since otherwise the public welfare seemed to be so nearly concerned, that public acquiescence at least might have been expected. But the truth of the matter was, his Majesty did in this respect all that was in his power to do, by directing the Lord-keeper Coventry<sup>a</sup> to put the judges in mind, before they went the summer-circuit, to satisfy the minds of the people in relation to the levying of ship-money, which most of them did, but, as Whitlocke assures us, very ineffectually; though the same author acknowledges, that the money was assessed and levied with great care and equality, much beyond what was observed in following taxes.

With the help of this money, the king in the month of May, 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty sail under the command of Robert earl of Lindsey, who was admiral, Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, Sir John Pennington, rear-admiral, as also another of twenty sail under the earl of Essex. The first of these fleets sailed from Tilbury-hope on the 26th of May. Their instructions were to give no occasion of hostility, and to suffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland the last of this month, and made no scruple of giving out, that they intended to assert their own independency, and to question that prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed that the English fleet was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted our coast, and repaired to their own<sup>o</sup>.

Our admiral sent a bark upon the coast of Brittany to take a view of them; and, from the time of the return of this bark to the 1st of October, this fleet protected our own seas and shores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that sovereignty which the monarchs of this kindgom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in some measure quieted the minds of

<sup>a</sup> Memorials, p. 24. The keeper's speech to the judges is still extant in Sanderson's history of King Charles I. p. 204, 205, 206.

<sup>o</sup> Letters and dispatches of Thomas, earl of Stafford, vol. i. p. 416, 417, 422, 446. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, book ii. p. 220.

the people, as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money into the Exchequer, without respect had to the end for which it was raised <sup>p</sup>.

The king, perfectly satisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would signify little if another, and that at least as good a fleet, was not set out the next, to raise the money necessary for equipping such a force, had recourse again to his writs for levying of ship-money; but now the aid was made more extensive. What was before rated as a particular provision, to be raised by the respective ports for their own immediate safety, was now converted into a national tax, and so became the more grievous for want of authority of parliament. The burden indeed in itself was far from being pressing; at the utmost it did not amount to above 236,000*l. per annum*, which was not quite 20,000*l.* a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an universal aid, and the assessing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppression, and made it extremely odious, though the necessity was far from being dissimbled, and the benefits resulting from the care taken of the narrow seas, which had afforded matter of inquiry and expostulation to every parliament the king had called, could not be denied <sup>q</sup>.

In order to prevent all doubts from his own subjects, and also to prevent any false surmises gaining ground in foreign nations as to the design of this potent armament, the king thought fit to express his royal intentions to the world in the most public, and in the most authentic manner, that at one and the same time it might appear what himself demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his ancestors in regard to those things, as to which these demands were made. That instrument ran thus :

<sup>p</sup> We have a clear and full account of this expedition written by Sir William Monson himself, who was an eye-witness and a competent judge of such matters, in his naval tract, p. 289.

<sup>q</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 52. Frankland, p. 447. Whitlocke, p. 24.

**A Proclamation for restraint of fishing upon his Majesty's seas and coasts without licence.**

“ WHEREAS our father of blessed memory, King James, did, in the seventh year of his reign of Great Britain, set forth a proclamation touching fishing, whereby, for the many important reasons therein expressed, all persons of what nation or quality soever (being not his natural-born subjects) were restrained from fishing upon any the coasts and seas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore fishing had been, until they had orderly demanded and obtained licences from our said father, or his commissioners in that behalf, upon pain of such chastisement as should be fit to be inflicted upon such wilful offenders; since which time, albeit, neither our said father nor ourself have made any considerable execution of the said proclamation, but have with much patience expected a voluntary conformity of our neighbours and allies to so just and reasonable propositions and directions as are contained in the same.

“ And now, finding by experience that all the inconveniences which occasioned that proclamation are rather increased than abated, we, being very sensible of the premises, and well knowing how far we are obliged in honour to maintain the rights of our crown, especially of so great consequence, have thought it necessary, by the advice of our privy council, to renew the aforesaid restraint of fishing upon our aforesaid coasts and seas without licence first obtained from us, and by these presents to make public declaration, that our resolution is, at times convenient, to keep such a competent strength of shipping upon our seas, as may (by God's blessing) be sufficient both to hinder such farther encroachments upon our regalities, and assist and protect those our good friends and allies, who shall henceforth by virtue of our licences (to be first obtained) endeavour to take the benefit of fishing upon our coasts and seas in the places accustomed.

“ Given at our palace of Westminster the 10th day of  
 “ May, in the 12th year of our reign of England, Scotland,  
 “ land, France, and Ireland.”

In

In 1636 the king sent a fleet of sixty sail to sea under the command of the earl of Northumberland admiral, Sir John Pennington vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marom rear-admiral<sup>r</sup>. They sailed first to the Downs, and from thence to the north, where the Dutch buffes were fishing upon our coast. The admiral required them to forbear, which they not seeming disposed to do, he fired upon them; this put them into great confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to other methods. The Dutch, therefore, applied themselves to the earl of Northumberland, desired him to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fishing this year, for which they were content to pay 30,000 l. and expressed also a willingness to obtain a grant from the king for his permission for their vessels to fish there for the time to come, paying an annual tribute<sup>s</sup>.

Such is the best account that can be collected of the causes and consequences of this expedition from our best historians. But the earl of Northumberland delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, signed with his own hand, which is, or at least was preserved in the paper-office. In that journal there are several memorable particulars. The Dutch fishing-buffes, upon the appearance of his lordship's fleet, did take licences to the number of 200, though he arrived amongst them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelpence *per* ton as an acknowledgment, and affirms that they went away well satisfied. It was pretended by the Dutch in King Charles the Second's time, that this was an act of violence, and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown from that transaction, since the Dutch did not pay because they thought what was insisted upon to be due, but because they were defenceless. His lordship's journal sets this pretence intirely aside, since it appeared from thence, that they had a squadron of ten men of war for their protection, as also, that August the 20th, 1636, the Dutch vice-admiral Dorp came with a fleet of twenty men of war; but, instead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he saluted him by lowering his topfails, striking his flag, and firing his guns; after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the

<sup>r</sup> Lord Stafford's letters, vol. i. p. 514.

<sup>s</sup> Kennet's complete history of England, vol. iii. p. 84. Whitlocke, p. 25. Frankland, p. 477. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 117.

earl of Northumberland. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that upon his lordship's return from the north, and anchoring in the Downs, he had notice of a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail, bound for Dunkirk; to reconnoitre which he sent one of the ships of his squadron, called the *Happy Entrance*, to which single ship that fleet paid the marks of respect, which were due to the English flag whenever it appeared.

The king meant to have continued both this method of raising money, and of fitting out fleets annually, and by giving several young noblemen commands at sea; to have rendered them the more capable of serving their country in times of greater danger<sup>†</sup>; but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew so exceedingly dissatisfied with this method of raising money, and the great case of Mr. Hampden made it so clear, that a constant and regular levying of this tax was dangerous to the constitution, and to the freedom of the subject, that the king was obliged to lay aside this scheme, and to content himself with using all the methods that could be thought of to awake the people's attention in regard to the sovereignty of the sea<sup>‡</sup>. With this view his Majesty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. Selden's book upon that subject should be kept in the council-chest, that another copy should be deposited in the court of Exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as perpetual evidence of our just claim to the dominion of the seas<sup>§</sup>.

Happy had it been, if the king had at this time called a parliament, and, after excusing the manner in which the money was levied, had shewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the designs of the French and Dutch defeated; for it may be then presumed, that the parliament would have provided in a legal manner for the maintenance of these fleets, which must have been of infinite advantage in respect to the trade of this kingdom. But it happened otherwise to the great detriment of the commonwealth. Some courtiers spoke of the royal wisdom as infallible, and the regal power as not to be resisted, in order to raise themselves, which gave high and just offence to prudent men: others in the mean

<sup>†</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 299. Warwick's memoirs, p. 53.

<sup>‡</sup> Rushworth's collections, Frankland's annals, Clarendon's history, Whitlocke's memorials.

<sup>§</sup> See the order of council in Frankland's annals, p. 476.

time, that they might become popular, heightened every little error into a grievous crime, and magnified such irregular things as were done through necessity into deliberate acts of tyranny. By this means these nations were plunged in blood; whose unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, happy, and arbiters of the fate of Europe!

Mr. D'Estrades, as he tells us in his negociation, was sent over in the latter end of the year 1637, with a private commission from the cardinal, to prevail on our king to stand neuter, whilst France and Holland in conjunction attacked the maritime places of the Spanish Netherlands; and to offer him, at the same time, very advantageous conditions in return for his inactivity. King Charles answered with equal firmness and prudence, that he could never suffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality so prejudicial to his own honour and the interest of his kingdom, and that he would keep a fleet in the Downs, with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported to the relief of the first town which should be invested by the arms of the French king, or the states; and as to the assistance which his eminence had offered to him against any domestic disturbance, he thanked him for it; but thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended on his own authority and the laws of the land for the suppressing and punishing of all such rebellious attempts<sup>1</sup>.

The vindictive cardinal no sooner received the account of this conference from his agent, than he resolved to take an immediate revenge, and dispatched without delay, to Edinburgh, Abbé Chamber his almoner, whom he instructed to encourage the covenanters in their design, with the hopes of assistance from France, and to improve the correspondence which D'Estrades had formed amongst them during his short stay in England. This abbé performed his part so well, that the prince of Orange told Monsieur D'Estrades, that the cardinal had employed a very notable instrument in Scotland, by whose practices the king's interest in that country was intirely ruined<sup>2</sup>.

Nothing

<sup>1</sup> Lettres, memoirs, & négociations de Monsieur le Comte D'Estrades, à Bruxelles, 1709, 12mo. tom. 1. The count's letter to the cardinal, in which the king of England's answer is contained, bears date, London, Nov. 24. 1637.

<sup>2</sup> Rushworth's collections, under the year 1638, p. 840. Frankland's annals, p. 768. Whitlocke, p. 33. Memoirs de monsieur le Comte D'Estrades, tome i.

Nothing of consequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful fleet, consisting of sixty-seven sail of large ships, manned with 25,000 seamen, and having on board 12,000 land-forces, designed for the relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three squadrons at sea, the Spanish fleet, coming up the channel, was met in the streights by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of Martin the son of Herbert Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, attacked them; but finding himself too weak, was obliged to sheer off towards Dunkirk, where being joined by the other squadrons, he so roughly handled the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that at last he forced them on the English coast near Dover<sup>a</sup>.

Admiral Van Tromp finding himself in want of powder and ball, stood away for Calais, where he was liberally supplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach, the Spaniards got within the South-Foreland, and put themselves under the protection of our castles. Things being in this situation, the Spanish resident importuned King Charles, that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear hostilities for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coast; but the king being in amity with both powers, was resolved to stand neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambassadors, strict orders were given, that no ships or vessels belonging to his Majesty's subjects should take any Spaniard on board, or pass below Gravesend without licence.

The reader will find these facts fully proved, if he pleases to peruse the cardinal's letter to the count, dated Rouen, Dec. 2, 1637, which he wrote in answer to the count's letter already cited, and the count's letter to the cardinal, dated Hague, Jan. 21, 1641. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 129, 140. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. iii. p. 93. See the letters likewise of Robert earl of Leicester, the king's ambassador in France, to Sir Francis Waudsbank, secretary of state, in the Sydney papers, vol. ii. p. 562, 599, 646.

<sup>a</sup> The Dutch historians say, the king mistook his true interest in crossing the designs of France and Holland, and having a bias in favour of the Spaniards. But experience has clearly evinced the king judged right, and with great reason apprehended more danger from the conjunction of the French and Dutch, than from the declining power of Spain.

However,

However, after much plotting and counter-plotting on both sides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his enemy, and found means, by a stratagem in the night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North Sand-head and the back of the Godwin, twelve large ships to Dunkirk, and in them four thousand men. In excuse of this gross neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded, they affirmed they were assured by the English, that no ships of any considerable burden could venture by night to sail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their stations near three weeks, when King Charles sent the Earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind; but by this time the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to a hundred sail, and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his Majesty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties which should be first attacked. This transaction shews plainly how much it imported England to have had a superior fleet at sea, which was prevented by the general discontent about ship-money, and the religious disturbances in Scotland, so that probably nothing more than was done could be done, though some blame fell upon Sir John Pennington in those days.

The Spaniards, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired some shot at Van Tromp's barge, when himself was in her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a Dutch ship, whose dead body was presently sent on board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after this the Dutch admiral, on receiving fresh orders from the states, came to a resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the liberties of the king of England's harbours, and being clearly become the aggressors, he found himself obliged to repel force by force, and attack them, in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on

his assistance; which, however, if he should not please to grant, he requested the favour that he would at least give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world of so manifest an injury <sup>d</sup>.

This letter being delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp immediately weighed, and stood to the Spaniards in six divisions, cannonading them furiously, and vigorously pressing them at the same time with his fire-ships, so that he quickly forced them all to cut their cables, and of fifty-three, which the Spaniards were in number, twenty-three ran ashore, and stranded in the Downs, of these three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of which was a great galleon (the vice-admiral of Galicia) commanded by Don Antonio de Castro, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns. The remainder of the twenty-three, which were stranded and deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from falling into the hands of the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of Portugal began to flame, being set on fire by two Dutch ships fitted for that purpose. Oquendo perceiving this, presently stood away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and some few ships more; for, of these thirty-five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and sent into Holland, three perished upon the coast of France, one near Dover, and only ten escaped. The first hostility having been indisputably committed by the Spaniards, was a plea of which the Dutch made use in their justification to us; and at the same time became a sufficient argument to defend the conduct of the English government, which otherwise would have appeared repugnant to the law of nations, in suffering one friend to destroy another within its chambers <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Commelyn Leeven van Fred. Hen. fol. 55. *Lettres D'Esdras*, tom. i. p. 40. *Le Clerc histoire des provinces unies*, liv. xii. p. 193, 194. <sup>e</sup> See Sir John Pennington's relation of this engagement in *Frankland's annals*, p. 793, 794. *Whitelocke*, p. 31, 32. *Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs*, p. 119, 120. *Memoirs de monsieur le Comte D'Esdras*, tom. i. See the count's letter to the Cardinal de Richlieu, dated Bergen-op-zoom, Sept. 20, 1639, acquainting him with the defeat of the Spanish fleet.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in reality the people of England were not sorry for this misfortune which befel the Spaniards, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it; and the reason of this was, that some surmised this to be a new Spanish armada, fitted out nominally against the Dutch; but, in truth, intended to act against heretics in general. At first sight this may appear a wild and extravagant suggestion; but, perhaps, the reader will in some measure change his opinion, when he is told, that in the next parliament there really appeared some kind of proof of it, a Popish book being produced, in which, among other superstitious things, were prayers for the holy martyrs who perished in the fleet sent against the heretics in England<sup>d</sup>. However it was, the bare report undoubtedly was more than sufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their resentments against the Spaniards. Some of our own writers have affected to represent the conduct of the Dutch as derogatory on this occasion from our sovereignty at sea, but foreigners, who are the best judges in such cases, intimate nothing of this kind<sup>e</sup>, though, it must be allowed, our affairs were then in such confusion, that it is very doubtful whether his Majesty could have properly resented any indignities, in case they had offered it.

I had like to have slipped over, as some of our historians have done, the expedition of the Marquis of Hamilton against the Scots, which was undertaken this year; and indeed there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to shew how exceeding difficult it is to come at truth in relation to these affairs. Bishop Burnet, in his memoirs of the Hamilton family, has given us a very plausible account of this matter. He says, the duke embarked at Yarmouth about the middle of April, 1639; that he had with him about five thousand men, among whom there were not above two hundred that knew how to fire a gun: but he does not say what number of ships he had, or of what burden; only that the troops were transported in colliers, and arrived in the Frith of Forth the first of May. There he continued for some time, treating with the Scots to little or no pur-

<sup>d</sup> Rushworth, under the year 1639, p. 974. Prynne's royal favourite, p. 59. Fiery Jesuits, a 4to pamphlet, printed in 1667. p. 118.  
<sup>e</sup> See Nanis's history of Venice, b. xi. p. 472, 473.

pose, till the season being lost, he returned without effecting any thing <sup>f</sup>.

Another gentleman, who lived in those times, and seems to have known much of them, gives a quite different detail, which as it is very short, may not be unworthy of the reader's notice, in his own words. "Hamilton," says he, "was to be a distinct general both by sea and land, and with a good fleet was to block up the Scots seas; nay, to my knowledge, he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security in their habitations. For he had three good English regiments on board him; but the very choice of his ships shewed he had more mind to make war upon the king's treasure than on his own country or countrymen: for he had chosen some of the second and third rate, whereas the least frigates would have done the greatest service; thus by the very bulk of his ships obliging himself to an inactivity. One might well have expected, that he who had so prodigally, as a commissioner, lavished his Majesty's honour, and unhinged the government, would have vigorously employed those forces under his command to have restored both, and that a man of his importance would have found some party ready to have countenanced and assisted him: but, instead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the Frith, his mother (a violent-spirited lady, and a deep presbyteress) comes on board him; and surely she had no hard task to charm him. Afterwards the great ships (like the great formidable log let down to be a king) lying still, he had several visits from many of the great men who were most active against the king: as if he had been rather returned from an East India voyage than come as a powerful enemy <sup>g</sup>."

The fleet was from this time forward so entirely out of the king's power, that I think the naval history of this reign ends properly here: and therefore having already related, as fairly

<sup>f</sup> Memoirs of James and William dukes of Hamilton, p. 121, 139. Rushworth, under the year 1639. p. 930—935. Kennet, vol. iii. p. 99. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. i. p. 114, 120, 121. Whitlocke's memorial, p. 30. Davis's history of the civil wars of England, p. 11.

<sup>g</sup> Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 131, 132.

and impartially as I could, the several expeditions undertaken by his authority, I come now to mention the progress of trade, the increase of shipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the same space.

This prince, however, before the rebellion broke out, among others, added one ship to the royal navy of England, which, on account of its size, and other remarkable particulars, deserves to be mentioned in this place, more especially as it has escaped the notice of all our naval writers. 'This famous vessel was built at Woolwich in 1637. She was in length by the keel one hundred and twenty-eight feet; in breadth forty-eight feet; in length, from the fore-end of the beak-head, to the after-end of the stern, two hundred thirty-two feet: and in height, from the bottom of her keel to the top of her lanthorn, seventy-six feet. Bore five lanthorns, the biggest of which would hold ten persons upright; had three flush-decks, a fore-castle, half-deck, quarter-deck and round-house. Her lower tier had thirty ports, middle tier thirty ports, third tier twenty-six ports, fore-castle twelve ports, half-deck fourteen ports; thirteen or fourteen ports more within board, besides ten pieces of chace-ordnance forward, and ten right-aft, and many loop-holes in the cabbins for musket-shot. She had eleven anchors, one of four thousand four hundred pounds weight. She was of the burden of one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven tons. She was built by Peter Pett, Esq; under the inspection of Captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of the navy<sup>b</sup>.

It appears from Sir William Monson, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of those times, who were competent judges of these matters, that the commerce of this island increased exceedingly during the first fifteen years of this king's reign; infomuch that the port of London only could have sup-

<sup>b</sup> A true description of his Majesty's royal ship built this year 1637, at Woolwich in Kent, to the great glory of the English nation, and not paralleled in the whole Christian world: published by authority. London, 4to, 1637. This little piece is addressed to Charles I. by its author, Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical devices or designs, and in composing the mottoes which adorned and embellished this royal vessel.

plied a hundred sail, capable of being easily converted into men of war, and well furnished with ordnance<sup>l</sup>. The trade to the East Indies, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very lucrative, and our ships gave law in those parts to almost all foreign nations. The trade to Guinea grew likewise to be of considerable benefit to the English subjects, and our intercourse with Spain, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewise<sup>k</sup>. It is true, there happened some considerable disputes between the government and the merchants, about customs, which some of the ministers of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as most of the merchants themselves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the consent of parliament: but these very disputes shew that trade was in a flourishing condition; for if the customs had not risen to a considerable height, beyond what they did in former times, no ministry would have run the hazard of such a contest<sup>l</sup>.

But the principal source of our naval strength then, (as it has been ever since), was our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which even those accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwise fatal to society; such as our civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which inclined numbers of sober, industrious, and thinking people to prefer liberty, and whatever they could raise in distant and hitherto uncultivated

<sup>l</sup> Naval tracts, p. 293.

<sup>k</sup> Idem, *Ibid*.

<sup>l</sup> Many of

our ablest writers of English history, particularly such as lived in those days, and have discoursed of them, speak with rapture of the great felicity of these times, and of the wealth and prosperity of the nation at the period mentioned in the text. We will instance only a few, though it would be no difficult matter to assemble a cloud of witnesses to verify what we have asserted. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. i. p. 74—76. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 62—64. Bulstrode's memoirs, p. 5. Dr. Bates's *elencus motuum*, p. 19, 21. Heath's chronicle, p. 1. Sir William Dugdale's short view of the late troubles in England, p. 63. And for the still farther satisfaction of the reader, we refer him to that admirable picture of the state of Europe in general, and of this country in particular, left us by the earl of Clarendon, in his life lately published, edit. 1759, 8vo. vol. i. p. 70, 71.

lands, to the uneasy situation in which they found themselves at home<sup>m</sup>.

The colony of Virginia had struggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleased to take it into his own hands; which he did very soon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the constitution of that colony to be, a governor, council, and assembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flourish. But this happy situation of affairs did not last long: Sir John Harvey, whom the king had made governor, did so many illegal and gross actions, that the colony being at length no longer able to endure, caused him to be seized and sent home as a prisoner, in 1639. This behaviour the king exceedingly repented, and therefore sent him back to his government without so much as hearing the complaints that were alledged against him.

But this re-establishment was with a view only to support the dignity of the crown; for, very soon after, Sir William Berkeley was sent over to succeed him, who proved as good a governor as ever this colony had<sup>n</sup>. That of New England had its name bestowed by his majesty when prince, and was better settled in King James's time than any other of our colonies, and throughout the whole reign of King Charles I. was constantly supplied with large draughts of people; so that by degrees it was divided into four governments, under which, it is supposed, there might be near twenty-five thousand inhabitants; whence it is evident, that the commerce carried on between this colony and its mother-country must have been very considerable even in this early period<sup>o</sup>.

The Papists in England finding themselves liable to many severities, and being very apprehensive of more and greater falling upon them, were desirous of having an asylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformists; and this gave rise to

<sup>m</sup> Mr. Neale, in his history of the Puritans, observes, that Archbishop Laud drove thousands of families to New England by the severities he exercised here.

<sup>n</sup> The British empire in America, vol. i. p. 372. The history and present state of Virginia, by Col. R. Beverley, p. 48, 49. The history of the British plantations in America, by Sir William Keith, Bart. p. 144, 145.

<sup>o</sup> History of the British settlements in North America by William Douglas, M. D. vol. i. § 8.

the planting of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted part of Virginia, between 37 and 40 degrees of N. L. granted by King Charles, the 20th of June, 1632, to the ancestor of the present Lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland from his queen Henrietta-Maria. It was more easily and more successfully planted than any former colony had been, and the honourable Mr. Leonard Calvert, brother to the lord-proprietor, was the first governor, and continued to exercise his authority till that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him, and then the parliament sent over a governor of their own <sup>p</sup>.

The Summer-Islands, which were planted in the last reign, and settled under a regular government in the year 1619, flourished exceedingly, the country being extremely pleasant and fruitful, and the air much more wholesome than in any other part of America <sup>q</sup>. As for the island of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of Carlisle, who gave such encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and most of those who went became so speedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and, even within this period, was esteemed the most populous of all our plantations <sup>r</sup>. The islands of St. Christopher and Nevis were also settled about this time.

I am now to take notice of such seamen as flourished within the compass of this reign, and have not hitherto been particularly mentioned.

## MEMOIRS of SIR ROBERT MANSEL.

**S**IR ROBERT MANSEL claims the first place amongst these, though the memoirs we have of him are far from being so full as might be wished. He was descended from a very ancient, and, in our own times, though now extinct, noble family in Glamorganshire, being the third son of Sir Edward Mansel, knight,

<sup>p</sup> British empire in America, vol. i. p. 323.

<sup>q</sup> The general history of Virginia, New England, and the Summer-isles, by Capt. John Smith, London, 1627, fol. b. v.

<sup>r</sup> A true and exact history of the island of Barbadoes, by Richard Ligon, London, 1657, fol. p. 43.

by his wife the Lady Jane, daughter to Henry earl of Worcester\*. He addicted himself early to the sea, and under the patronage of the famous Lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral of England, came to be a considerable officer in the fleet, and in the Cadiz expedition received the honour of knighthood from the earl of Essex†, who thenceforward received him into his special favour; and in the island voyage he was captain of the admiral's own ship‡. Upon his return he adhered to his old patron the earl of Nottingham, and so remained in Queen Elizabeth's favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at sea, especially in the defence of the coast; and in this service was remarkably successful ¶, particularly in 1602, when, as we have shewn elsewhere, Sir Robert Mansel attacked six of the Spanish gallies going to Flanders, sunk three, and dispersed the rest. This gallant action the Dutch, and after them the French historians having very much misrepresented, Sir Robert in his own justification drew up a complete relation of this service, which he addressed to his great friend and patron the lord high-admiral, an extract from which curious and authentic paper, agreeable to our promise, we here present the reader, mostly in his own words,

“ ON the 23d of September, being in the Hope, and having  
 “ in my company the Advantage only of the queen's ships,  
 “ which Capt. Jones commanded, and two Dutch men of war,  
 “ I rid more than half-channel over towards the coast of France  
 “ upon a north-west and south-east line, myself being nearest  
 “ that coast, Capt. Jones next to me, and the Dutch men of  
 “ war a sea-board, and to the westward of him. The small force  
 “ at that time present, and with me, remaining thus disposed  
 “ for the intercepting of the gallies, having dismissed the Dutch  
 “ men of war, that served under me, upon their own intreaty,  
 “ to revictual and trim, and having employed the rest of the  
 “ queen's ships upon especial services, I descried from my top-  
 “ mast heads six low sails, which some made for gallies, others  
 “ affirmed them to be small barks that had struck their top-

\* Dugdale's baronage, vol. ii. p. 293.

† Dr. Birch's memoirs of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 50. Stowe, p. 775.

‡ Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 189.      ¶ Camden, p. 895.

“ sails, and bound from Dieppe towards the Downs. To which  
 “ opinion, though I inclined most, yet I directed the master to  
 “ weigh and stand with them, that I might learn some news of  
 “ the gallies, which, by your lordship’s advertisement sent me,  
 “ I knew had either passed me that night, or were near at hand,  
 “ unless the sea had swallowed them up in the storms which  
 “ had raged three days before. Having set myself under sail,  
 “ the weather grew thick, which obliged me to lask some two  
 “ points from the wind towards the English coast, lest the con-  
 “ tinuance of that dark weather might give them power to run  
 “ out a-head of me. About 11 o’clock the weather cleared,  
 “ when I discovered them plainly to be the Spanish gallies so  
 “ long time expected, at which time with the rest I plied to re-  
 “ ceive them by crossing their fore-foot as they stood along the  
 “ channel, which they endeavoured till they perceived that, by  
 “ the continuance of that course, they could not escape the  
 “ power of my ordnance.

“ All this time these two fly-boats were between them and  
 “ me; and, as the slaves report that swam ashore at Dover,  
 “ they determined with three gallies to have boarded each of  
 “ those ships, and could have executed that resolution but for  
 “ the fear of her majesty’s great galleon, (as they termed the  
 “ Hope), whose force that they shunned in that kind, (consi-  
 “ dering the disadvantage that twice six of the best gallies that  
 “ ever I saw hath by fighting against one ship of her force), I  
 “ do as much commend, as otherwise I do detest their shame-  
 “ ful working, in that, full of cowardliness and weakness, they  
 “ rowed back to the westward, and spent the day by running  
 “ away, in hopes that the darkness of the night would give  
 “ them liberty sufficient to shun the only ship they feared, or  
 “ that was indeed in the sea at that time to give them the cause  
 “ of fear, I mean between them and Dunkirk or Newport.  
 “ This error only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may  
 “ perceive by the sequel.

“ For they no sooner began that course of rowing back again,  
 “ but I instantly made signs for Capt. Jones in the Advantage  
 “ of the queen’s to come to me, whom I presently directed to  
 “ repair to Calais road, and thence to send the alarm into the  
 “ States army assembled before Sluys, and to advise such men

“ or

of war as kept on the coast of Flanders, upon any other occasion, to stand off to the sea, to meet with the gallies in the night, which should be chased by me, with my lights in my top-mast heads, and a continual discharging of my ordnance. Capt. Jones having shaped his course according to my directions, I gave orders for hoisting and trimming of my sails by the wind to keep sight of the gallies: the two fly-boats, being still a-weather of me, did the like.

Which chace we held till sun-setting, observing this course following all the day. They, being a-weather of me, kept their continual boards, that the gallies were always between them; and myself, being to leeward, made such short turns, as I kept all the afternoon, in a manner even in the very eye of their course, between them and the place of their design, ever discharging my best ordnance to warn the Answer of her majesty's, that rid by my directions at the Downs upon important service, as your lordship knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, having left the sea, upon unknown grounds to me, (yet sent from Portsmouth by the most provident direction of her sacred majesty to await the coming of the gallies, upon advertisements that her highness received of their being put to sea), to set sail, who else had received no understanding of the gallies, neither came they within shot of them till after night, howsoever the reputation of the service is wholly challenged by them.

Having given your lordship an account how this day was thus spent by me from 8 o'clock until the evening, and with these only helps, I beseech your lordship to be pleased to understand, that with the setting of the sun I could both discern the ships last mentioned under sail at the Downs, and the gallies to have set their sails, directing their course close aboard our shore, each of them being out of sight of the other, and my Dutch consorts by this time to have been left by the gallies to a stern chace. When I perceived them to hold that course, which would bring them within shot of the Answer and the rest that were in the Downs, I held a clean contrary course from them, towards the coast of France, to confirm the secure passage they thought to find on our coast, which I

continued

“ continued until the report of their battery gave me assurance  
 “ of the gallies being engaged with them.

“ How the battery began, who began it, how it was conti-  
 “ nued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the service  
 “ is due, I leave to be considered by your lordship by the pe-  
 “ rusal of the true discourse following. The Answer of the  
 “ queen which Capt. Broadgate commanded, as she rid more  
 “ southerly at the Downs than the Flemings, so came she first  
 “ to the gallies, and bestowed twenty-eight pieces of ordnance  
 “ on them, before the Flemings came in, who at length second-  
 “ ed him with very many shot.

“ During this battery of ours upon the gallies, which I so  
 “ term, because they never exchanged one shot, at the very first  
 “ report of the Answer's ordnance, I directed the master of  
 “ my ship to bear up with the south end of the Goodwin, with  
 “ which directions I delivered my reasons publicly as I stood on  
 “ the poop of my ship, *viz.* that, if I stood directly into them,  
 “ the gallies, before I could recover the place, would either be  
 “ driven ashore or sunk, and so there would prove no need of  
 “ my force, or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the  
 “ ships, of whom (once getting a-head) they could receive no  
 “ impediment; for there was no one ship but the Advantage in  
 “ the sea that could hinder them to recover any port in Flan-  
 “ ders, or the east countries, (Sluys only excepted), unless I  
 “ stayed them at that sand-head.

“ Having recovered as near that place as I desired, I stayed  
 “ at least a quarter of an hour before I could either see the gal-  
 “ ley, hear or see any of those ships, their lights, or report of  
 “ their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold  
 “ opinion, that they had outfailed the Answer and the rest of the  
 “ Flemings, and shunned sight of me, by going a-seaboard of  
 “ my ship, which I so verily believed, as I once directly deter-  
 “ mined to sail for Sluys, with hope only, that the preparation  
 “ which I know the States had there, would be able to prevent  
 “ their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubt-  
 “ ful, or rather hopeless, to hinder their recovery of Dunkirk or  
 “ Newport, in case they had been a-seaboard of me, some of  
 “ my company descried a single galley plying from the shore to  
 “ get a-head of my ship. When she approached within caliver-  
 “ shot,

“ shot, I discharged about thirty pieces of ordnance of my lower  
 “ and upper tier at her alone; myself with many other in my  
 “ ship saw when her main-yard was shot afunder, heard the  
 “ report of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most  
 “ pitiful outcries, which when I perceived to continue, and, in-  
 “ stead of making way from me, to near me what she could, I  
 “ forbore shooting, and commanded one that spoke the Portu-  
 “ gueze language to tell them, that I was contented to receive  
 “ them to mercy, which I would accordingly have performed,  
 “ had not the other five gallies offered to stand a-head of me at  
 “ that very instant, and thereby would have left me, as they had  
 “ both the first two Dutch ships, and afterwards the Answer,  
 “ with the rest of the Flemings, had I omitted any small time  
 “ of executing the advantage I had of their being on my broad-  
 “ side, which, as appears, was so effectually employed, (how-  
 “ soever the night wherein this service was performed might  
 “ hinder the particular mention of their hurts), as none can de-  
 “ ny but that God pleased thereby only to work their confusion :  
 “ for since that time, none hath said or can speak of any one  
 “ shot made towards them; yet four of them are sunk and  
 “ wrecked, the fifth past doing the enemy service, and the sixth  
 “ they are forced to new-build at Dunkirk, where (if I be not  
 “ much deceived) she will prove more chargeable than profita-  
 “ ble, if the default rest not in ourselves.

“ The disagreement between the Dutch captains themselves,  
 “ touching the stemming and sinking of the gallies, (whereof  
 “ one challenged before your lordship, and in many other pub-  
 “ lic places, to have stemmed and sunk two himself), and the  
 “ printed pamphlet, containing the stemming and sinking of  
 “ three gallies, gives the reputation thereof to three several cap-  
 “ tains, amongst whom no mention is made of the first; and,  
 “ whereas there are but two in all sunk, I leave to be reconci-  
 “ led among themselves, and to your lordship, whether that the  
 “ same of right appertaineth not to her majesty's ship the Hope,  
 “ in respect of the allegations before mentioned, every par-  
 “ ticular whereof being to be proved by the oaths of my whole  
 “ company, and maintained with the hazard of my life, with  
 “ that which followeth :

“ 1. As

“ 1. As the shooting of the single galley’s main-yard ; in  
 “ bestowing above thirty pieces of ordnance upon that one  
 “ galley within less than caliver-shot.

“ 2. That they in the galley made many lamentable outcries  
 “ for my receiving them into mercy.

“ 3. That I would accordingly have received them, but for  
 “ giving them over, to encounter with the other five gallies,  
 “ which else had left me to a stern-chace.

“ To these reasons I add the assertion of the vice-admiral  
 “ himself, who told me (whatsoever he spake in other places)  
 “ that one of the gallies which he stemmed had her main-  
 “ yard shot asunder before his coming aboard her ; by whom-  
 “ soever she was then stemmed, your lordship may judge who  
 “ ruined her, considering she made no resistance by his own  
 “ report, but by crying to him for mercy.

“ Touching the other galley stemmed and sunk, I have al-  
 “ ready proved how she (as all the rest) had got a-head the  
 “ Answer of the queen’s not named, and the rest of the States  
 “ men of war with her, who challenge the whole credit of this  
 “ service. They, as all other seamen, cannot deny but that  
 “ the gallies will outfail all ships in such a loome gale of wind  
 “ and smooth sea as we had that night.

“ The gallies being then quicker of sail than they, how could  
 “ they by any means possible fetch them up but by some im-  
 “ pediment ? Impediment they received none but by my ord-  
 “ nance, which amounted to fifty great shot at those five  
 “ which came last from the shore, when all the ships were  
 “ above a mile asfern.

“ Some, notwithstanding, out of their detracting dispositions,  
 “ may perchance say, that the two which were wrecked at  
 “ Newport would have perished by storm, though they had  
 “ not been battered : whereto though I have sufficiently an-  
 “ swered, first, in shewing that they might have recovered any  
 “ of the places thereabouts before eight o’clock that night, but  
 “ for me, and then the second time before the morning, had  
 “ they not been encountered by me alone, at the South-sand  
 “ head ; yet, for further proof that they miscarried by our bat-  
 “ tery only, I say, that if one of the gallies which received  
 “ least damage by our ordnance did outlive Friday’s storm,

“ continuing

“ continuing till Saturday noon, being driven among the islands  
 “ of Zealand, to recover Calais, then surely those two (unless  
 “ they had been exceedingly torn) would have made shift to  
 “ have recovered the ports of Newport, Graveling, or Dun-  
 “ kirk; especially since from the place where I battered them  
 “ they might have been at the remotest of those places, about  
 “ four hours before any storm began. But such seemed their  
 “ haste to save their lives, as their thought ran of a shore, and  
 “ not of a harbour.

“ Now that I have delivered unto your lordship the whole  
 “ and true discourse of this business, I shall forbear to trouble  
 “ your patience with any further relation of that night, and  
 “ next day’s spending my time, (though the same in their chace  
 “ had like to have cost her Majesty her ship, and the lives of  
 “ as many as were in her), and conclude with admiration of  
 “ their not holding her Majesty’s ship, nor I, (her unworthiest  
 “ servant), and then, and yet, by her Highness’s grace, and  
 “ your lordship’s favour, admiral of the forces in that place,  
 “ am not once mentioned, especially since the six gallies might  
 “ safely have arrived, before seven o’clock that night, at any of  
 “ the ports of Flanders to the westward of Ostend. And that  
 “ the Dutch ships had not come from an anchor in the Downs,  
 “ but for the signs (signals) they received from me. Then, that  
 “ the force of her Majesty’s ship wherein I was, enforced them  
 “ to keep close aboard the English shore, whereby those ships  
 “ in the Downs had power given them to come to fight, which  
 “ fight was begun by the Answer of the queen’s.

“ And, lastly, since the gallies escaped their battery, and  
 “ had gotten a-head those ships above a mile at least, and never  
 “ received any impediment after but only by me, who lingered  
 “ them (as you have heard) until the coming up of those ships  
 “ that challenge to stem them; which being granted, I cannot  
 “ see how any other credit can rightly be given them (for that  
 “ stem I mean) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead body  
 “ which his master had slain.”

There were three motives which induced me to insert this re-  
 lation, long as it is, in this work. First, because the paper is  
 very curious in itself, and well drawn. Next, because it does

honour to the memory of its author, Sir Robert Mansel, and comes in with great propriety here. Lastly, as it shews the correctness of those times, when every thing was examined into, and sifted to the very bottom, which made officers so tender of their characters, that they were ever ready, upon any such occasion as this before us, to render a strict account of their conduct, in so full and circumstantial a manner, as absolutely silenced calumny, and left no farther room for dispute.

On the accession of King James he was continued in his post of vice-admiral, to which he had been raised by the interest of the earl of Nottingham, and remained in favour for several years. When the lord high-admiral's enemies had so far alienated his Majesty's affections as to procure a commission for reforming abuses in the navy, (which was equally detrimental to his reputation and authority), Sir Robert Mansel chose rather to adhere to his friend, than to make court at his expence; and with this view advised his lordship not to submit to this commission, for which Sir Robert was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea, and continued there some months, in the year 1613<sup>x</sup>. In consequence of this inquiry, many abuses were however really discovered and corrected, so that 25,000*l.* a-year were soon after saved to the crown<sup>y</sup>; from a just sense of which, Sir Robert advised his patron to resign his high office, perceiving that he began to outlive his abilities, and that his longer continuance therein might become more and more detrimental both to the public and himself.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the earl

<sup>x</sup> Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 460.

<sup>y</sup> This is affirmed by King James in his speech to his parliament, A. D. 1620, in Frankland's annals, p. 49. His Majesty rewarded the several commissioners with the honour of knighthood for the services rendered the public in this respect, as well as for the great pains they exerted on the occasion. The names of these gentlemen were — Fortescue, John Osborne, — Gaughton, — Sutton, and William Pitts, Esqrs; Mr. Camden's annals of the reign of James I. under the year 1619. Sir William Monson, as the reader will find, suffered severely in the opinion of some, for having devised so right as well as so honest a measure. A like commission, which demonstrates that wise prince's early care of and attention to the navy, issued in the second year of the reign of Charles I. directed to James earl of Marlborough, George duke of Buckingham, Robert earl of Lindsey, and other lords, Rymer's fœderæ, tom. xviii. p. 758.

of Nottingham's resignation, Sir Robert Mansel applied himself to the duke of Buckingham, whom he advised to obtain that office; and when he excused himself on account of his youth and want of experience, told him plainly, why he thought him fittest for the place. He observed, that in time of peace the best service that could be done was to look well to the constant repair of the navy, and to rebuild occasionally such ships as wanted it; and that by applying himself assiduously to the duty of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was necessary, before any war should call him into action. Thus the duke was brought into the office of high-admiral by the persuasion of Sir Robert Mansel, and upon very just motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old master; for the earl of Nottingham had a pension of one thousand pounds a-year, and the duke made a present to the countess of Nottingham of three thousand pounds. This transaction happened in 1616, and, in consequence thereof, Sir Robert Mansel was, by the duke of Buckingham's interest, made vice-admiral for life.

The duke, by his advice, did another thing which was very commendable. He procured a commission to be granted to several able and experienced persons for the management of the navy, which had very good effects: nay, there is strong reason to believe, considering the great confusion into which things afterwards fell, that the fleet, if it had not been for this commission, would have been absolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was so well preserved, that Buckingham, upon his impeachment, acquitted himself better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article<sup>z</sup>.

In 1620, Sir Robert Mansel commanded the fleet fitted out against the pirates of Algiers, of which we have given an impartial account in its proper place<sup>a</sup>. However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there seems to be no reason to conceive he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he advised it from a generous and public spirited motive, the desire of raising the English reputation at sea, and freeing our trade from the insults of these rovers; but it seems he

<sup>z</sup> See all these facts fully stated in the duke of Buckingham's answer to the first article of his impeachment, in *Frankland's annals*, p. 188.

p. 475, 476.

<sup>a</sup> See before,

was sent abroad with so limited a commission, and had so many raw and unexperienced officers employed in the fleet, through the favour of eminent courtiers, that from these and other cross accidents he was disabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his power, and is on that account commended by the most knowing writers of those times <sup>b</sup>.

This unlucky affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the favour of the duke of Buckingham, hindered him from being employed in the reign of King Charles; and the very neglect of him is mentioned as one of the errors therein<sup>c</sup>. He continued, notwithstanding, in possession of his office of vice-admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the civil wars, when he died with the reputation of being a great seaman, and a person of unblemished integrity; leaving, so far as I have been able to learn, no issue <sup>d</sup>.

In the course of this work, Sir William Monson has frequently been mentioned as an admiral, and full as often cited as an author; we shall now take occasion to throw together such particulars as relate to him, and which are scattered in a variety of books, in order to preserve, as entire as may be, the memory of so worthy a person, and of the principal actions by him achieved; some of which he has also left us recorded by his own pen.

<sup>b</sup> See an account of this expedition, printed by authority in 1621, 4to. Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 34. Frankland's annals, p. 55. <sup>c</sup> Kennet, vol. iii. p. 13. L'Estrange's history of Charles I. p. 17. Rushworth's collections, vol. i. p. 195.

<sup>d</sup> English baronetage, vol. i. p. 489. His knowledge in his profession must have been very extensive, as well as his character as a gallant officer, since we find him recommended by Sir John Pennington to the king, in 1642, as the properest person to seize the fleet for that prince's service: his authority, as vice-admiral of England, as well as his known and great reputation with the seamen, being, as was suggested, like to meet with little resistance from the power of the earl of Warwick, who had found means the year before to bring it under the dominion of the parliament; but his Majesty was apprehensive lest Sir Robert's advanced age, and the infirmities that attended thereon, might render the attempt hazardous, though he had a great opinion of his courage and integrity. Sir Robert at this time resided at Greenwich. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion, vol. ii. p. 675.

## MEMOIRS of SIR WILLIAM MONSON.

THE family of Monson has been long settled in Lincolnshire, of which this gentleman was a native<sup>c</sup>. He was the fourth son of John Monson, Esq; by Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Hufsey, and was born about the year 1569<sup>f</sup>. He went very early to sea, as himself informs us, about the beginning of the Spanish wars, and in the condition only of a private man; his wages, according to the frugality of that time, being no more than ten shillings a month; from whence he was gradually advanced to the great commands he afterwards bore. His first voyage was in the year 1585, in which he engaged without the knowledge either of his father or mother, and wherein he saw the sharpest service he met with throughout his life. He was on board a privateer, which was but a small vessel, and in consort with another still smaller. They sailed from the Isle of Wight in the month of September, and soon after came up with a stout Spanish ship of three hundred tons, well manned. The crew, however, of the two privateers resolved to board her, which they did towards evening; but the wind growing high, and the night dark, their vessels fell off, and they were left on board the Spaniards. The fight continued all night, with variety of success; but at last, about seven o'clock in the morning, the Spaniards yielded<sup>g</sup>. In 1587, he had the command of a ship, and was employed afterwards throughout the whole reign of the queen.

In the year 1589, he served as vice-admiral in the earl of Cumberland's fleet, and did excellent service; but in the course of that expedition endured such hardships as brought upon him a fit of sickness, which detained him in England a whole year<sup>h</sup>. In 1591, he served again under the command of the earl of Cumberland, when he had the misfortune to be taken by the Spaniards, and remained a prisoner near two years<sup>i</sup>. This did not discourage him from acting under the earl again, almost as soon as he had recovered his liberty, in the year 1593<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Fuller's worthies in Lincolnshire, p. 163. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i.

col. 336.

<sup>f</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 505.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

p. 246.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 505.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 179, and 504.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid.

p. 181.

In the famous expedition to Cadiz, in the year 1596, he was captain of the *Repulse*, the earl of Essex's own ship, to whom he did great service, by his wife and moderate counsel, and was, therefore, very deservedly knighted<sup>l</sup>. In the Island-voyage he commanded the *Rainbow*; and if the earl of Essex had then followed the informations he gave him, he had certainly taken most of the Spanish galleons<sup>m</sup>. In 1599, he had the command of the *Defiance* in the Downs, and in 1602, being vice-admiral, he had the good luck to take a great carrack of 1600 tons, which, with its cargo, was worth a million of pieces of eight<sup>n</sup>. In 1602 he was at sea again, and had the command of a squadron, in which, though he performed no great service, yet he brought it home safely through many perils<sup>o</sup>. I have not gone into the particulars of these services, because they have been all of them treated at large already, and with due respect to the accounts given of them by this gentleman in his writings; so that to have entered into the circumstances of them, would have involved us in needless repetitions.

At the accession of King James, no seaman appeared to have a fairer title to his favour than Sir William Monson, whose attachment to his interest had engaged the Lords of the privy-council to place an extraordinary confidence in his management of the fleet, of which we have before taken notice<sup>p</sup>. It does not, however, appear, that Sir William throughout the course of that reign received any extraordinary gratifications, but rather the contrary. He had the charge of the narrow seas for twelve years, that is, from the beginning of the year 1604, to the year 1616, in which time he did remarkable service<sup>q</sup>, in supporting the honour of the English flag against the encroachments of the Dutch and French, and in his remarkable voyage round Great Britain and Ireland, to scour the seas of pirates, of which likewise we have given an account in its proper place<sup>r</sup>.

After so many and so great services rendered to the crown, and so many years spent in duty to his country, Sir William

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 184.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 189.

<sup>n</sup> See the naval history of

Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 496, 497.

<sup>o</sup> Sir William Monson's naval

tracts, p. 189.

<sup>p</sup> Naval hist. of King James, in this vol. p. 454.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

p. 459.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 465.

had the misfortune to fall into disgrace, and to find all that he had done, and all that he had advised, which perhaps was of no less consequence, misunderstood, and turned to his disadvantage. As this is the most remarkable part of his personal history, so it seems to deserve our and the reader's attention on another account, I mean the relation it has to the state of maritime affairs in those days; and, therefore, I shall give as clear and concise an account thereof as I can. It is a very dangerous thing either to offend the great, or fall into the dislike of the many. Sir William Monson was so unlucky to run into both these misfortunes; the former he incurred through a desire of serving his country, and the latter by his zeal in discharging his duty on a ticklish occasion. His great knowledge in maritime affairs, and the confidence which the seamen had in him, brought to his view most of the grievances in the navy, which he honestly laboured to redress. This gave rise to a commission for that purpose, that has been often mentioned, and that commission gave great distaste to the earl of Nottingham, then lord high-admiral, and to those who under him had the chief management of the fleet. It went on notwithstanding; a great reformation was made, and the king saved abundance of money in this article; which, however, did not lessen the spleen conceived against Sir William Monson, for having set this design on foot<sup>a</sup>.

The other accident which hurt him with the people was this: the Lady Arbella having made her escape, orders were sent to Sir William Monson to prevent, if possible, her getting either into France or Flanders; and though he did not receive these orders till twenty-four hours after her departure, yet he executed them most effectually, and retook her in a bark bound for Calais, within four miles of that place<sup>c</sup>. This was the same lady, concerning whom so much noise had been made in

<sup>a</sup> See naval tracts, p. 370, where our author enumerates the many abuses committed in the navy, with the means of reforming them, and which abuses he says began to creep in like rust into iron, at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

<sup>c</sup> Winwood's memorials, vol. iii. p. 280. This lady is in most of our historians called the Lady Arbella; but, in the proclamation published upon her flight, and which is extant in Rymer's *foedera*, vol. xvi. p. 710. she is styled the Lady Arbella, and so she wrote her name.

the business of Sir Walter Raleigh's plot; and as she was a great object of popular pity, so upon this occasion, many strange stories were circulated, which served to raise the odium for retaking her; though it was his duty, and what the court ought to have looked upon as an important service<sup>u</sup>. The Dutch, too, who were angry with him for his conduct in the narrow seas, found means to do him ill offices; so that upon some very slight pretences he was committed close prisoner to the Tower in 1616<sup>w</sup>: but after he had been examined by the chief-justice Coke, and secretary Winwood, he was discharged; and he afterwards wrote a large vindication of his conduct, while admiral in the narrow seas.

He very soon recovered his credit; for in 1617, we find him called to council, in order to give his opinion how the Algerines might be best reduced<sup>x</sup>. In the succeeding reign, of which we are now speaking, he had likewise a great interest, and his advice was asked in all maritime affairs; but, as he differed in opinion from those who were then in possession of power and favour, and as he censured the expedition to Rhé, and that against Cadiz, we need not wonder that he was not employed<sup>y</sup>. Yet in 1635, when the king came to have better notions of things, and to be truly concerned for his sovereignty of the seas, Sir William Monson was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, commanded by the earl of Lindsey; which effectually vindicated the king's honour and the rights of the nation<sup>z</sup>. After this he spent his days in privacy and peace, and about the year 1640<sup>a</sup>, composed that work of his, of which we have made so great use, and of which, considering its subject, I think it cannot be amiss to give a short account.

It is divided into six books, all on different subjects, and yet all equally curious and instructive. The first book is, for the most part, a collection of every year's actions, in the war against Spain, on our own, upon the Spanish coast, and in the West Indies. A brief narrative; for no more is said, but the force they were undertaken with, and the success of the enter-

<sup>u</sup> See the introduction to the 2d book of his naval tracts.  
<sup>w</sup> Camden's annals of King James, in Kennet's complete history of England, vol. ii. p. 645.

<sup>x</sup> Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 250.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid.

p. 258—277.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 290.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 295.

prize: yet the design is to shew the reasons, either why they miscarried, or why so little advantage was made where they succeeded. In some he is more particular than in others; and, what perhaps may be still of use, he at last sets down the abuses in the fleet, and the methods for redressing them. His second book continues somewhat of the method of the first, beginning with fatherly instructions to his son; whence he proceeds to the peace with Spain, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being afterwards employed against pirates. He inveighs against the Dutch, shews the ill management of a design against Algier, and makes very curious remarks on the attempt upon Cadiz by King Charles I. disclosing methods how Spain might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the shipping of England, and sovereignty of the seas.

The third book only treats of the admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high-admiral to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boys at sea; and from a complete fleet to the smallest vessel; and the part of it; with instructions for all officers, the size of all sorts of guns, all kinds of allowances on board the king's ships, and excellent directions for fighting at sea; an account of all the harbours in these three kingdoms, with many others, and those important matters, for those times, accurately handled. The fourth book is of a very different nature from any of the rest, being a brief collection of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and conquests in Africa, Asia, and America; with some voyages round the world, and somewhat of the first settling both of English and French plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and schemes, for managing affairs at sea to the best advantage for the nation. The sixth, and last, treats of fishing, and is intended to shew the infinite addition of wealth and strength it would bring to England; with such instructions as are necessary for putting such a design in execution<sup>b</sup>.

The writing and collecting these pieces, were the last efforts of his genius; for he died in the month of February 1642,

<sup>b</sup> These traicts are printed in the third volume of Churchill's collection of voyages. It is very plain, from the prefaces and dedication, the author intenced them for the press, though he did not live to publish them,

being in the 73<sup>d</sup> year of his age, at Kynnerley in Surrey, the place he had chosen for his retirement, and where he left a numerous posterity.

As for Sir John Pennington, Sir Henry Marom, and some other seamen who rose in this reign to be admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of importance enough to deserve the attention of the reader, or which can any way tend to the enlightening this part of our history; and therefore we shall conclude our account of the reign, with a list of the ships added to the royal navy by King Charles I<sup>st</sup>.

Ships.	Men in harbour.	Men at sea.
Ten Whelps,	3	60, some 70
The Henrietta Pinnace,	3	25
The Mary Pinnace,	3	25
The Charles,	9	250
The Henrietta-Maria,	9	250
The James,	9	260
The Victory,	9	250
The Leopard,	7	170
The Swallow,	6	150
The Sovereign,		

<sup>s</sup> Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 312.  
naval tracts, p. 277.

<sup>d</sup> Sir W. Monson's









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